This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

**Usage guidelines**

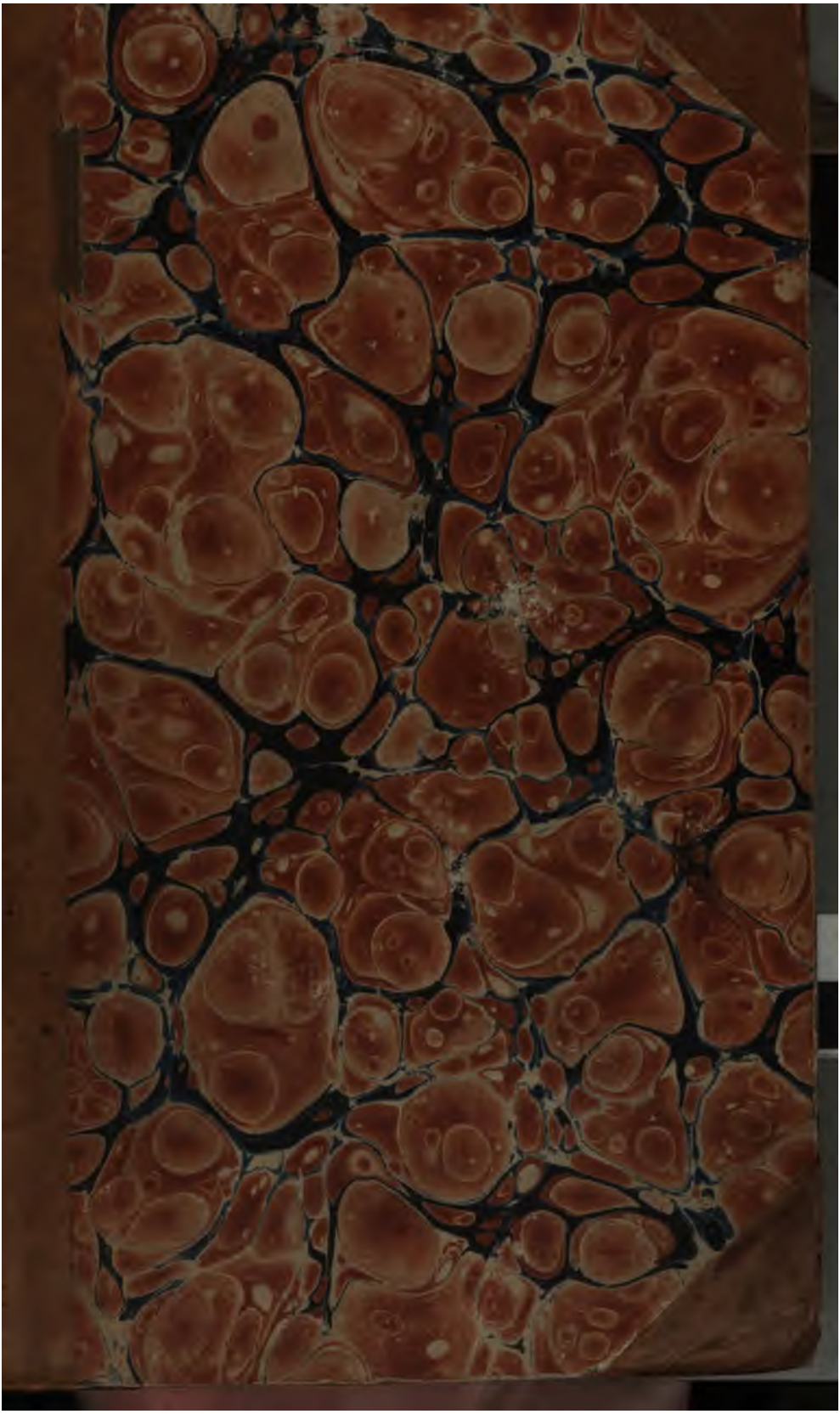
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

**About Google Book Search**

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



Per 59.

Per. 22871 e. $\frac{283}{21}$

# The Pamphleteer;

DEDICATED TO

## BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

VOL. XXI.

TO BE CONTINUED OCCASIONALLY,

AT

AN AVERAGE OF FOUR NUMBERS ANNUALLY.

Omnes pensantur eâdem
Scriptores trutinâ.———Hor. Epist.

London:
PRINTED BY A. J. VALPY, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.
SOLD BY SHERWOOD AND CO.; BLACK, KINGSBURY, PARBURY, AND ALLEN; LONGMAN AND CO.; SIMPKIN AND MARSHALL; W. CARPENTER; LONDON—PARKER, OXFORD—BARRET, CAMBRIDGE—MACREDIE AND CO. EDINBURGH— CUMMING, DUBLIN—AND ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.
1822.

# CONTENTS OF NO. XL.

I. Eubulus on Cambridge Education.

II. Philograntus on Ditto; in answer.

III. Eubulus' Reply to Philograntus.

IV. The Bp. of Bristol's Primary Charge.

V. Mc. Dermot's Reply to Bowles, on the Controversy about Pope.

VI. Newton's Defence of Vegetable Regimen, with experiments.

VII. Sir H. Parnell's History of the Penal Laws against the Irish Catholics. [Out of Print.]

VIII. Sir E. Bridges' Enquiry, What are Riches?

IX. Jonathan Wilks's Scheme for the Reduction of the Debt and Taxation, without individual sacrifice.

X. XI. XII. Bowles's Reply to Campbell, the Quarterly Review, &c. on the Controversy about Pope.

# CONTENTS OF NO. XLI.

PAGE.

I. A Reply to the Sixth Edition of a Pamphlet (supposed official) on the STATE of the NATION, at the commencement of 1822; considered under the Four Departments of Finance—Foreign Relations—Home Department—Colonies and Board of Trade, &c. &c. By J. COLLIER. With a Third Chapter on Agricultural Distress. [*Second Edition, with Additions.*] .... 1

II. A Letter to the Rt. Hon. WILLIAM PITT, on his Apostasy from the Cause of PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. To which is subjoined an Appendix, containing important Documents on that Subject. [*Third Edition.*] To which is now added a PROPOSAL for a CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM, founded on Property, and subversive of Oligarchy and Ochlocracy .... 43

III. THOUGHTS on LIBERTY, and the RIGHTS of ENGLISHMEN. By BASIL MONTAGU, Esq. ..... 73

IV. A HISTORY of the PENAL LAWS against the IRISH CATHOLICS; from the Treaty of Limerick to the Union. With an Index. By Sir HENRY PARNELL, Bart. M. P. [*New Edition, corrected for the Pamphleteer exclusively.*] ..... 97

V. A Letter to the Rev. P. ELMSLEY, A. M. in answer to the Appeal made to Professor SANDFORD, as Umpire between the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD and the EDINBURGH REVIEW. By Professor SANDFORD ..... 135

VI. An ADDRESS to the People of England in the CAUSE of the GREEKS, occasioned by the late inhuman

PAGE.

Massacres in the Island of Scio, &c. By the Rev. T. S. HUGHES. [*Second Edition, with Additions.*] 167

VII. A Letter addressed to the Rev. T. S. HUGHES, by E. H. BARKER, Esq. occasioned by the Perusal of The "Address to the People of England in the Cause of the Greeks." [*Second Edition, with Additions.*] 189

VIII. CONSIDERATIONS of the POLICE REPORT of 1816, with a Plan for effectually suppressing the Trade of Thieving. With a few Words inducing towards the Discovery of Perpetual Motion, perhaps the actual Discovery thereof ..... 207

IX. Corrected Report of the SPEECH of the Rt. Hon. GEORGE CANNING, in the House of Commons, 25th April, 1822, on Lord JOHN RUSSELL's Motion for a REFORM of PARLIAMENT ..... 221

X. The SPEECH of JOHN GEORGE LAMBTON, Esq. in the House of Commons, on moving for a Committee to consider the STATE of the REPRESENTATION: with a Bill for a REFORM of PARLIAMENT..... 249

---

CONTENTS OF NO. XXXIX.

I. ELECTOR'S REMEMBRANCER, or a Guide to the Votes of each Member of the House of Commons, in the present Parliament. Giving an account of the particular conduct of each Member; with general Observations, &c. &c. A similar work is published in France, and is of great utility.

II. The Exposé of the Present Administration, in a Pamphlet intitled The State of the Nation in 1822. Under the Four Departments—Finance, Foreign Relations, Home Department, Colonies, &c.

III. Mainwaring on the State of the Police.

IV. A Defence of the Vegetable Regimen, showing that we were not born to eat Animal Food, &c.

V. Heathfield on the Debt, Agriculture, &c.

VI. Sir H. Parnell's History of the Penal Laws against the Catholics, to the Union. [*Out of Print.*]

VII. On the Controversy between Lord Byron and Mr. Bowles, relative to Pope and Poetry.

# CONTENTS OF NO. XLII.

PAGE.

I. ALPHABETICAL LIST of the MEMBERS of the COMMONS House of Parliament; showing the places they REPRESENT; and distinguishing those who hold PLACES, and who are dependent on the Present ADMINISTRATION; and also those who hold COMMISSIONS in the NAVY and ARMY; and how they voted on 14 GREAT QUESTIONS, divided on during the Sessions of 1821—2: and the MINORITIES on 36 QUESTIONS. The names of the Members corrected to the present time, *(being the only correct List extant.)* ..... 293

II. The LOVE-LETTERS of KING HENRY VIII. to ANNA BOLEYN. Now first correctly printed from the AUTOGRAPHS in the Library of the VATICAN Palace; with an Historical Introduction, illustrated by Letters of distinguished Contemporaries, Notes, and FAC-SIMILES. By the Editor of the "Historia Brittonum." *Original.* ..... 325

III. A short Discussion of the SPANISH QUESTION. *Original.* ..... 359

IV. RESOLUTIONS relative to the NATIONAL DEBT, and Operations of the SINKING FUND; ordered to be printed by the HOUSE of COMMONS, July 1822. being PARLIAMENTARY PAPER, No. 557. *With additional Notes, and Observations.* ..... 365

V. Sketch of a simple, original, and practical PLAN for SUPPRESSING MENDICITY, ABOLISHING the present system of PAROCHIAL TAXATION, and AMELIORATING the condition of the LOWER CLASSES of Society ..... 389

PAGE.

VI. A Letter to the Rt. Hon. GEORGE CANNING, M. P. on the Policy of RECOGNISING the INDEPENDENCE of the SOUTH AMERICAN STATES. By JOHN LOWE. ..... 401

VII. Remarks on the BRITISH QUARANTINE LAWS, and the so-called Sanitary Laws of the Continental Nations of Europe, especially those of SPAIN. By CHARLES MACLEAN, M. D. *Original.* ..... 414

VIII. CAUTIONS to CONTINENTAL TRAVELLERS. By the Rev. J. W. CUNNINGHAM, A. M. [*Second Edition, with corrections.*] ..... 451

IX. A Postscript to Observations on the present AGRICULTURAL and NATIONAL DISTRESS: addressed to a Noble Lord. By VINDEX. ..... 481

X. Opinions as to the REAL STATE of the NATION, with Strictures on a pamphlet intitled "The Administration of the Affairs of Great Britain." By the Ghost of the MARQUESS of LONDONDERRY. [*Second Edition, with Additions.*] ..... 519

---

CONTENTS OF NO. XLI.

I. Reply to the Pamphlet (supposed official) on the State of the Nation in 1822.

II. To Mr. W. Pitt, on his Apostasy from the Cause of Parliamentary Reform; with a Proposal for a Constitutional Reform, founded on Property, and subversive of Oligarchy and Ochlocracy.

III. On Liberty, and Rights of Englishmen. By Basil Montagu, Esq.

IV. Sir H. Parnell's History of the Penal Laws against the Irish Catholics.

V. Prof. Sandford's Decision on the Oxf. and Edinb. Controversy.

VI. Rev. T. S. Hughes on the Cause of the Greeks, Scio Massacre, &c.

VII. Mr. Barker's Letter to Rev. T. S. Hughes on Do.

VIII. On the Police Report, with a Plan for suppressing Thieving, &c.

IX. Mr. Canning's Speech on Parliamentary Reform, 1822.

X. Mr. Lambton's Plan for Reform of Parliament, &c.

A

# REPLY

TO THE

SIXTH EDITION OF A PAMPHLET (SUPPOSED OFFICIAL)

ON THE

# STATE OF THE NATION

AT

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE YEAR 1822;

CONSIDERED UNDER

THE FOUR DEPARTMENTS

OF

FINANCE, FOREIGN RELATIONS, HOME DEPARTMENT, COLONIES, AND BOARD OF TRADE, &c. &c.

[INSERTED IN NO. XXXIX. OF THE PAMPHLETEER.]

---

BY JOSHUA COLLIER.

---

WITH A THIRD CHAPTER ON THE SUBJECT OF

## AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS.

---

"Quis furor iste novus? quo nunc, quo tenditis——
Heu miseræ cives? non hostem, inimicaque castra
Argivum; vestras spes uritis." VIRG. lib. v. 670.

What madness moves *mere women* to destroy
The fond remainders of unhappy Troy?
Not hostile fleets, but your own hopes you burn,
And on your friends your fatal fury turn.

---

SECOND EDITION WITH ADDITIONS.

LONDON:—1822.



BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

# PREFACE.

THE pamphlet to which the present is a reply, was generally understood to be published *under the immediate auspices of government;* and the number of editions it passed through, to satisfy public curiosity, on this very ground, authorized this belief, which was further confirmed by its *never having been contradicted by the ministerial press.*

Its preface being a technical explanation of its contents, the writer of the present remarks upon it, which must relate precisely to the same objects, sees reason to adopt for the most part as his own, putting the extracts between *inverted commas,* with certain alterations and additions, which will of course vary the sense occasionally. The liberty we have taken in this respect will enable the reader to understand the substance and connection of the following pages, though he may not have the original work before him.

These are therefore observations on what has been exhibited as a general view "of the state of public affairs, from the period of the late treaties to the commencement of the year 1822.

"The circumstances which compose this review had not before been produced to the public with sufficient fulness and distinctness. If some of the matters have been touched upon, and even discussed in parliament, in answer to the observations of the opponents of his Majesty's ministers, or otherwise, they have been discussed only as single measures, and without any reference to their coherence with the system of administration of which they form a part."

"The ministers of a free and high-minded country cannot be without a due feeling of the value of public character. They know that in public station, still more than in private life, a good name is connected with the due and effective performance of duties; that character is influence, and that influence is power; and that power from influence will extend its operation, where power from law and authority cannot reach; and that the good will of the people towards government has in all ages proved the readiest means of an effective administration. Under these considerations, his Majesty's ministers for themselves, and their friends for them, must

naturally desire to stand well in public opinion. They desire it for themselves, and they ought to desire it for the country."

"For themselves, they seek public confidence by" studiously, though vainly, endeavouring to make it appear, that they have exercised "a conscientious and effective discharge of their duties;" and if they had not failed altogether in their proofs, they must have desired, and "desired most anxiously, that a general feeling of the public good, and a general persuasion that the government is industriously occupied in pursuing it, might excite such a spirit of concurrent effort between the people and their governors, as to give manners the effect and authority of laws; and might bring into disuse any statutes, if such there be, required, in more turbulent times, to repress public disorders."

Our business is to achieve a very temperate examination of the variety of facts and falsities, which enter into what they call this "statement and review."

"According to the form which the administration of the British Empire has long assumed, the public business has for a considerable period of years distributed itself into the four main departments of finance, the foreign affairs, home department, and the colonies. Under the first of these departments, that of finance, the first lord of the treasury and the chancellor of the exchequer have it in charge to provide for the maintenance and due distribution of the public revenue, and for the integrity of all those sources of navigation, commerce, manufactures, internal trade and industry, from which such revenue must be derived; and finally, in co-operation with the other boards appointed for this special purpose, they have to provide for the naval and military defence of the empire, and the maintenance of the docks, arsenals, ordnance, &c. in all the means and materials of future operation."

"To the home department belong the maintenance and supervision of the public peace, and the due execution of the laws for the support of external order and tranquillity; whilst the departments of foreign affairs and the colonies embrace, according to their denominations, our relations with foreign states and our own colonies. Following the order of these departments," they proposed to themselves "to produce and explain to the public, in a general and succinct view, the former and actual condition of each."

And our examination into this their work will probably show the few difficulties his Majesty's ministers had to encounter, aided by the general spirit of the country; and how much less, even according to their own account, they have accomplished than they desire to make the unwary believe. Hence, they have shamefully neglected to conciliate "the due maintenance of the revenue in all its sources, with the due alleviation of the public burdens. How

they have maintained the public peace," with *too much* cost to public liberty, "and under what system they have administered the foreign relations of the empire."

Our remarks on "this review, under the four departments, will necessarily comprehend a general survey of the proceedings of administration, within the whole compass of public business. It will" attempt to "explain" many most important errors, of which they have been guilty (as to millions) as far as they have attempted to enlighten us on the subject, respecting "the state of our finances," compared with "our national resources." We shall examine into their reflections as to "our existing relation with foreign states;" and, "as a part of our domestic policy, the general system under which his Majesty's ministers have endeavoured," much less "by discipline than by measures of terror and menace, to restore Ireland to the ordinary administration of law." We shall "show" abundant errors in "what has been done for our colonies, and for the commercial interests of the empire;" and subjoin a few observations relating to "what is now in discussion for the extension of our trade and manufactures, and for simplifying and facilitating mercantile business," or rather for continuing to throw every obstacle in its way.

In the order pursued, a distribution is made of the subject matter, corresponding with that of the author on the state of the nation, treating the several departments separately; and such few observations as we have thought it necessary to make on the appendix, to render the whole more compact, are embodied in the work.

Under the first head, that of finance, though respect is paid to the important article of dates, all that relates to mere figures is comprised in a second chapter; therefore the one embraces chiefly matters of opinion, the other only matters of fact.

On the whole, if there has been presented to the curiosity of the public, by dabbling in shallow waters, a collection forming a corrupt mass, we pretend only to have employed the arithmetician's art, to reduce it to sterling. Were we tempted to indulge in the liberty of saying another word for ourselves, it would be candidly to avow the feelings of a true JOHN BULL, which will be found to animate us through the piece, that of respect for the laws, but indifference to his Majesty's servants, appointed by a chief set over them, the best paid of any in Europe; and, presuming on the respect we owe to his exalted station, they will continue (since they take his responsibility upon themselves) no longer to enjoy his confidence than while the people go along with them, unless they become masters. It is well known how much the exercise of such undue authority would be inconvenient in domestic concerns—the thing is, to the full, as simple in the government of states.

AN

# ANSWER,

*&c. &c.*

## CHAP. I.

### FINANCE.

The Public will hardly require, that this important division of the subject should be treated in detail, relating chiefly to accounts already laid before parliament, where they have undergone a full discussion in their several parts. It is however necessary to take certain general views, which we shall attempt to bring under consideration.

At the conclusion of the war, his Majesty's ministers seem very naturally to have considered, that "the amount of the national debt and the pressure of the annual taxation were among the first objects which presented themselves to their notice." But as an apology for not precipitating relief too suddenly a most unaccountable plea is set up, and an interest pretended to be shown for the condition of the trading part of the community. How this class of his Majesty's subjects, either in whole or in part, could sustain any possible injury by so wholesome a change in the affairs of the nation at large, the author has not attempted to explain; and it is equally difficult to excuse, or to pardon, such mistaken delicacy precluding the exercise of an imperious duty, unless it shall be satisfactorily proved, that a reduction of annual burdens contracts the circulating capital, or bears some analogy to it.

We are to understand, that the peace of 1792 naturally suggested itself to their consideration as an example to follow; as they say, that "in all political questions it is not only matter of prudence and policy, but contributes much to the facility of business, to proceed according to some acknowledged rule." Far from

denying, indeed, the truth of this observation, we are at liberty to consider whether they made a prudent choice in this precedent as a rule, and whether they have followed it.

As to loading the country with debt and taxation, can it be denied, that Mr. Pitt surpassed all his predecessors in office, and that he has only been exceeded in these high qualities by the present ministers themselves? So little moderation has, therefore, been exercised in these latter times, that it required to look far back for an estimate, on which the present peace establishment was to be framed; and, forgetting how loudly economy had been insisted upon by the prayer of the public, while the principle had been admitted even by themselves under an enormous augmentation of debt, a diminution of which was rendered so necessary, they consented to adopt a precedent even within their own memories. So much for the prudence of their choice. Whether they have acted up to the spirit of the laws and regulations they had laid down for themselves let us further examine.

As to what particularly relates to the service of the army, notwithstanding this precedent of 1792 was taken for a basis, certain pretences were found, with how much reason we leave the public to consider, to raise it from 47,000 to 99,000. One exception we readily admit must have increased it some thousands, the provision to be made for new colonies, though this was required to have been done with a very sparing hand. And it is evident, that, under an enlightened government, colonies require generally less and less force for their defence. This the author himself also acknowledges by saying, that "the same amount of force would not always be necessary for this service, but that portions might be withdrawn gradually as the colonies became accustomed to the superior administration of British laws."

The increase of population affords a miserable argument for keeping up an establishment; this increase so unfortunately appearing only in examining the registers of the poor; and should strengthen our efforts towards reduction in every form and kind, since this charge alone bears so heavy on the farming interest, as well as the public.

If, as an excuse for heaping upon us burdens, the loyalty and patriotism of the great body can be called in question, God is a witness that no reflection can be less merited. "In the peculiar form, which the press of this day has already assumed," they say, "a new force is given to public passions;" but had the author seen the subject in an indulgent light, he would have expressed himself more justly, that a new force is given to the powers of reason, among even the lowest orders, which places them under better control than an army, or even the laws. None of these

several arguments, therefore, offer the slightest pretence for upholding an extraordinary establishment in time of peace.

But we have the highest authorities in aid of our argument upon this latter ground. How did the learned Lowth condemn restraints upon the press when, in a sermon half a century ago, and in good times, he says, "let no man be alarmed at the attempts of atheists and infidels: let them produce their cause and bring forth their arguments to their own confusion." And Wharton, in addressing the freethinkers, admits, "that whatever be the cause of this folly, it would be unjust to ascribe it to the freedom of the press, which wise men will ever hold to be one of the most precious advantages of civil liberty." He says of himself, "that one of the meanest in this controversy, I should have been ashamed of projecting the defence of the great Jewish legislator did not I know, that assailants and defenders skirmished all under one equal law of liberty."

Now, armed with these enlightened principles, so long established and confirmed by experience, let us compare the conduct of government, at a period when even watchfulness was in repose, and opposition enfeebled by the generous spirit of loyalty by which parliament was animated, when called upon to settle the civil list upon the accession of his present Majesty. It will hardly be credited, that the original proposal on the part of the minister was assented to and approved, all parties silently and tamely submitting to the will of the sovereign, whom we most ardently pray, feeling as we do for the prosperity of Great Britain, may be looked up to by a grateful people, as the only fountain of honor and emolument in our day.

Richly provided by the vote of parliament, and the calm which subsisted within-doors, ministers turned their attention to the crowd, and dared to proscribe, with the assistance of their usual dupes, their country friends, all the intellectual enjoyment and improvement it was in the habit of receiving, at what they were pleased to deem too easy an expense—the only means in the power of the people of judging of the lives and characters of their superiors, and ameliorating their own condition by the force of such examples. There is food, it must be granted, essential both to the body and the mind: is it possible to conceive, that even under the present ridiculous thirst for high prices, whatever is palatable, or such as can be relished by the species, can possibly come too cheap to the consumer? Do we boast of freedom, and see dust thrown in the eyes of his Majesty's subjects to disqualify them to judge in the humblest way, of the learning and opinions of others? Whatever, under the protection of law, is permitted to be written, might even be encouraged to be read.

But let us now return to the subject more immediately under consideration. His Majesty's ministers very properly introduced into the king's speech on the opening of the parliament, in 1816, "that they might rely on every disposition on his part to concur in such measures of economy as might be thought consistent with the security of the country, and with the station which we occupy in Europe." In investigating the several bearings of this proposal, the writer of these remarks sees reason to beseech his Majesty to reflect, that the current expenses, of the preceding years, bore no proportion to instances occurring in any former reign, not excepting that of the glorious memory of his father's: that the termination of the war, the time to which we are alluding, had incurred an annual expenditure capable of reductions, which could not be contemplated at any former period of our history, unless it were possible to subtract tens from units.

The whole is stated up to the close of the first year after the peace as a saving of seventy millions. Is it fair to boast, that such reductions were never dreamed of, under any former administration? In the reign of George the Second, the average of the whole revenue did not exceed nine millions; in that of George the First, six millions and a half. Do ministers forget, that in the year 1814 the demands of government, exclusive of poor's rates, exceeded one hundred and thirty-seven millions, after Mr. Pitt had taken the whole income of Great Britain at less by thirty millions?

But exclusive of the interest of debt, to confine ourselves to the annual supply for ordinaries and extraordinaries, the estimate before the war was taken at twenty millions; can much be attributed to the provident hand of ministers in requiring, the second year, seven millions more, or twenty-seven millions, under a double pressure on the part of the public creditor?

So that, faithless to a treaty, after a war decidedly engaged in against the sense of the enlightened part of the country, too high spirited in herself to countenance arming a phalanx against the power of one soldier, raised from the ranks by his merit, a point of view in which it is but fair to consider it, and certainly enough to silence all claims to the glory of victory; can we sit quietly down under the weight of burdens in the proportion of near three to one?

I will not however withhold from ministers, on the face of these their own representations, which I have only faithfully transcribed, a just tribute to the manliness they have shown, so superior to themselves on most occasions, in having thrown down the gauntlet, and fairly invited these reflections on their own work.

It is true they have exhibited an elaborate picture; but, through the light thrown upon it in these pages, it will afford at least at

first glance great dissatisfaction in the public mind; and viewed more carefully, as we proceed to examine the back ground, it leaves few, and very faint traces of the fostering hand of government, while a glowing horizon still happily but too distantly presents itself, capable of answering to our most sanguine hopes.

During the year 1816, great praise is given to the chancellor of the exchequer for reducing the amount of the floating unfunded debt, and relieving the money market; but by proceeding you will clearly see it was only to make room for a renewed application to the very same fund the ensuing year; which year opened, as it seems, "by a considerable deficiency, not less than ten per cent. of the whole amount of the public revenue:" and to show the unnatural state into which these transactions reduce the country, while the funds were experiencing an almost unprecedented rise, the poor's rates at least kept pace with them; and, compared with the year when Mr. Pitt first came into power, had risen so as to be nearly in the proportion of ten to one. This has no other than a tendency to show, how a gain to the few is a loss to the many, and that the effects of such a fluctuating state of things ought religiously to be avoided.

But, of all the pretences, that of commencing these boasted reductions at the first possible period is the most extraordinary. Was it before remonstrances were reiterated from the opposition side? Were not those, which have been at length acceded to, such as had been for the most part repeatedly refused?

Parliament, compelled by the general distress, which bore so hard upon the parishes, granted a power to relieve the laboring classes, by the application of a million and a half to the employment of the poor. Nothing is said of the application of this fund, therefore I pass it over in silence.

In enumerating the transactions of this year, the abolition of sinecures is among those, which ministers are pleased to throw in the teeth of opposition, as originating with them, and too insignificant in itself to merit their own particular attention. They compute the amount in round figures at a simple 100,000*l.*; and have the effrontery to add, that "its value is nothing, and upon this score to nothing do they lay their claim." Can such language be tolerated, under their determination to pursue an economical regime?

We are told, "that the year 1818 opened under a more favorable aspect than the preceding;" and, goaded we may suppose under the lash of their political adversaries, "ministers found themselves in a condition of prosecuting their '*resolute purpose*' of reducing the national expenditure." So far from this being acted upon, on the faith of their own statements, they could not

so much as return on their steps, for an increase will appear, on referring to the second chapter of this work.

But supposing the contrary, what were the consequences of this improved condition of the country? Did it strengthen the argument with the chancellor of the exchequer, to throw additional weight on posterity by exchanging three and a half for three per cents.; in fact, no other than borrowing on a half per cent. stock, and still further increasing the interest of the public debt?—the effects of which were evidently more serious than paying a little more or less interest for a limited time upon the issue of exchequer bills. To say the least of it, how contemptible was such a proceeding under the delusive pretence of not adding to the nominal amount of the public debt.

Bystanders see through this quibbling and time-serving, which suit the Jews, the Stock Exchange, and the Bank, while the public are gulled. And it is unfortunately too true (I say it with proper feelings towards men blinded by their interests), that ministers and the monied men play with odds in their favor while the nation loses. The landed proprietors will soon awake from their slumbers, and find the king with barely a name, amusing himself with the mere orders, gewgaws, and insignia of royalty.

Were the public securities left quietly to themselves, to vibrate by natural causes, there would be fair dealing, and a just criterion formed of their real value, by the true test of public prosperity; while nostrums and quacks put nature out of her regular course. If men born and bred in the vortex of corruption looked beyond the moment, they would discover how this undue influence is calculated to deceive even themselves. The misfortune lies perhaps in the debt itself, and is therefore too deep for an immediate remedy. We have few proprietors of land not also largely concerned in the public funds, which neutralizes their powers and claims a divided interest.

It is necessary we should now proceed to the year 1819, when his majesty, then regent, was advised to "congratulate the country upon three new circumstances in the public condition, the withdrawing the army from France, the great reduction of the naval and military establishments, and the progressive improvement of the revenue in all its sources."

The first of these is represented to be a ground of exultation chiefly arising from the circumstance, that "the British government was, by the evacuation of France, necessarily relieved from much extraordinary expenditure, which could not be carried to the account of the payment and sustenance of the troops:" a declaration of so broad a nature, without condescending to enter the least into detail, has naturally excited so much curiosity and

suspicion, that it becomes an imperious duty in ministers to furnish their advocate, the author of the work before us, for the satisfaction of the public, with the fullest explanation on this head.

We shall merely refer to the second article, by questioning the disposition of those, to place things in a right light, who vaunt an excess of three millions and a half, in anticipation of a demand, which comes immediately upon them, of ten millions on the part of the Bank, the half of which was to be provided for this very year.

But so far from "a progressive improvement of the revenue in all its sources," let us compare it with the demands upon it. "The ordinary and extraordinary service of the year was a small excess above thirty millions."

So far from a principle of reduction having effected, as they say, an "aggregate saving on the whole of the estimates, on the account for the year, of above half a million," whoever will take pains to refer to their own statement on the preceding page, will be surprised to find, that in the department of miscellanies there is an evident increase of at least 280,000*l.*, and that, adding the several items together, the augmentation amounts at least to 146,000*l.* (but this will appear better hereafter), besides the interest of exchequer bills for the service of the year.

Whose influence was it in the finance committee, which led to the advice of imposing, after years of peace, new taxes to the amount of 3,000,000*l.*, added to the boasted surplus in the consolidated fund? Secondly, the application of twelve millions of a sacred deposit, more than six-sevenths of its acknowledged amount, and the only honest pledge given of a design to relieve posterity from a burden, which, they pretend at least, they will consider as much their duty to bear, as if it had been contracted by themselves; whether they really do or not will hereafter appear. But it must be further matter of surprise, that these several means, so unprecedented in their nature, were found insufficient in themselves, without recourse to the old leaven of loans and exchequer bills.

On the subject of the taxes, considered in their own nature, can we receive any satisfaction in being told, that of four out of five of these new taxes the chancellor of the exchequer, like a charlatan at a fair, took the money from our pockets without our perceiving it? that he made such a curious selection of the subject matter upon which they were imposed, that the burden is in practice so insensibly felt, that not one person out of five hundred can enumerate the subjects taxed? If we are to pay taxes, like other charges on our establishment, for God's sake let us face the collector: he shall enter by day, rather than like a thief in the night, and open our cellars and storehouses in our presence. Though,

like the assessed taxes, we pay them with grudging, we at least see the account, as we ought to do of every item in the arrangement of our affairs. Hence we are enabled to make such retrenchments as a prudent sense of our condition renders necessary, and as the burdens increase.

Let us ask therefore simply, after a temperate view of the transactions of this year, whether, either in substance or in form, "they have felt it more their duty to act than to talk," or whether, in relation to either the one or the other, they merit the "commemoratio beneficiorum," as the just reward of their public services.

But what do we find in the third report of the junto composing the finance committee?[1]—

"Your committee learn, that works, buildings, extensions, and repairs, have been undertaken and executed, both at home and abroad, in a manner little checked or protected against profusion and waste; in many cases without any estimate or general plan; and sometimes extended, according to a statement of an officer of the ordnance (who attended the committee), as views open during the progress of the work. This irregular mode of proceeding, which unfortunately prevailed during the time that all these large works were begun, has had the effect of keeping the House in total ignorance as to the estimate charge of any one of them."

What shall we say of the minister, but that "the stone shall cry out of the wall against him, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it?"

To crown these brilliant measures, ministers claim for themselves credit for what they are pleased to call another way of exercising their "*resolute purpose*," by introducing the act generally called Mr. Peel's Bill, to restore the currency to its original state. This subject naturally divides itself into two parts; first, the merit in itself, as it may be affected by the laws of justice, which are immutable; and, secondly, its immediate consequences. The victory they pretend to have obtained we shall treat with the contempt it deserves, since no one took up arms to oppose them; and as to those immediately concerned, they made use of every occasion to compliment them on their return to honest principles.[2]

Legalising an alteration in the currency must appear, under an

[1] Who were on the list? Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Peel, Lord Binning, Sir George Clerk, Mr. Holford, Mr. Frankland Lewis, Mr. Hart Davis, Mr. Gooch, Lord Clive, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Wilbraham Bootle Wilbraham. The actors in these scenes speak for themselves, and show the treatment the nation receives from its representatives. They, however, in this solitary instance, have passed a most severe censure on themselves.

[2] When Bonaparte read some ministerial boasting, "Pay your bank notes in gold," said the shrewed usurper, "then I shall believe you really prosper."

impartial view of the subject, morally bad, enabling engagements to be fulfilled between parties on terms certainly not contemplated at the time of the bargain, and therefore exercises an authority to arbitrate accounts between debtor and creditor, with whom the public have no concern; by which one loses what the other gains, and by no act of their own. In order to set this matter in a clear light, we will suppose, for example, by the effect of the restriction, in round numbers, the change for a one pound note is twenty shillings, and for a sovereign thirty in the market. I had in corn, the value of which was yesterday 2000*l.*, to day 3000*l.* I owe as much, and am just clear of the world. Had I made arrangements with my creditors yesterday, I should still be 1000*l.* in their debt; but, thanks to the restriction, I am exonerated from any claims upon me by an "ex post facto" law, and my creditors are defrauded.

Then how was it with the public creditor? His income was virtually reduced while his dividends were paid in paper, by the rise in the markets proportioned to the depreciations in the currency. Nor did the base paper which he received, or the base manner in which he was deprived of any redress, establish his confidence in public faith. In this instance, as well as what related to the income tax, as affecting funded property, whether belonging to absentees or not, the public creditor could not feel himself otherwise than at least disappointed, after all the methodistical cant by which his interest had, above all others, been attempted to be supported; both these acts operated therefore in violation of a principle pretended to be held sacred.

But, in the second place, we had proposed to consider the immediate consequence of this measure; and it should be understood particularly to relate to how far the revenue has been virtually increased by returning to cash payments. And of this there can be no doubt, in the proportion above described of three to two. Therefore, before we carry the justification of ministers through the whole piece, as they pretend it originated in themselves, let us take the trouble to inquire, whether, in their furor for reductions, they have manifested their "*resolute purpose*" to arrive at this desirable object, by eagerly embracing so favorable a moment for lessening the public burdens to an amount equal to the difference between taxes received in gold or in the depreciated currency. The return to cash payments approaching, and being provided for, gold became of the same value as the paper which represented it. In short, when government received twenty shillings in the form of taxes, it was no longer twenty shillings of a mere nominal, but of an effective value, so materially was the revenue improved. Yet, in spite of economy, the succeeding year of 1820 was ushered in

with an increased demand on the public of 300,000*l.*, as the total amount of the ordinary service and the total supply experienced no sensible diminution. The ways and means were the same, and therefore required the same animadversion, and a double sense of obloquy, on the part of those capable of inquiring into their merits; and, what is still more extraordinary, they have the effrontery to introduce the ways and means of this year as no other than the usual manner of proceeding, though the last year was the first, and the present but the second attempt of the kind, in appropriating the sinking fund.

We have little to remark on 1820, as they appear only to have returned to the estimate of 1818, with this simple difference, that they thought proper to apply an additional million of the said fund over the last and preceding year, *viz.* thirteen millions.

In proceeding at last to a more general view of the subject before us, we shall agree most cordially in granting, that at the conclusion of the war our forces were great and complicated; that officers and men deserved well of their country; and that "at the end of no former war were such establishments to be reduced, and so many soldiers and sailors to be thrown upon the agriculture of the country." But what is the natural inference to be drawn? Can any thing appear more a matter of course, in answer to this part of the subject, than the larger the pitcher the more can be spared? Let the quantity be measured out which can be spared, as the enormity of the expenses incurred during the war requires no less than suitable reductions at the peace.

On the contrary, we are taught to believe in the urgent necessity of continuing a certain extended scale of expense, on the absurd ground, "that *innovation* is already at work in every part of Europe.[1]

The charge is too true; the danger imminent. But to whom can we attribute it, to the people or their government? Will troops preserve tranquillity; or, oppressed like the people, and of the same species, fraternize with them, and achieve the consolidation of their power? What is the end of civil government, but strength and security for every individual under the empire of laws, in framing which both the soldier and the citizen enjoy their full share.

[1] Rebellion is when bands of men within a state oppose themselves with violence to the general will, as implied or expressed by the public authority. But the sense of a whole people, peaceably collected, and operating by its natural and certain effect upon the public counsel, is not rebellion, but the parent of authority itself. Reform in the commons of parliament might be obtained by that which must and will in the end obtain every thing from any government, however constituted, the slow, gradual, and progressive effect of public opinion.—*See Lord Erskine on the State Trials.*

The cultivator gathers fruit in the ripening season; the enlightened statesman does the same with *reformation*, the growing fruit of an improving order of things. Obstruct or accelerate its natural progress, *innovation* follows, like fruit not gathered in due season. The one may be compared to a wholesome and nourishing aliment, greedily devoured by the people to satisfy the ameliorating condition and taste of society; the other the cause of the destruction of a barrier chosen for its defence, under conflicting elements which separate a people from its government.

*Reformation*, owing to that natural and uninterrupted stream of gradual improvement which takes place in human affairs, grew and florished under British protection in North America; but, neglected to be gathered, became *innovation*, and fell like decayed fruit from the tree. It has been the same with the Spanish and Portuguese settlements: and however these convulsive movements in the order of nature may eventually conduct to the most important ends, it becomes our short-sighted views of the administration of human affairs carefully and assiduously to avoid precipices; though, under the dispensations of an all-wise Providence, we may plunge ourselves and others into a calm.

It is happy if great changes in civil institutions are brought about, without so far separating, in the minds of individuals, a sense of interest from that of duty, as to produce a state of weakness, to which in such a case they must momentarily tend, providing certain incentives to evil, and hiding places for the guilty.

The peninsula of Europe has experienced at least some shades of suffering in these respects; but on the whole, in a general view, presents to kings and their ministers a lesson of experience, superior to any example hitherto set before them. The reflecting part of these kingdoms, obedient to the seasons, are happily conducting, by gigantic strides, through the lights of our day, these people to a prudent course; and with a dignified moderation, becoming true loyalty;[2] they are attempting to preserve the authority of their chiefs, flattering themselves with the cheerful hope, however distant, that ancient prejudices may be abandoned, to give place to the united power, moderation, and security of states. These changes, synonimous with *reformation*, are natural in their course; but when interfered with by the most skilful artisan, its certain

[2] The old French word "loisulte" was first introduced to us by the adherents of Charles the First, after his inter-marriage with Henrietta of France, to signify a firm and inviolable attachment, and includes the "quand même" in the modern lexicon of that nation. We would be understood to use it in its general acceptation—an habitual attachment to the authority of our chiefs.

consequence is the annihilation of the throne. And we shall further remark, that it is among the many consolations, provided for by the frame-work of civil society, that it instructs us of this imperious truth, that if any thing exceeds the inward satisfaction arising from a gentle exercise of power, armed with justice, in kings, it is the spontaneous manifestation of gratitude in their people. How differently are our feelings awakened by the iron sceptre held over the corn fields of Poland, and the cradle of the arts. Ultras may forge fetters, and despise the inward man, not yet subject to their control; and though we see them industriously at work, their empire will be short, under existing circumstances. This we presume, by a generous reader, will hardly be thought extraneous matter, unfit to be introduced; but we will return to the task we had more immediately imposed upon ourselves.

In considering the resources of the country, the commerce, the navigation, the manufactures, the internal trade, considered as a whole, and not in detail, ministers, or rather the brilliant pen of their advocate, has drawn a most animating picture, perhaps with few exceptions a true one, of public prosperity. For though he has looked up many avenues of beautiful perspective with Herschell's magnifying powers, there are more of these avenues, to which his attention has never been drawn. But however narrow may have been the scale of his observations, we see, under the heads here enumerated, "that our funds of commerce and industry exist in the same vigor and integrity as during the war;" that the cotton manufactures alone, which may be taken as a broad example, constituting in themselves more than half our foreign exportation trade, have increased from seventeen to twenty-three millions; and it is but fair and candid to admit, which we cheerfully do, that if these general statements bear them out under a closer investigation, they are the more extraordinary, from a gradual and unprecedented diminution of prices, felt as affecting every article of trade.

We are prepared to contemplate an inexhaustible source of exultation, in our future prospects; which feeling must animate the breast of every Englishman proud of his country. In the hope, that the conveniences and comforts, to be enjoyed down to the lowest, may answer to the most sanguine expectations, under the protection of wholesome laws, and less profusion and excess in the habits of those looked up to, as examples to others.

To what can we attribute this happy condition of things? Certainly not to a narrow, time-serving policy, but to the people as a mass; to a high state of refinement as respects the sciences and the arts, which directs not only our war tactics; but, above all, that enterprising spirit as to general concerns, which every where

prevails; in short, the genius of the age in which we live; so proud an eminence, when it acquires a certain consistency, increases by an improving ratio. Greece and Rome were examples of it. In short, there is a principle continually operating, which cannot fail to weaken the effects of an illiberal policy, to which, if not thoroughly watched, men are too often tending when invested with power.

Adam Smith has well explained it, "that the habitual efforts of every individual to better his own condition, when suffered to exert itself with freedom and security, is so powerful a principle, that it is alone, and without any assistance, not only capable of carrying on the society to wealth and prosperity, but of surmounting a hundred impertinent obstructions, with which the folly of human laws too often incumbers its operations; though the effect of these obstructions is always more or less either to encroach upon its freedom or to diminish its security."

In short, the flame of intellect disseminates so vivid a light through the atmosphere of these realms, as to leave us assurances, that we may be guided even through the rather discouraging observations which conclude this part of the subject.

They say "it is notorious, that the accumulated stock of our manufacturers and merchants has diminished at least thirty per cent., and that a capitalist, who ten years since was worth 20,000*l.* in the value of his stock in hand, is now not worth 14,000*l.*; or, to adopt a popular term, has suffered an extinction of a third."

Evils are not without their compensation and grace to lessons of experience. Ministers are become more moderate in their views, notwithstanding the zenith of power on which this country is seated; they confidently assert, "that the system of loans and new taxes has reached its termination; that we are now living upon our income, and are in condition yearly of redeeming some part of a mortgage, which undoubtedly presses heavily on the industry of he people."

As to the latter observation, certain rapacious hands have applied the substance and left only the shadow, provided for this object, by their predecessors in office, in the instance of the sinking fund, the inviolability of which had been established for years as a principle, and from which they had pledged themselves never to depart. Can it be necessary to explain so simple a proposition, that the only way to pay off is to lessen the debt? That to pay one and borrow four is not paying, but borrowing three; a system of mischievous jobs, by which the friends of ministers, and ministers themselves, command the markets, at the expense of opening a dangerous door to corruption, by which crowds of hungry mouths gain admission, and gape for food, gathered from the spoils of their country.

To conclude, we find in the appendix the most absurd boasting, as to "*the wonder of wonders of wonders*" introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer, into his new system, "namely, to meet the expenditure of the year by the actual money income, without the aid of loans, or new taxes; but to maintain the sinking fund of five millions, and with that amount, increased by gradual reduction in the expenditure, and by the progressive productiveness of the sources of the revenue, to operate from time to time in the money market, in buying up, exchanging, and reducing the public stocks, so as to reduce the capital debt from a higher to a lower denomination of stock."

What more is implied in this unmeaning waste of words, than meeting the expenditure without the aid of loans; and, leaving a very minute portion of the sinking fund to operate as formerly? Why take from the merit of the ministers of George the First, and the last of the illustrious house of Brunswick in whose reign government adopted this first part of what Mr. Vansittart vainly calls "*his new system*," and religiously adhered to it, as long as it continued, during a period of thirty-three years, without ever troubling themselves with the law or equity of the case, whether children collectively, any more than individually, are bound to pay the debts of their fathers? As to the rest of this grand system, this dereliction of principle, it entirely originates with themselves: the great besom with which they clear out the corners of the treasury, without sweeping them absolutely clean.

To illustrate this by an example. The only general principle of finance, which can be attributed to the sagacity of the present government, and acted upon up to this day (for as to the future, they confidently assert that it cannot be pursued), is comprehended in the spirit of the late measure for providing for the pension list, to drive off the evil day, to extend the periods of our payments, and to leave as little as they decently can for the liquidation of the debt: whereas, not "*an income tax*," which they were forced to abandon, but a *property tax*, properly so denominated, rated on capital, and not on the industry and rising spirit of the country, is now without exception admitted among all ranks to be the fairest in its principle of any impost whatever, on every possible ground, and would meet all the exigencies of the state in peace or in war, under certain regulations, and established on a principle of accumulating ratio, on a geometrical scale. This has been fully explained by the writer in a publication which has appeared in different forms, and particularly in the Monthly Magazine of June, 1820, page 426.[1]

[1] Nearly half the revenue of France arises from "l'impôt foncière," being a property tax, equally on all lands, houses, manufactories, and every

The system of finance, under the wiser administration of men dear to their country, Mr. Fox, and after him Mr. Percival, was, boldly to face the enemy, instead of shrinking from their duty; and if the demands upon the revenue were ever so great, it is admitted, that they had determined "to raise as much as possible of the total expenditure within the year."

Whoever administers the affairs of Great Britain must now, at last, profit by following their illustrious example; as those gentlemen now in power do not conceal the truth, when having at last "confidently asserted, that the system of loans has reached its termination."

Had they sooner been convinced of their error the debt would have been no further increased by their means. We should have been living all along, as they at length pretend we are now doing, on our income, or rather revenue,[1] which, unfortunately, however, they require should be on an ample scale. For, a nondescript order of beings in themselves, without any extraordinary redundancy of talent, illustrious birth, or even fair character, in order to preserve their places, they have too many powerful friends to conciliate in the money market, to observe a strict economy in the public service.

There is, however, one solitary question, lately too much agitated apart from general principles, on which it is but bare justice to say they have manfully supported the dignity of the country, in opposing the short-sighted views of their country friends, whose liberal ideas, if any they possess, must wholly be attributed to the

species of rent, except interest of money; and we never see a finger held up against it.

At Hamburgh, every inhabitant was obliged to pay to the state one fourth per cent. of all that he possessed, and as the wealth of the people of Hamburgh consists principally in stock, this tax may be considered as a tax upon stock: every man assesses himself, and in the presence of the magistrate puts annually into the public coffer a certain sum of money, which he declares upon oath to be one fourth per cent. of all that he possesses, without declaring what it amounts to, or being liable to examination on that subject. This tax was generally supposed to be paid with great fidelity.

At Zurich the law ordered, that in cases of necessity every one should be taxed in proportion to his revenue, the amount of which he is obliged to declare upon oath.—*Mémoires concernant les Droits*, tom. i, p. 74, 163, 166, 174.

In Holland, soon after the restoration of the Prince of Orange to the Stadtholdership, a tax of two per cent. or the fiftieth penny, as it was called, was imposed upon the whole substance of every artisan. Every citizen assessed himself, and paid his tax in the same manner as at Hamburgh, and it was generally supposed to have been paid with great fidelity.—*Adam Smith*, vol. iii.

[1] For experience has taught us, as in the years 1813, 1814, and 1815, the revenue might exceed the income.

company they keep. Ministers have shown themselves disposed to despise so meddling a spirit, by the apathy they have exhibited, in turning nearly a deaf ear to their remonstrances. Is not it folly to conceive, that the pressure of taxation, or divers other evils, bear in the main harder upon the farmer than his neighbours? The produce of a farm must calculate employment of capital, a living profit, wear and tear, as well as labor and other charges, including poor's rates and tithes, before the rent can be estimated; and this alone will establish the just value of the land. If a landlord receives more, neither the laws of God or nature will justify him in so doing, and the onus will not fall where it ought. On the contrary, if he rest contented with what in all reason is his due, the farmer and his family are not oppressed by him. The agriculturist has always a source of consolation peculiar to his own case—he rests on the powerful arm of his landlord, who ought to live so far within his means as to be capable of assisting him.

Doing what has been equivalent to reducing his assessed taxes to the half, is, after this manner of reasoning, no other than a bonus to the landlord. It would not have been too much to have ceded the whole, in common with the other classes, who are at least equally oppressed by them.

But further, as the pamphlet which we confine ourselves to answer, terminates with a few observations on this said agricultural distress, without contemplating any adequate measures of relief, it shall not be said that the cause is entirely abandoned; for we, who profess to feel as the nation, have devoted a third chapter exclusively to this subject; and, if it were not too presuming, promise ourselves we have pointed out the source of the evil, and with a double dash of the pen provided the simplest means of remedy for what the landlord himself may be supposed to suffer from low prices.

## CHAPTER II.

### FINANCE (CONTINUED).

The preface implies, that our purpose in this place is to consider the subject in a more confined sense, as it relates to matters of account. Our attention is immediately directed, by the work before us, to "what reductions have been made by his majesty's ministers in the annual expenditure of the country, from the conclusion of the war to the present period." In so doing, we have thought it best, in order to save trouble to the reader, to comprise, in the form of the following Table, a succinct view of each year respectively, collected from what the author has diffused through his several pages. And the gross and palpable errors to be af-

terwards pointed out, by comparing their own statements as here exhibited, can hardly be believed, by people the least conversant in the nature of accounts, and accuracy required in laying them officially before the public. We shall bring to our assistance no documents not referred to in the work itself. Our object is simply to point out, as obviously as we can, the extravagance of their own contradictions, some of which are really too manifest not to be imputed to design. As to the Table itself, excepting as to what appears in *Italics*, each article will be found faithfully extracted from the work in question.

TABLE.—1816.

p. 18. The supply of the army was taken at 10,564,000*l.*; navy 9,430,000*l.*; ordnance exceeded 1,500,000*l.*; miscellanies had been estimated at 2,500,000*l.* p. 47. The total of the ordinary expenditure (for army, navy, ordnance, and miscellaneous) was 24,887,000, *but which is too much, upon adding these sums together, by nearly a million.* p. 17. We find the whole supply of the year 27,000,000*l.*

1817.

p. 18. The army was taken at a small excess above 9,000,000*l.*: (p. 23) it had been 9,080,000*l.*: navy was reduced to 6,000,000*l.*: but (p. 24) we read the supply was 7,596,000*l.*, which included a sum for the reduction of the navy debt: *this certainly requires a little more explanation.* p. 19. Ordnance, from exceeding 1,500,000*l.* was reduced by nearly half a million; while (p. 24) we find the ordnance was 1,270,000*l.* p. 19. Miscellanies were reduced to 1,700,000*l.*: however, in p. 24 we read they were 1,795,000*l.*, and that the total of the supply for these four branches had been a small excess above 20,000,000*l.* *This does not correspond; for taking the navy as stated one way, the total is no more than* 17,965,000*l.*, *and the other* 19,561,000*l.* p. 19. The total supply was a small excess above 22,000,000*l.*

1818.

p. 24. The army was 8,900,000*l.* p. 30. The supply taken for the army was 8,970,000*l.* p. 24 and 30. Navy was 6,456,000*l.*, ordnance 1,245,000*l.*, miscellanies 1,720,000*l.*; which makes in the whole 18,391,000*l.* *In this we do not vary very much*, for they call it (p. 24 and 47) a small excess above 18,000,000*l.*; *and* which, *they say*, makes a saving of nearly 2,000,000*l.* upon the former year. *In this, however, it must be seen we differ very widely indeed.*

p. 46. The total of the ordinary and extraordinary supply was 20,900,000*l.*

1819.

p. 30 and 41. The army was 8,900,000*l.* p. 30. Navy, 6,436,000*l.*; but (p. 41) had been 6,400,000*l.* p. 30. Ordnance diminished to 1,191,000*l.*; but (p. 41) had been only 1,190,000*l.* p. 31. Miscellanies were 1,950,000*l.*; but (p. 41) on making up the account for the year were a small excess beyond 2,000,000*l.*; *which several sums may be fairly taken as a whole at* 18,527,000*l.*, *with which they agree nearly*, calling it (p. 31) a small excess above 18,400,000*l.* *They state also* (p. 41), that the total amount of the annual ordinary service of the year had been 20,400,000*l.* and a small fraction; and the whole sum to be raised for the ordinary and extraordinary service was a small excess above 30,000,000*l.*

1820.

p. 41. The army was 9,500,000*l.*; but (p. 45) it was this and a fraction, Navy 6,500,000*l.* and a fraction. p. 41. Ordnance had been 1,190,000*l.*, and was this year nearly the same; whereas (p. 45) it had been nearly 1,200,000*l.* p. 41. Miscellanies were 2,500,000*l.*; though (p. 45) we read 2,400,000*l.* and a fraction. *Therefore they are nearly correct in saying* (p. 44) that the total for the four ordinary divisions of the annual expenditure had exceeded 19,600,000*l.* The total supply (p. 41), including a sum for the reduction of the unfunded debt, was 29,700,000*l.*; (p. 44) when making up the accounts of the year appeared to be 30,000,000*l.*

1821.

p. 45. The army was taken at 8,700,000*l.*; navy 6,500,000*l.* and a fraction; ordnance 1,195,000*l.*; miscellanies 1,900,000*l.*; amounting in the whole, as they say (p. 44), to 18,000,000*l.* (*though it is something more*); and in this year it seems the total supply did not exceed 20,000,000*l.*; a reduction of demand, as they say, on the resources of the country, of 10,000,000*l.* *How does this appear, when we have shown, from their own statements* (p. 19), that the total supply for the year 1817 was but a small excess above 22,000,000*l.*, and (p. 46) the total of the ordinary and extraordinary supply for 1818 was but 20,900,000*l.*? *Had they not stated this simple sum of* 10,000,000*l.*, *as a reduction of demand generally on the resources of the country, but on the increased expenditure of the year immediately preceding, consequent on the glorious epoch of the coronation of his present majesty, the matter*

*would be better understood, and less surprise excited among his loyal subjects.*

Now for an impartial examination into this account, as compared with their deductions.

1. p. 18. The supply of the army for the first year, 1816, was taken at 10,564,000*l.*; in 1817 at a small excess beyond 9,000,000*l.* This loose estimate, however, explains itself (p. 23) by stating what the supply really was viz. 9,080,000*l.* From which it is pretended, going back to p. 18, that a reduction was effected of nearly 2,000,000*l.*; by some new rule of subtraction, certainly not according to Cocker, unless 1,484,000*l.* comes so near the amount as hardly to make any important difference in the business of finance.

2. In referring to the same page, we find the supply of the navy for the year 1817 was reduced to 6,000,000*l.*; but on proceeding to p. 24, the supply had increased to 7,596,000*l.*, which included a sum for the reduction of the navy debt; and that in 1818 it was 6,456,000*l.*, inferring a saving of nearly a million. Now the generality of our readers, if in their right senses, would certainly have made the comparison with the net sum referred to in the former page, rather than to a sum comprising an extraneous charge upon it; and what in such case would be the natural conclusion? That, instead of a saving of nearly one million, there was an increase of nearly half a million.

In showing progressive reductions from year to year, the rule prescribed is, that the sum deducted from the first year is the sum from which the third year is to be deducted. See therefore three successive years in their statement of the supply for the navy.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| p. 18. | 1816 was taken at . . . . . | £. 9,434,000 |
| | 1817 was reduced to . . . . . | 6,000,000 |
| p. 24. | 1818 was . . . . . | 6,456,000 |

and nothing is more clear, than that an increase in this department of 456,000*l.* followed the reduction which took place the preceding year.

But view this determination to embarrass the question in another light. P. 24 we read, "in the navy, the supply for 1817 was 7,596,000*l.*, which included a sum for the reduction of the navy debt. In 1818 it was 6,456,000*l.*, being, as they say, a saving of *nearly* one million in the navy." Hence, independent of the sum appropriated to the reduction of the debt, the supply must certainly have been, for the year 1817, *nearly* one million more than the succeeding year, or *nearly* 7,456,000*l.* But why so, when in p. 18 we find it had been reduced to 6,000,000*l.*?

*To show, by an attempt to mislead, that the reduction in this year was greater than the reality by a million and a half.*

3. We come to examine the unaccountable falsity of the declaration made (p. 24), "that for the year 1817, the total of these four branches of the expenditure (viz. army, navy, ordnance, and miscellanies) had been a small excess above 20,000,000*l.* For the year 1818 the same supply was a small excess above 18,000,000*l.*, a saving of nearly two millions upon the former year." What the separate articles of navy and ordnance were in the year 1817, as we have before observed, is not quite so clear as the subject requires. But as to the one, we shall adhere to their statement (p. 18), instead of involving it in an extraneous charge, which appears not to belong to the ordinary annual expenditure of these departments; and as to the other, p. 19, we are led to understand, that the ordnance for 1817 was reduced from a million and a half by nearly half a million, or was in fact about a million; but we will give them credit for its being, according to p. 24, 1,270,000*l.* See the Table.

| | 1817. | 1818. |
|---|---|---|
| Army | £. 9,080,000 | £. 8,970,000 |
| Navy | 6,000,000 | 6,456,000 |
| Ordnance | 1,270,000 | 1,245,000 |
| Miscellanies | 1,795,000 | 1,720,000 |
| | 18,145,000 | 18,391,000 |
| | | 18,145,000 |
| | | 246,000 |

So that, instead of a saving of 2,000,000*l.*, these totals, deducted from each other, leave an increase of 246,000*l.*

4. p. 31. They say, "the aggregate saving on the whole of the estimates in the account of the year 1819 was about half a million;" whereas, according to the several items enumerated in their preceding page, it will be shown, that, instead of any reduction, it presents an excess of 86,000*l.* See the extracts from the Table.

| | 1818. | 1819. |
|---|---|---|
| Army | £. 8,970,000 | £. 8,900,000 |
| Navy | 6,456,000 | 6,436,000 |
| Ordnance | 1,245,000 | 1,191,000 |
| Miscellanies | 1,720,000 | 1,950,000 |
| | 18,391,000 | 18,477,000 |

But if we allow, instead of 1,950,000*l.* for the year 1819, under the article of miscellanies, as here stated, that the real amount was a small excess beyond 2,000,000*l.*, as we find, in p. 41, the augmentation on the general estimate over the preceding year equals at least 200,000*l.*, or nearly a quarter of a million of excess, instead of half a million of reduction. How it can have been thought prudent to send forth to the public such egregious errors in the account, remains for the authorised advocate of ministers to explain.

5. We are not teaching arithmetic to children, or concerning ourselves with trifles: the finances of at least the most powerful empire in the world, the annual expenditure of which, with all their boasted economy, has exceeded the sum total of all the other states of Europe—it is this we are contemplating, and it is this which they have pretended fully to explain, and to a farthing. In the conclusion (p. 47) let us see how far this demi-official production continues to answer our hopes in this respect. They confine themselves to the ordinary expenditure for the army, navy, ordnance, and miscellanies. The total for 1817 was 20,000,000*l.* This varies from their statement of the particular items (p. 24), for (see the Table) taking the navy at the least, it is no more than 17,965,000*l.*; but taking it at the most, with the sum for the reduction of the navy debt, we find it only 19,561,000*l.* p. 47. They say, the total for the year 1818 was a small excess above 18,000,000*l.*: whereas, if we consult the several items separately (p. 30) we find the amount to be 18,391,000*l.*: 1819, they say, was nearly the same. In fact, according to their own account (p. 30), there appears only an increase of 99,000*l.*: therefore we proceed to 1820 (p. 47), which they call a small excess above 19,000,000*l.* Now the public would hardly believe, by turning back to p. 41, that the several items added together complete a sum above 19,600,000*l.*; and therefore, that this small excess reaches 600,000*l.*: to corroborate which (p. 44) we find they agree that it has even exceeded this amount, for (in this page) the total for the four ordinary divisions of the annual expenditure, the army, navy, ordnance, and miscellanies, had exceeded 19,600,000*l.*

6. But now for the most important point to which they have challenged our attention, viz. as to what reductions they have made progressively. p. 47. They say, a small addition which took place in 1820 was thrown off the following year; therefore, it should seem very properly to appear, that they profess not to extend the merit of their claims to the gratitude of the nation beyond the years 1817, 1818, and 1819. Let us extract their own words: after enumerating the total amounts of the expendi-

ture for each year respectively, they say, "being a reduction in 1817 of 5,000,000*l.*, in 1818 of 2,000,000*l.*, in 1819 of the same." Could, therefore, any sober man in England, with the use of his vernacular tongue, understand the total of the reductions for these three years to be less than 9,000,000*l.* ? But, on the contrary, we shall see the truth by referring to the table before us.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1816. (p. 47) We find the total to be 24,887,000*l.*; but looking to p. 18, in adding each article, the amount is . . . . . | £.23,994,000 |
| 1817. (p. 24) They say, the total supply for these four branches had been a small excess above 20,000,000*l.* To avoid the dispute whether the sum for the reduction of the navy debt belongs to it or not, we take it as such, . . . . . | 20,000,000 |
| Reduction this year . . . . . | 3,994,000 |
| 1818. Here we do not vary very much, for they call the total (p. 24 and 47) a small excess above 18,000,000*l.*, which in adding up the several articles (p. 24 and 30) amounts to 18,391,000*l.*: it seems, therefore, that the reduction this year is . . . . | 1,609,000 |
| | 5,603,000 |
| 1819. By computing the several items (p. 30 and 41) we find the total for these four branches of the ordinary service may be taken at 18,527,000*l.*, which proves an augmentation in this year, under the most favorable view, of . . . . . | 156,000 |
| Therefore, even according to their own account, though they would make appear reductions to the amount of 9,000,000*l.*, the nearest the truth reduces itself to . . . . . | 5,447,000 |

As to the sums of 6,000,000*l.* (p. 18), and 7,596,000*l.* (p. 24), given respectively as the expenditure of the navy for 1817, they could only be so introduced, like many other acts and speeches of the present administration, to throw the real question into complete confusion, and to cover the inconsistencies of the finance committee from the moment it entered upon its labors; for from this period until that of its happy dissolution, when impartially viewed, it will be found we had only recommendations; and, instead of reductions, a gradual increase took place in the ordinary annual service for the four departments of army, navy, ordnance, and miscellanies: and what is more remarkable, it

was the same in the general expenditure of the kingdom. Let us refer to the several items in each year, which have been before enumerated, from the table, page by page, and founded on their own statements alone.

| For the Years | Ordinary Service of the four Branches. | General Expenditure. |
|---|---|---|
| 1817 | £.18,145,000 | £.68,571,000 |
| 1818 | 18,391,000 | 68,821,000 |
| 1819 | 18,527,000 | 69,494,000 |
| 1820 | 19,600,000 | 70,850,000 |

Being an increase of nearly 2,500,000*l.* in the general expenditure, and nearly 1,500,000*l.* in the ordinary service of the four branches since the date of the first economical report, in the recollection of our readers, when the opinion of the committee was emphatically expressed, as to the necessity of approximating as nearly as possible to the establishment of 1792. And further, it stands uncontradicted, that the very last year, of 1821, there was a larger disposable force, available for the purposes of government, by 132,367 men. And that though the supplies voted for the military establishment at the former period had not exceeded 2,331,149*l.*, it had then increased to 9,500,216*l.*; notwithstanding the point of approximation, to which the eye of parliament and the country were directed, by the advice of their committee, was the sum of 4,123,000*l.*

Had not the author of the pamphlet before us shown too much discretion to engage our attention on so delicate a subject as the civil establishment, our observations on this branch of the public expenditure might be read with interest. It stood, at the period of the peace of 1792, at 1,003,000*l.*; but pending those three years of renown, when we were under the special protection of the finance committee, rose from 1,885,000*l.* to 2,090,000*l.*

We may presume, that enough appears in this faithful representation of facts to convince the whole world how disingenuous are the pains which are taken to conceal from the public, in spite of lessons of economy, the increasing profusion of government.

## CHAP. III.

### AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS, OR THE INTEREST OF THE LANDLORD CONSIDERED.

THE concluding passage to the first chapter on finance led us into an engagement, which we would fain flatter ourselves will not be disappointed in the following pages: and though with real deference to the public we are presumptive enough hardly to doubt of complete success, we see difficulty in giving sufficient circulation even to an argument calculated to place the subject in an acceptable point of view.

Our strength principally consists in the impression already made by a striking picture, where the features of the wealthy landlord exhibit traces of mortifying disappointment at being doomed to suffer all the losses, which are falling on his tenants. It is not therefore to them, but to him, that we offer support; and should we be so fortunate in our endeavours as to point out the means of relief, it is his gratitude alone that we have any right to claim.

A consultation of mediocrity has been held, from one adjournment to another, probably waiting to see what turn the disorder might take; certain medicaments were prescribed and administered; the one to excite a desire to ride on horseback, the other entered into the ingredientsof their beer, possibly to encourage them to drink freely; for they have since experienced the inconvenience of a total incapacity to explain the symptoms of their case to the faculty; nor have they been persuaded to swallow a single dose lately recommended by the members of this learned consult, in their separate capacities. Divided in opinion, they had not been able to act as a body.

So little, therefore, having been effected by the wisdomof our counsels, it becomes us to consider whether those engaged in this important inquiry were not guided by their own several interests, in not taking a wider field, making out a general case, and putting the axe to the root of the tree. The tree, however, which bears such evil fruit, is still standing, and the task must fall upon others.

The inquiry divides itself into two parts; first the nature of the intercourse in agricultural and other raw produce between ourselves and our neighbours, and in our intercourse abroad; or the home and foreign trade in raw produce; and, secondly, the extent and species of capital, or confidence subsisting between

dealers, which answers instead of capital, with which the trade is carried on.

As to the first, we shall treat it as becomes every subject which falls under consideration, particularly one of so much importance as the economy of states, both in a moral and political point of view.

A mind properly directed embraces the well-being of all susceptible nature, and particularly the human species; the general happiness of which being most within our sphere, ought to precede all other considerations. And amongst the surest means of arriving at this desirable end, is to throw the fewest obstacles in the way of obtaining subsistence; above all in what appertains to the necessaries of life. We may safely class all the produce of the farm under this head. Besides, it comprises much more than half our national industry, or the means of employment.

While they whisper, that "a general confederation of Europe may move up in defence of the common tranquillity" (see p. 85), why not extend so liberal a principle, connected with general happiness, to the means of subsistence, and banish want from our doors, while we have determined to live together in peace?

Inhabiting, as we do, a climate certainly not the most favored by nature, the superiority we have acquired as to our manufactures may entitle us, as an object of taste at least, to give this branch of our national industry certain peculiar protection, without the danger of incurring the resentment of our neighbours. But why should it extend to the necessaries, or even comforts of life, which are the common wants of us all? Temperature and soils, and the temptations there are to explore the bowels of the earth and the ocean, vary everywhere. If other nations like ourselves have wants, which exceed their means of supply, the arts of navigation should come reciprocally to the general aid. We find corn from Poland to the Crimea; both corn and rice in America; oil and wine in Italy, France, and the Peninsula of Europe; wool from the latter country and Saxony, so essential to our fine cloths; cotton from the Brazils and other warm climates, necessary to the support of at least the half of our valuable exportation trade; Russia, Sweden, and Norway furnish hemp, flax, iron, timber, and the juices of their pines for our shipping; from the two Indies we are amply supplied with all colonial produce. And what do these countries take from us in return? Our surplus growth, and, what is of more importance, the produce of those rich veins with which Great Britain abounds; and our staple manufactures, perhaps enhanced in value in the proportion of ten to one, by the industry and ingenuity of the lower classes; which has the ad-

vantage of securing their loyalty and attaching them to the general welfare of the community at large.

Why should a nation, at present happily in friendly relations with others, entertain so absurd a policy as to shut their ports against neighbours by high duties or prohibitory laws? A commercial country above all seeks to encourage others to become commercial. Were the whole world open to ships under every *pavillon*, a nation, with the superior advantages we enjoy, reaps the first fruits. Restraints are therefore generally bad, though bounties might possibly be renewed without danger; but we must fear this even rather deviates from the general principle of noninterference. What succeeds with individuals in pursuit of their particular interests may be applied to national policy; and we have often known this expedient resorted to among dealers to rid the market of a surplus quantity, in various trades, that what remained in the market might obtain better prices. Such bounties may be permanent as heretofore, or be granted only at low prices, or even be proportioned to the average price of the market when under some given standard. There are perhaps ten arguments against bounties, but twenty for them, while, in comparison with our neighbours, we pay, on every kind of produce of our soil and industry, a much heavier species of excise, under the general head of taxation: but it is evident these bounties should not exceed a fair retribution. Such encouragement might preserve the lands in cultivation, support the demand for labor, and perhaps even relieve the poor's rates very sensibly. It might be safe to extend this principle to grain, perhaps even to stock and other produce of the farm; for while the ports are open to a free import on the one hand, nothing is to be feared from a forced exportation on the other. At Amsterdam, where there is the greatest trade in corn, markets fluctuate less than in any other port in Europe.[1]

It is needless to add, that a free trade would co-operate with our navigation laws in extending the demand for our shipping, and assist in maintaining our naval superiority; but above all, the farmer would be placed in respect to his produce in his natural position, and even, if certain bounties were granted, enjoy a superior encouragement on the part of government: he would grow no more corn than is precisely proportioned, in a relative view, to our atmosphere, soil, and climate. On this system all countries would be on a fair balance, to produce what suited them best, and

[1] Que la disette du grain règne dans les quatre parties du monde, vous trouverez du froment, du seigle et d'autres grains à Amsterdam; ils n'y manquent jamais.—*La Richesse de la Hollande*, tom. 1. p. 376.

such articles only as would find a preference in the general market.

By such an enlightened policy, the consumer, who on Christian principles we feel to be our neighbour, whether in England, France, or in Greece, is furnished on fair terms, and no distress could possibly occur but where it would be immediately relieved: for the foreign merchant, whatever country he may inhabit between the Poles, finds his interest in contributing, free from restraints, equally to the wants and enjoyments of all neighbouring states. Though we cannot command the seasons, changes will take place everywhere; yet there is always abundant food in the world, so that we may enjoy constant plenty, by abandoning narrow principles, and taking heed not to control the circulation of what the benevolent wisdom of Providence has designed for the use of all: which corresponds with an observation of Count de Verri, "that it is a melancholy error to suppose, that the nations of the Earth are condemned to throw the dice to determine which of them shall submit to famine."

In 1800, when the crops in Great Britain were so extremely deficient, they were exceedingly abundant in Spain; but the harvest of 1803, so productive here, was so deficient in Spain as to produce famine.

It is hoped, that what has been here briefly introduced, corroborated as it decidedly is by the testimony of all writers deemed worthy of being quoted as authorities, will be a death blow to the corn bill, against the avowed sense of the whole country, and opposed even to the private opinions of ministers themselves, except on the state ground, adapted to too many cases, that of keeping their places. In short, it has made us a host of enemies abroad, fixed on the government of the country an eternal reproach, and accelerated its natural consequence, agricultural distress. It is only continued as a boon to certain persons, who are too blind to see how heavy a calamity it brings upon themselves.

There is also another general point of view, in which this measure ought to be considered. "Of all causes of rebellion," says Lord Bacon, "those of the belly are the worst. The first remedy, or prevention, is to remove, by all possible means, that material cause of sedition, which is want and poverty in the estate." Such laws, as this we are now contemplating, set completely at variance the producer and consumer. The former has no chance of getting rich without distressing his fellow citizens, grinding the poor, and turning the bounty of nature into a curse.

But as there are unfortunately those, who lend a deaf ear to all reasoning on a broader scale, we will confine our further remarks, on this prohibitory law to its several bearings, as affecting the relief

for which it was immediately intended. The experience of seven years has proved the absurdity of supposing this scheme would terminate the distress complained of. The difficulties are daily increasing; while, owing to the progressive diminution of capital, the sufferers are less able to make head against it. And who can attribute the fall in price to inadequate protection, while it has been so evidently entirely caused by the restriction? It increased the price very soon to 4*l.* 18*s.*; and the two following years averaged 3*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*; thereby encouraging farmers to put more land in cultivation than the demand could possibly require, and the great landlord to raise his rents as leases fell in. This mania therefore for production, assisted by fine seasons, has so clearly contributed to reduce prices, that we think few will pretend to dispute it. And as long as the restriction laid on importation in 1815 is persisted in, we shall have a constant alternation of high and ruinous low prices. Fluctuation is an evil to the tenant, which, though falling on the landlord, ought to be avoided: the speculator is the gainer, and feeds on them both.

Let us see how it directly affects the landlord, as to the payment of his rent. Suppose 60*s.* to be a fair average price, by which the production of a farm in common seasons might reach 500*l.* We will compute that a fifth is the landlord's; as much the living of the farmer, out of which he may save what he can; three-fifths at least are absorbed by the interest of capital, seed grain, fodder for cattle, wages of labor, assessed taxes, poor's rates, tithes, &c.

At this price we will suppose no temptation to throw more land into cultivation; but if the first or second season, or both, are unfavorable, as was the case in 1817 and 1818, the harvest runs short of the demand, and the situation of the farmer is stationary, for he loses in quantity what he gains in price; while too ready to flatter himself, by reckoning on the continuance of present prices, the next thing which enters into his mind is to pay interest on an increase of capital; both living and labor are of course higher: yet, having provided the means, he is encouraged to put second and perhaps even third lands into cultivation. This we will suppose the general feeling, as it has been from 1819 inclusive. The span being greater, though the season is yet unfavorable, or rather the market bare, the supply again meets the demand, and we return to old prices. The farmer will have increased the value of his produce this year perhaps a fifth, say to 600*l.*; but his charges increased this first year in preparing new lands at least a third, say to 400*l.*: he has as much left for his landlord and himself; but it has been an expensive year to the farmer, and he must maintain the growth still two or three seasons, to answer the extra charges he has engaged in by a broader cultivation.

Wear and tear is going on, or rather takes a wider stride every succeeding year; three or four favorable seasons follow each other; produce falls a third; sales cannot be effected at more than 400*l.*; the increased acres in cultivation still extend the charges beyond 300*l.*—what becomes of the rent? There is barely enough left for the farmer's own living. Though prices may be forced up, to the serious injury of the community at large, if he makes a few tolerable years, he must have a Russell for his landlord, not to raise his rent.

Soon after passing the act under consideration, it will hardly be disputed, that advantage was generally taken of the depreciation of the currency, further assisted by high prices, to raise rents in gold, virtually we will say to 200*l.*, but in paper nominally to 300*l.* The produce of the farm, multiplied by five, may be calculated to produce 1500*l.*, of which the expenses being three-fifths, are 900*l.* We return to cash payments; the rent becomes virtually as well as nominally 300*l.*; prices fall; the produce sells for half, say 750*l.* How is the rent to be paid, or even the expenses of the farm, which saddle the poor man with a debt of 150*l.* annually, while his family are absolutely naked and starving? It is impossible that tenants can fulfil their contracts with their landlords, or even their neighbours, under such a change of circumstances.

Never country has shown more industry, patience, and patriotism; and, but for this corn-bill, and the abuses practised among dealers, no country has enjoyed greater prosperity than it would be now enjoying.

At present we are paying nearly double the continental price for an equal quality of the staff of life; but return to a free trade, and well regulated bounties, prices to the *farmer* would be governed by the general average throughout the commercial world. We should encourage the growth of corn, as well as other raw produce, by taking measures for an increased demand for exportation, an advantage enjoyed by our neighbours, who, though they may have no bounties, have, which is the same thing, much lighter burdens.

It is not, however, by an open trade alone, even suitably encouraged, that we are to hope for adequate *general* relief. We therefore recommend most earnestly an attentive consideration to the second part of the inquiry—as to the effects of the extent and species of capital, or confidence subsisting between dealers, which answers instead of capital, with which the trade is carried on.

Now, at least as far as respects all the necessaries and even conveniences of life, nothing is so essential as to produce an exact conformity between the supply and the demand. Among ourselves and our neighbours, in times of abundance, excess is hardly

felt; but if adverse circumstances change the complexion of things, or either scarcity or famine stares us in the face, the most easy and natural bounds are set to waste or extravagance by raising the market price, through the ready force of opinion, in employment of capital, or by turning produce over from hand to hand, among those who are satisfied with a small profit, and have a knowledge and confidence in the stability of each other. But in case of a plentiful supply, this commercial spirit can only operate to the real injury of the consumer. If persons engaged in this trade have either money, or an unbounded command of credit to assist their projects, they may possibly succeed, but more generally receive severe lessons. For such enterprises, when the supply even meets or exceeds the demand, often disappoints their expectations: yet, in spite of the danger of involving their own ruin and that of others, these cases too frequently occur to influence the market price.

Bread, as we have before hinted, is a striking instance of the mischievous interference of middle dealers, to the injury of the public. For in times of plenty, and when the farmer at home receives less than the price abroad, the consumer pays (if the expression can be pardoned) through the nose, in most instances, to the degree hereafter explained.

The custom of dealing by sample, in many of our great markets, very much contributes to this disease. A farmer does not come to sell, but oftener to try the market, and sometimes engages to deliver at a given time; many sales and resales take place before the delivery: to use the common expression, the article passes through many hands. Whereas on the continent, a more limited confidence has not introduced such refinement in trade. The cultivator drives his team to the "Graned Place," and sells and delivers on the instant to the baker, or to families who draw their own bread, to whom the miller is generally indebted for his employment. There are rich millers, however, who buy largely for their own account; but their flour passes seldom through any other than the same channel. On the contrary, in our markets it often happens, that eight or ten buyers intervene between the farmer and consumer; each forces up the price, so as to have a living profit, and to answer the risks run in their mutual dealings. By which means it is too evident, that the farmer receives much less than the consumer pays.

Excessive taxation has been justly assigned as one cause of the evil; and no doubt it has considerable weight, and will continue to have, while our neighbours are so much more favored in this respect, unless we afford the relief of bounties to encourage an exportation; but this will be found, as to those articles to which it is extended, an ample recompence, under proper re-

gulations. Bounties are within the power of the legislature, which reduction of rents, as respects the farming interest, is not; though this latter would certainly, in this confined sense, produce a more general effect. What landlords do reluctantly, they are notwithstanding forced to do. They availed themselves of the nefarious alteration in the currency, we will say a third: they now either must renounce a part, or receive virtually more than they contemplated when the leases were granted: a proceeding, not only uncharitable, but unjust, in every view of the question, and what no tenant under equal laws can be compelled to pay.

We are far from confining our argument to bread corn, or even to grain generally: fodder for cattle, beasts, many other articles, the produce of a farm, are suffered to pass through too many hands, with the same inconvenience to the public; and likewise a variety of raw produce, brought to market from the interior, or by means of our importation trade, and used in our manufactories. It is almost as necessary to contrive means of economy in the supply of those goods, which enter into the composition of our staple articles, as it is to put food into our mouths, in order to maintain a decided preference in foreign markets. To the glory of this country, much has been done by the improved state of our machinery; but who can calculate the drawback, enough in many cases to cancel our superiority in this respect, the relative prices of living and labor, from the weight of taxation?

Our own as well as foreign manufactured goods, on the contrary, are generally less perishable in their nature, longer under process, remain months and years in the hands of dealers, and require a vast display and variety to furnish warehouses and shops for the choice of customers. Here the absolute necessity of long credit, to supply the deficiency of capital, seems to follow as a matter of course, between the manufacturer and the different dealers in this kind of traffic; rendering these articles not susceptible of any limits to the confidence to be placed between the parties among each other, through the different stages of the work.

Both the demand itself for these goods, constituting chiefly the comforts and luxuries of life, as well as the confidence subsisting between individuals engaged in a common interest, to prepare them and bring them to market, are among the highest sources of exultation, when duly considered; since the one is introduced by a state of improvement in the arts, to which the sciences have contributed, and the other to an amelioration in character itself. We place confidence in each other from a brotherly principle, which the generosity of nature inspires, too often without suspecting the arts of the designing. We meet a fellow countryman in the company of a few friends, his companions; inoffensive in his manners,

strict in his morals, with some education; we have the generosity of heart to judge of him as we do of ourselves. Can we suppose that this man means to injure us? and as far as to minor transactions make no farther inquiry. These soon lead to important concerns, by which the unwary are often involved. But this order of things, though attended with occasional evils, may be considered, on the other hand, as encouraging a laudable spirit of enterprise in commercial transactions, and giving life to manufacturing industry. It is, however, in a certain respect, most injurious in its tendency by introducing along with it a jobbing principle, or so many absolutely unproductive laborers among us, as far as relates to objects of the first necessity.

The farmer is needy, and the dealer gives him money for his grain, taking every advantage of his necessity. The liberality of dealers is seldom shown but towards each other; for having ground the farmer, they grind the wheat, and they grind the baker, whose best customers are so inattentive to their domestic concerns as to take credit; therefore the poor man wants it, and cannot go to the best market: by this means he pays twenty to twenty-five per cent. more than the ready money baker, whose concerns are upon a large scale. And this enormous difference is sifted through, in passing these several channels, from the farmer to the consumer, a cruelty to both. Suppose a loaf at ten-pence: one penny goes for the land, five-pence at most to the farmer, for profit, wages of laborers, cattle, &c., and four-pence to the millers, dealers, and bakers—a most exorbitant proportion. While in France the law has provided, that every baker, butcher, or fuel merchant, shall have a capital proportioned to pay in ready money, or by means of obligations on the banks. These dealers give little or no credit, and the articles come cheaper to the consumer than we can form any idea of in England. A family now at Versailles pays for the best wheaten bread, where the farmer gets as much for his corn as in England, five-pence for four lbs. of 17½ English ounces each, or, what is the same, the quartern loaf; and for a most excellent sweet wholesome bread, in which there is a proportion of rye, not quite three-pence halfpenny English currency. Yet there are few parts of France well cultivated: in some provinces, Burgundy, Champagne, and Franche Comté, they know not what it is to fold sheep, nor to have artificial grasses. The teeth of their harrows are everywhere of wood, and the ploughs of the same construction as four hundred years ago.

Another fact is important: Lord Somerville states, "that the bran and pollard pay for grinding. A quarter of wheat makes a sack of fine flour, and half a sack of seconds." Therefore the proportional value is as two to three: yet the price has generally

been but a sixth lower, and the average of last year has shown it to be even higher. This proves that flour is sold at much too high a price. Let us take wheat as among the easiest examples, though certainly not the most favorable in establishing the fact as to the gains of middle dealers, they being much greater on many other kinds of goods here enumerated.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wheat, during last year, averaged, according to accounts before parliament[1] . . . . . | 2 | 14 | 5¼ |
| The allowance for grinding and baking, by the act, is . | 0 | 18 | 0 |
| | £.3 | 12 | 5¼ |
| Lord Somerville says, that the quarter of wheat produces 120 loaves, which at the present price of 9½*d.*, but allowing for seconds say 9*d.*, is . . . . . | 4 | 10 | 0 |
| There remains, therefore, for middle dealers, a profit of near 25 per cent., or . . . . . | 0 | 17 | 6¾ |

Much pains will be required to draw a line free from objection as to such merchandise as ought to circulate with the accommodation of a liberal credit, and such where limits are to be prescribed; but in the sequel we shall endeavour to submit a proposal on this head so defined, as at least to entitle us to the indulgence of the public: at any rate we shall do something by instituting an inquiry, which may hereafter be attended with better success. We are aware that we take an Herculean task upon ourselves, and our readers will already begin to despair. But it is a crying evil that we have to remove, and that without political convulsion, if possible; while compassion must be excited for those, who are, perhaps without seeing the extent of the mischief, innocently instrumental to it. With respect to the lower classes, complaints increase, their existence is at stake, and annihilation must follow before the disease can work its own cure. And though originating in feelings, as before observed, which constitute the glory of national character, yet, should it be found that the evil is without a remedy, and that a suitable discrimination is in itself a thing impracticable, what will be the natural conclusion to be drawn from it?—that there is a point towards perfection, which human institutions

[1] Application was made at the office in Carlton chambers for the average returns, beginning on the 1st of January, and ending on the 30th of June. It was asked, for what publication it was intended: and this work being shown, they refused to give the returns without authority for so doing: therefore we avail ourselves of the last year's, during which the average of flour was 1*s.* 2½*d.* the sack higher than the quarter of wheat, or 55*s.* 7¾*d.*

cannot reach—that we are already arrived at the zenith of our power and grandeur, and must begin to descend.

It will be seen, that our view in this second place of this treatise is to confine within very narrow limits, in point of time, the extent of credit to middle dealers, or forestallers, of all alimentary articles of the first necessity, and what is generally understood by raw produce, if possible to their utter discomfiture; because this class of beings, if they are suffered to infest the markets, must live, and increase the price of articles in proportion to the means of their living, generally obtaining credit of which they are undeserving, and might turn their industry to a much better account. While to raise the price in the market, acknowledged to be a real gain, to the public in the hour of scarcity, there are enough to be found, in a country where capital is not wanting, who regulate their affairs on solid principles, and with a view to their own interests, spin out the supply, without the superfluous assistance of the former group, who neither produce nor improve any thing which passes through their hands, and require to be hunted like drones from the ranks of society; but it must be done with caution: their army is in full march: already we descry its centre and the two wings, if they are not supported by a corps of reserve. The centre is the most formidable, and has marked on its banners liberty or death; therefore, in order to preserve the peace, it becomes us to produce such arguments as will be convincing, that they may treat us, at least in this respect, as faithful allies to their sacred cause. The right wing supports the evasions, which may be set up as likely to be practised by the designing in opposition to our theory; and the left the narrowness of the accommodation, which might perhaps put some of the first purchasers of raw materials for the purpose of manufacture to inconvenience.

It is our business, therefore, in the first place, to impose a sufficient guard upon ourselves not to infringe on the liberty of the subject; in other words, to allow the enjoyment of as little control as is consistent with our relations in civil society. Something, it is an acknowledged principle, we are compelled to sacrifice, to preserve public peace; and among the rest such as the various laws, many of great antiquity, called statutes of limitation, which on so many accounts have been provided by the wisdom of our ancestors, and had even been introduced under the Athenian commonwealth. In case of an "assumpsit," or promise to pay money to the plantiff, they may plead "non assumpsit infra sex annos," he made no such promise within six years, which is an effectual bar to the complaint. This law, however, was enacted to prevent perjuries, which might ensue, if a man were allowed to bring an action for any injury committed at any distant time, and it must be seen does not apply

precisely to our case; but as far as it is demonstrable, that statutes of limitation have abundant precedents, and having been advantageously enacted, avowedly for the protection of the public peace, they may with as much reason be shortened in their periods, to insure a regular supply of food, on reasonable terms, as it would be difficult to point out any effect more likely to produce general tranquillity.

We have laws for preventing debts contracted by minors from being recovered; and they are almost as much children in domestic economy as minors, who do not pay in ready money for the necessaries of life.

Entertaining the most liberal views as to the rights of the subject, and going even beyond Adam Smith, we think with Turgot and the most decided of the French economists, that even the laws of usury may be dispensed with without danger. The same with monopoly; and we profess ourselves friendly even to the principle of non-interference in its fullest extent. Yet monopolies, which are not conducted with discretion, are ruinous in their effects; call them forestalling, regrating, or engrossing; where the parties have not sufficient capital to protect themselves, therefore, though the law may not oppose them, they deserve not the protection of the law: it is an extremely different thing to wink at the licence and to lend it support. We have the authority of Lord Coke for saying, that "monopoly was without law, but never without friends." And it has too many; but, like usury, we ourselves conceive it imprudent to have laws to restrain it.

We are not making new laws, but withdrawing the protection of those at present existing in certain cases. We hope we are improving in morality, at least in a sense of honor and a horror of shame. This state of feeling stamps the character of an Englishman's transactions with the world, and makes repeals more wise than adding to our numerous statutes, which generally violate the constitutions of free states.

We dislike the interference even in France, which however is conducted on a principle less inimical to approved maxims than most of our excise laws. We have numerous restraints on pawnbrokers, publicans, brewers, and many others. The customs alone confine a variety of channels, which would otherwise be open to general commerce; and so jealous is the common law of England, that it attempts to prevent the spirit of engrossing corn by suffering it not to be sold in the sheaf.

However, it is not our business to overturn any prevailing system, by the slightest renewed attack on individual liberty, Under these several considerations it is our purpose to propose. *that the courts of law or equity take no cognizance of actions for debt a month after the delivery; either of articles of food of in-*

*digenous or foreign growth or manufacture, of any of the produce of a farm, or of any raw produce used in our manufactures.*

Trifling and daily occurrences of this nature will still be under the regulation of courts of requests, and as far as the jurisdiction of magistrates extends.

We are far from taking credit to ourselves, of which we should be undeserving, were we to claim originality in introducing this measure; it is to Mr. Playfair that we are indebted for the idea *in a more confined sense*, and also for some of our remarks upon it, in a work accompanying his ingenious tables on this subject.

Under such a regulation can the rich suffer? No; only the necessity of putting a little more order into the management of their affairs; what they had eaten must be paid for, or they would have no more to eat. Would the poor feel much distress from it? No; those who trust them a few days, as good neighbours, will not require the protection of law. How is it between seller and buyer? It certainly narrows the market;[1] that is, it makes fewer engaged in raising prices on the consumer: but all business would be done on solid principles, and abundant trouble saved to all parties, as transactions would generally be completed at the time of delivery, or while in memory, as far as respects the articles in question, which form a material part of our intercourse with each other

Having endeavoured to establish a rule, and reasoned a little on its advantages, we must next consider the evasions which may be practised in opposition to our theory; and we really think they can hardly be numerous, or very available. The temptations would be greatest, where the intercourse takes place between the cities and the provinces; but which, by means of bankers or agents, would be generally very easily removed. Some inconvenience, however, will occasionally arise among a certain class of traders, who have not this resource, and where the waggoner or coaster are only known between the parties; and were these cases more numerous, they chiefly occur as to manufactured goods and luxuries, on which long credits are still allowed to be extended and have legal protection; and where this is not the case, remittances to a certain extent for the most part are, or ought to be, in every tradesman's power worthy of credit. However, to remedy as

[1] Which a certain Scotch peer will complain of: in short, nothing but a system of loans, from Government down to the pauper, can widen the markets to his taste. He happily stands alone in this opinion; and having already one leg in the grave, the other will hardly advance another step to save his country. Such ideas are of a piece with his profound ideas on the sinking fund, hitherto considered as "a new way to pay old debts," but according to him "the devil to pay."

much as possible the inconvenience in this respect, it might not be imprudent to afford the protection of the laws to an extension of credit in distant transactions.

It is easy to see, that a dealer who gives no credit with his corn, his bread, his meat, or his cotton for manufacture, may lend money to an equal amount to pay for them, and thereby give the same accommodation to his customers, and thus evade the want of protection from the law in so doing; but it leaves him open to proofs, which may make it appear a manœuvre between the parties, by which they may incur a certain expense on both sides, and where redress would be ineffectual. We possibly open a door to many artifices not to be foreseen, at least by a common observer; but it may be safely left to ministers, who are no novices in matters of detail, to provide the remedies.

As to the first purchasers of raw materials being put to inconvenience by the necessity of paying too soon for the articles they work up, if it produces only less speculation to their injury, they will reap, in this respect, an important advantage from it: they have country banks generally at their elbow, whose business it is to furnish accommodation on easy terms; and when we sit ourselves down to consider, how small a proportion the price of the raw materials bears to manufactured goods, in iron, in cotton, or even in wool or in silk, with those who have capitals at their disposal to pay for work weekly, can the credit which they obtain with the raw material afford the slightest argument, except in very few extraordinary cases of real necessity, and here it is better on all accounts that the transaction should not take place? for where means are so cramped, trade is seldom successful.

This digression, in a work more properly confined to the four ordinary departments of the public service, it is hoped we shall be pardoned for introducing in the form of this third chapter.

Our design has been, we hope not fruitlessly, to tender our feeble services in opposing the three tried enemies of peace and plenty, the corn-bill, the middle-dealers, and excessive taxation. The first by recommending its repeal; the second by no coercive measure, but simply withdrawing our protection from unproductive labors; the third by suitable bounties.

Hence we flatter ourselves it will be seen, that we advocate the more than fashionable *cause of non-interference* in its utmost latitude: but, to enjoy all the advantages of it in common with our neighbours, it is necessary to remove or remedy the obstructions peculiar to our own case, which are, the weight of burdens, less felt by our neighbours, and that noble and generous confidence, as far as it is mischievous, which the sons of liberty and glory inspire in each other.

# A LETTER

TO

# THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT,

## ON HIS APOSTASY

FROM THE CAUSE

## OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED

## AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS ON THAT SUBJECT.

---

Audax venali comitatur CURIO lingua
Vox quondam Populi libertatemque tueri
Aufus!—— LUCAN, PHARSALIA, LIB. I. l. 269—71.

---

THE THIRD EDITION.

TO WHICH IS NOW ADDED

## A PROPOSAL

## FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM,

FOUNDED ON PROPERTY, AND SUBVERSIVE OF OLIGARCHY AND OCHLOCRACY.

LONDON:

1822.

# ADVERTISEMENT.

Publications on fugitive topics, though from their nature sometimes less dubiously useful to mankind than more permanent works, are so little a source of reputation, that their Authors have commonly thought it prudent to withhold their names. If an Author be obscure, such publications will not exalt him—if he be eminent, they may be supposed to derogate from the gravity of more serious occupations, or from the dignity of a more solid fame.

These common reasons may be sufficient for anonymous publication, especially in a case like the present, which consists either of argument, which a name can neither strengthen nor impair; or of facts, which are so acknowledged as to need no testimony for their support.

# A LETTER

TO

# THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT,

*&c. &c.*

---

SIR,

HISTORY records too many examples of political apostasy to make any case of that sort new or singular. Yet with all your knowledge in that branch of history, to which congenial sentiments must have naturally pointed your studies, I doubt whether you can produce many instances in which the political apostate, instead of the language which becomes his situation, dares to assume the tone of parade and of triumph; and with the most eccentric originality of insolence labors to convert his own desertion of principle into an argument against these principles themselves, instead of feeling the principles as a *stigma* on his desertion. We do not find that Curio was shameless enough, when he deserted the cause of his country, to urge against it the boldness of his own apostasy with the same confidence that Cato would have used in its support the authority of his virtue. The annals of ancient or modern apostasy contain nothing so flagrant. It was reserved for our days to add this variety to the various combinations of fraud and insolence, which have in former ages duped and oppressed mankind; and it was peculiarly reserved for a statesman, whose character reconciles the most repugnant extremes of political depravity, the pliancy of the most abject intrigue, with the vaunting of the most lofty hyprocrisy. It was reserved for him, not alone silently to abandon, not alone even publicly to abjure the doctrines of his former life; not alone to oppose, with ardor, with vehemence, with virulence, those propositions from others, by which he himself had earned popularity, and climbed to unexampled power; but

to convert into a source of obloquy against other men a measure which had been the basis of his own reputation and importance. It was reserved for such a man to repeat those very common-place objections to the measure, and those very common-place slanders against its movers, which had been urged against himself, and which he himself had justly despised, or victoriously refuted.[1] It was reserved for him, unblushingly to renew all the clamor against novelty, and all those affectionate alarms for the British Constitution, which patriotic boroughmongers had so successfully employed against himself. Yes, Sir, it was reserved for the son of Chatham thus to stigmatise the "dying legacy" of his father, and thus to brand his own "virgin effort."

You will have already perceived, that it is on your late conduct in the case of Parliamentary Reform, that I am to animadvert. Though I feel a dislike, not unmixed with contempt, for politics purely personal, and though I should be the last man to betray and degrade the great cause of Reform, by mingling it with the petty squabbles of party, yet when I see the authority of an apostate character opposed to the cause from which he apostatised, I think it at least fit that that obstacle should be removed, and that the vaporing language of such a delinquent should be counteracted by the merited brand of his crimes.

The cause of Reform demands that the nature of your present opposition to it should be understood. The interest of the people demands that they should well understand the character of him who may yet be likely, in some possible combination of events, to offer himself to them as the champion of Reform, and perhaps ultimately to prove the leader in more extensive and dangerous measures. And it is generally fit that no signal example of triumphant apostasy should pass with impunity.

These are the public reasons, Sir, which lead me to call public attention to your conduct; reasons which have influenced one who has no respect for your principles, and no exaggerated opinion of your abilities, which he has sometimes admired without idolatry, and often opposed without fear. That I am in no abject or devoted sense a partizan, I trust even my present sentiments will prove. I am only, therefore, your enemy so far as I believe you to be the enemy of my country; and I am not unwilling to adopt for

[1] See the debate on Mr. Pitt's motion for Parliamentary Reform on the 7th May, 1782. Compare the reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the alarms and arguments of Mr. T. Pitt, *proprietor of Old Sarum*, with his speech on the notice of Mr. Grey, the 30th April, 1792, in which he expresses those alarms which he had then scouted, and retails those arguments which he had then contemned!—*Ergo referens hæc nuncius ibit Pelidæ genitori!*

the creed of my *personal* politics the dying prayer of a great man, "*Ut ita cuique eveniat ut quisque de Republica mereatur?*"

The three general grounds then on which I shall proceed to examine your conduct are, your apostasy—your present pretexts for opposing reform—and the probability of such a future conduct in you as may render it extremely important that the people should justly appreciate your character.

Your entrance into public life was marked by circumstances more favorable than any English statesman has ever experienced. With all the vigor of your own talents, with all the reflected lustre of your Father's character, you appeared at a moment when the ungracious toil of opposition was almost past, when little remained but to profit by the effect of other men's efforts, and to urge the fall of a tottering Ministry, whose misconduct had already been fatally proved by national misfortune. The current of popularity had already set strongly against the Minister. The illusions of American conquest and American revenue were dispelled. The eyes of the people were opened to the folly of the Cabinet. You had only to declaim against it. The attention of the people was called to those defects in their Constitution, which permitted such a Cabinet so long to betray the public interest, and to brave the public opinion. You had only to put yourself at the head of the people, to declare yourself the leader of Reform. In this character you had recourse to the same means, and you were assailed by the same objections, with every past and every future Leader of Reform. Despairing that a corrupt body should spontaneously reform itself, you invited the interposition of the people. You knew that dispersed effort must be unavailing. You therefore encouraged them to associate. You were not deterred from appealing to the people by such miserable common places of reproach as those of advertising for grievances, diffusing discontents, and provoking sedition. You well knew that in the vocabulary of corrupt power inquiry is sedition, and tranquillity is synonimous with blind and abject obedience. You were not deterred from joining with the associations of the people by being told that they were to overawe Parliament. You knew the value of a jargon that does not deserve to be dignified by so high a name as sophistry. You felt for it that contempt which every man of sense *always* feels, and which every man of *sincerity* will always express.

As you were regardless of the clamor against the necessary *means* for the accomplishment of your object—as you knew that whoever would substantially serve the people in such a cause, must appeal to the people, and associate with the people; you must have had a just and a supreme contempt for the sophistry which was opposed to the measure of reforming the Representation itself.

You were told (every Reformer has been told, and every Reformer will be told) that of innovations there is no end, that to adopt one is to invite a succession; and that, though you knew the limits of your own Reforms, you could not prescribe bounds to the views which their success might awaken in the minds of others. To so battered a generality it was easy to oppose another common-place. It was easy to urge that, as no Government could be secure if it were to be perpetually changed, no abuse could be reformed if institutions are to be inflexibly maintained. If they call the courage of a Reformer temerity, he is equally entitled to represent their caution as cowardice. If they speak from conjecture of his future interest in confusion, he may from knowledge speak of their actual interest in corruption.

They told you that extravagant speculations were abroad;[1] that it was no moment to hope for the accomplishment of a temperate Reform, when there were so many men of mischievous and visionary principles, whom your attempts would embolden, and whom your Reforms would not content. You replied, that the redress of real grievances was the surest remedy against imaginary alarms; that the existence of acknowledged corruptions is the only circumstance that renders incendiaries formidable; and that to correct these corruptions is to wrest from them their most powerful weapon.

By a conduct thus natural you pursued your measure. Of that conduct indeed I should not now have reminded you, *had it not been for the sake of contrasting it with some recent transactions.* It is almost unnecessary to add that you found it easy to practise on the generous credulity of the English people, and that, for the first time in the present reign, the King's advisers thought fit to choose *their* minister because they knew that he was popular, actuated by the double policy of debauching a popular leader, and of surrounding with the splendor of popularity the apostate agent of *their* will. But with the other parts of your public life I have nothing to do, nor will I trace minutely the progress of your pretended efforts for Parliamentary Reform.

The curtain was dropped in 1785. The farce then closed. Other cares then began to occupy your mind. To dupe the enthusiasts of Reform ceased to be of any further moment, and the question itself slept, until it was revived by Mr. Flood in 1790.

There was little danger of the success of his motion, maintained by himself with little pertinacity, and seconded neither by any Parliamentary connexion, nor by any decisive popular opinion. To it therefore you thought a languid opposition from you sufficient.

[1] Lord Camelford's speech.

You reserved more active opposition for more formidable dangers, and you abandoned the motion of Mr. Flood to the declamation of Mr. Grenville, the logic of Mr. Windham, and the invective of Mr. Burke.

That more formidable danger at length arrived. A Reform in the Representation was brought forward by a gentleman of the most powerful abilities, of high consideration in the country, and of a character the most happily untainted by any of those dubious transactions of which political parties are rarely able, for any long period, to escape at least the imputation. Such a character was odious to apostasy. Such an enemy was formidable to corruption.

The debate on the notice of Mr. Grey illustrated the fears of corrupt men, and the malignity of apostates. It was then that alarms which had slumbered so long over incendiary writings were suddenly called forth by the dreadful suggestion of a moderate, and therefore, of a practicable Reform.

Nor is the reason of this difficult to discover. These incendiary publications might render signal service to a corrupt government, by making the cause of freedom odious, and perhaps by provoking immatured and ill-concerted tumults, the suppression of which might increase the strength, and justify the violence, of Government. No such happy effects were to be hoped from the proposition of Mr. Grey. Impracticable schemes are never terrible, but that fatal proposition threatened the overthrow of corruption itself. Then your exertions were indeed demanded: then your pious zeal for the Constitution was called forth.

Theoretical admirers of the Constitution had indeed supposed its excellence to consist in that trial by jury which you had narrowed by excise; and its salvation to depend on that liberty of the press which you had scared by prosecution. Such might have been the idle ravings of Locke or Montesquieu. But you well knew its practical excellence to depend on very different things.

Already, in your imagination, that citadel of the Constitution, *Queenborough*, that sanctuary of freedom, *Midhurst*, tottered to their foundations. Already, even *Cornwall* itself, the land of freedom, was pierced by the impious din of Reform. Actuated by alarms so honest and so wise for such sacred bulwarks of the Constitution, no wonder that you magnanimously sacrificed your own character. No wonder that you stooped to rake together every clumsy sophism, and every malignant slander that the most frontless corruption had ever circulated, or the most stupid credulity believed. Nor was it even wonderful, when we consider it in this view, that you should have pronounced an elaborate, a solemn, a malignant invective, against the principles which you yourself had professed, the precise measures which you had promoted, and the

very means which you had chosen for their accomplishment. There is something in such a parade of apostasy, which, in the minds of *certain persons*, may efface those vestiges of distrust and repugnance, that the recollection of a popular conduct in early life must have imprinted.

The digraceful triumph of that night will indeed long be remembered by those who were indignant spectators of it. A Minister reprobating associations, and condemning any mode of collecting the opinion of the people for the purpose of influencing the House of Commons.—He who commenced his career by being an Associator, and who avowedly placed all his hopes of success in the authority which general opinion was to have over the House of Commons:—He who continued a Minister in defiance of the House of Commons, because he supposed himself to possess the confidence of the people:—He who gave the first example of legitimating and embodying the opinion of the people against the voice of their representatives:[1]—He was the Minister who adopted this language. It is not, Sir, on that night to the splendor of your words, nor the music of your periods, that you owed the plaudits of the borough-mongers of Wiltshire or of Cornwall. They take no cognizance of any dexterities of sophistry or felicities of declamation; the pompous nothingness of Abercorn, and the sordid barbarity of Rolle, are more on a level with their understanding and more in unison with their taste. They applauded you for virtues like their own, for impudence in asserting falsehood, for audacity in defending corruption. Their assent was condemnation—their applause was ignominy—Their disgraceful *hear hims* ought to have called to your recollection the depth of infamy into which you had at length plunged. They were the very usurpers whom you pledged yourself to your country to attack; and at the only time of your life when your conduct had the semblance of virtue, these are the men in whose enmity you would have justly gloried. At that time your claim on the confidence of the people would have been almost solely founded on the virulence of hostility, and the vehemence of clamor which such men would employ against you. And these *therefore* are the men whose applause now justly seals the sentence of your apostasy.

Nor, Sir, is this brief history of that apostasy more flagrant than the plain statement of your pretexts will appear absurd.

[1] These remarks are stated neither to justify nor to condemn the conduct of Mr. Pitt in the celebrated contest of 1784. They are merely intended to contrast his then measures with his present professions, and that any example of inconsistency so gross and notorious is to be found in the black annals of apostasy, I am yet to learn.

The frank and good-natured prostitution of DUNDAS, which assumes no disguise, and affects no principle, almost disarms censure, and relaxes us into a sort of indulgence for one whom we can neither hate nor respect. The unblushing steadiness of avowed Toryism, we can neither blame as inconsistent, nor dread as contagious. Many men may be intimidated by their power, and many seduced by their corruption, but no man is deceived by their professions. It is not therefore to such men that the FRIEND of the PEOPLE desires to point their jealousy and their resentment. Against such men it is not necessary to guard them. But it will, indeed, be his duty to detect the *pretexts* by which the specious and successful hypocrite not only disguises his own character, but triumphantly deludes the people.

It is now then fit to examine those *pretexts* by which you would evade the ignominy of having deserted your cause. Such a discussion is not only necessary to convict you, but to the defence of those whom you have attacked. For unless the fallacy of these pretexts be exposed, the Friends of Reform may be branded as the thoughtless or malignant disturbers of their country, while the apostate from Reform may be regarded as the provident and honest preserver of its quiet. It is only by the exposure of his pretexts that this apostate can be shown in his genuine character, sacrificing for the preservation of corrupt power, not only the present liberty, but the future probable peace of his country.

Let us then, SIR, consider what those pretexts are, by which you labor to ascribe to insanity or profligacy in 1792, that attempt to reform, which in 1782 was the purest exertion of the most heroic patriotism. By what sort of *chronological* morality virtue could so shortly have been transmuted into vice, may be in itself a curious enquiry. Has the generous enthusiasm of your youth been corrected by the juster views of experience? Has it been repressed by the selfish coldness of advancing years? Or has it been laid asleep by the genial indulgences, and the seductive blandishments of power? Such are the questions which a discussion of your pretexts must resolve.

You are, in the first place, pleased to inform us, that those grievances which once so clamorously pleaded for a Reform of Parliament, have, under your wise and virtuous administration, ceased to exist. The reasons, if we may believe the Duke of Richmond and yourself, which then justified Reform, no longer operate. The nation is prosperous. The people are contented. The statement of facts is as incontestably true, as the inference from it is false. It is because the nation is prosperous, it is because the people are tranquil, that this is an auspicious moment for averting from our country calamities which a corrupt House of Commons (by your confession) did *once* produce; and which there-

fore an unreformed House of Commons may again equally occasion.

The logic of apostasy is happily on a level with its morals. In 1782, when general discontent might indeed have furnished some color for an alarm that Reform would degenerate into convulsion, then you and that noble Duke placed yourselves at the head of different bodies of Reformers. You suppose, it seems, that change is only to be attempted with safety, and bounded by moderation, when the temper of the people is inflamed, and exasperated by a succession of public calamities.

Such is the reasoning, such the politics of these honest Patriots, and accomplished Legislators! Other men might have supposed, that a state of convulsion and irritation was not the temper in which moderate Reforms were likely to be adopted by the people; and that to defer all proposition of Reform until grievances should produce again such a fatal state, was to delay them to a moment when there would infallibly be no choice, but to take refuge in despotism, or to plunge into civil war. The very circumstance of the content of the people is that which gives us a perfect security that Reforms will not be hurried away into violence. It is therefore that which most powerfully invites all men to exertion, who desire a wise and measured improvement of the Constitution.

Granting even that no *actual* or urgent evil arises from the corrupt state of the pretended Representation of the People—Granting that it has not within the last eight years cost us thirteen Colonies, a hundred thousand lives, and the accumulation of a hundred and fifty millions of debt—Making all these concessions, what argument do they furnish to you? Are the *necessary tendencies* of an institution no reason for reforming it? Is it because these *tendencies* are suspended by some accidental circumstance, that we are to tolerate them until they are again called forth into destructive energy? Had you been a Senator under TITUS, if any man had proposed controls on the despotic authority of the Emperor, and if he had justified his proposition by reminding the Senate of the ferocity of Nero, or the brutality of Vitellius, you must, on such a principle, have opposed to his arguments the happiness derived from the existing Government, till your sophistry was confuted, and your servility rewarded by DOMITIAN.

It is thus easy to expose your pretexts, even without disputing your assumptions. But it is time to retract concessions which truth does not permit, and to prove that the absurdity of your conclusions is equalled by the falsehood of those premises on which they are established.

The question, whether those grievances now exist, which in your opinion once justified a Parliamentary Reform, will be best decided by considering the nature of such grievances, and the ten-

dency of such a Reform to redress them. The grievance is, the perpetual acquiescence of the House of Commons in the dictates of the Ministers of the Crown. The source of this grievance is the enormous influence of the Crown in the House of Commons. The remedy is, to render that House, by changing the modes of its election, and shortening the duration of its trust, dependent upon the people, instead of being dependent upon the Crown, or, what is much worse, an overwhelming Oligarchy.

Such is the brief state of the subject. Can you then have the insolence to assert, that the influence has decreased in your time, or that it has produced a less abject acquiescence? That influence and that acquiescence are the grievances which are to be reformed; and as no impudence can deny that they exist in their full force, so no sophistry can escape the inference, that the necessity for reforming them remains undiminished. Have majorities in your time been less devoted? Have the measures of the Court been less indiscriminately adopted? Has the voice of the people been less neglected? Has the voice of the Minister been less obeyed? Not one of these things is true; not one, therefore, of the reasons for Reform has ceased to operate.

But to argue the question in this manner is to do injustice to its strength. It is not only true that the acquiescence of Parliament has not been less indiscriminate; it is not only true that the House of Commons have betrayed no symptoms of such ungovernable independence and impracticable virtue, as might seem to render its Reform less necessary or less urgent; but it is uncontrovertibly true, that your recent experience furnishes a more fantastic example of that ignominious servitude, from which Reform only can rescue the Commons, than any other that is to be found in our history. I allude to your Russian armament, which I do not bring forward that I may speak of its absurdity, because I will not stoop to wound a prostrate enemy, nor to insult a convicted criminal. I allude to it only as an example of the parade with which the dependence of the House of Commons on the Minister was exhibited to an indignant country. On former occasions it had been equally corrupt; on former occasions it had been equally absurd; but on no former occasion had it displayed such ostentatious and *versatile* dependence. The Minister in one session determines on his armament. His obsequious majority register the edict; but the absurdity, the odium, and the unpopularity of the measure, shake the resolution of the Cabinet. The voice of the people, despised by their pretended representatives, is listened to by the Minister. The House of Commons are at his nod ready to plunge their country into the most ruinous and unjust war; but the body of the people declare their sentiments, and the

Minister recedes. He commands his majority to retrace their steps, to condemn their former proceedings, and thus to declare most emphatically, that their interest is not the interest, that their voice is not the voice, of the people. The obsequious majority obey without a murmur. "*Tibi summum rerum judicium dii dedere—nobis obsequii gloria relicta est.*"

Nothing could more forcibly illustrate the mockery and nullity of what is strangely called the Representation of the People, than this splendid victory of public opinion. The Minister yielded to that natural authority of public opinion, which is independent of forms of Government, and which would have produced the same effect in most of the simple monarchies of civilised Europe. The Cabinet of Versailles would have been compelled to exhibit a similar deference to the general sentiment before the fall of their despotism; and the people of England experienced no more aid from their supposed Representatives, than if the House of Commons had been in form and avowal a chamber for registering ministerial edicts.

Thus wretched are the pretexts to which you have been driven. It is not only easy to expose the emptiness and futility of these pretexts, but to establish with all the evidence of which any topic of civil prudence is susceptible, that the *circumstances of the times*, instead of rendering it dangerous to attempt a Reform in our Constitution, make it infinitely dangerous to delay such a Reform.

On the French Revolution, it is not my intention to offer any observations. It has no natural or direct relation to my subject, and were I disposed to treat it, it would be my aim to attempt what has not *hitherto* been attempted, and what perhaps it may *yet* be too early to execute with success, an impartial and philosophical estimate of the most unexampled event in history. But on its *intrinsic* merits it is not now my province to observe. I have only to consider it as marking the present time, either as auspicious or inauspicious to attempts to reform our Constitution. These attempts to obtain Reform disclaim all alliance with the magnificent principles, or the perilous speculations, by which men, according to their various prepossessions, will suppose our neighbours to have been nobly animated or fatally deluded.

Whether the boldness of these principles, and the wideness of these speculations, be as reconcileable with the order of freedom as they were instrumental in the destruction of tyranny, is a question on which wise men will not be prone to anticipate the decision of experience. But the schemes of Reform which we have now in view, the only Reforms which, under the circumstances I could approve, are founded on other principles, on sentiments long naturalised among us, on notions of liberty purely English.

Not engaged either in the discussion or defence of the French Revolution, we then have only to contemplate it as it is supposed to render the present moment favorable or unfavorable to meditated Reforms in England. In this view it will be easy to prove, that the probable future influence of that Revolution, *whatever be its issue*, on the general sentiments of Europe, marks the *present moment* as that in which a Reform of the English Constitution is not only safe and prudent, but urgent and indispensible. Nothing indeed can be more evident, than that a mighty change in the direction of the public sentiments of Europe is likely to arise from that Revolution, whether it be successful or unsuccessful. If it be successful, the spirit of extreme Democracy is likely to spread over all Europe, and to swallow up in a volcanic eruption every remnant of Monarchy and of Nobility in the civilised world. The probability of such effects is so strongly believed by the enemies of that Revolution, that it is the ground of their alarm, the subject of their invective, and the pretext of their hostilities.

If, on the other hand, the efforts of France be unsuccessful; if her liberties be destroyed, there can be little doubt that such a shock will most powerfully impel the current of opinion to the side of Monarchy; a direction in which it will be likely for several ages to continue. The example of the destruction of the great French republic would diffuse dismay and submission among a multitude, who only judge by events; and the bloody scenes which must attend such a destruction would indeed be sufficient to appal the sternest and most ardent champions of Liberty. The spirit of Europe would crouch under the dark shade of Despotism, in dead repose and fearful obedience. The Royal confederacy which had effected this subversion, would doubtless continue its concert and its efforts. The principle of maintaining the internal independence of nations, being destroyed by the example of France, no barrier would any longer be opposed to the arbitrary will of Kings. The internal laws of all the European States would be dictated by a Council of Despots, and thus the influence of moral causes on public opinion, co-operating with the combined strength and policy of Princes, "every faint vestige and loose remnant" of free government will be swept from the face of the earth.

In either alternative England cannot be exempt from the general spirit. If the phrenzy of Democracy be excited by the success of France; if the spirit of abject submission and of triumphant Despotism be produced by her failure, in the first event the peace, in the second the liberty of England is endangered. In the first event a furious Republicanism, in the second a desperate Toryism is likely to pervade the country. Against the prevalence of both extremes there only exists one remedy. It is to invigorate the de-

mocratic part of the Constitution; it is to render the House of Commons so honestly and substantially the representative of the people, that Republicans may no longer have topics of invective, nor Ministers the means of corruption. If the one spirit prevail, it is necessary to reform the House of Commons, that the discontents of the people may be prevented. If the other spirit prevails, the same Reform is necessary, that it may be strong enough to resist the encroachments of the Crown. In the one case, to prevent our Government from being changed into a pure Democracy; in the other, to prevent it from being changed into a simple Monarchy. In either event the same precaution is necessary. The same Reform will preserve the English Constitution from the sap of Royal influence, and from the storm of tumultuous Democracy. A Constitution which provided a pure representation of the people, and which included enough of Monarchy for vigor, and enough of Aristocracy for deliberation, would bid a just defiance to the most magnificent and seductive visions of democratic enthusiasm. A people who felt that they possessed a vigorous popular control on their Government, could see little obnoxious, and nothing formidable in the powers of the Peerage and the Crown, and would feel none of that discontent which alone could make them accessible to the arts of Republican missionaries. The success of the French, the fascinating example of their superb Democracy will have no dangerous effects on the minds of *contented* ENGLISHMEN. But what wisdom can avert the effects which must arise from such a model of representation, and such a spirit as the success of France will produce in Europe, if that spirit is to operate on a dissatisfied people, and that model be perpetually compared with the ruins of a free Government. In the alternative then of the success of the French Revolution, nothing surely can be so indispensible as a speedy Reform in the Representation of the People.

That to infuse a new portion of popular vigor into the House of Commons is the only remedy that can be opposed to the triumphant Toryism which the subversion of the French Republic must produce, is a proposition so evident, as neither to demand proof nor to admit illustration. We have seen the influence of an unpopular Court victorious during a long reign, in hostility to the prejudice, and in defiance of the jealousy, of the people. What then are we to expect from that increased and increasing influence, conducted perhaps with more dexterity in the Cabinet, seconded with equal devotion in the House of Commons, and aided by the blind enthusiasm of a people, who are intoxicated by commercial prosperity, and infatuated by all the prejudices of the most frantic Toryism? Under such a state of things, what can prevent the formation of an uncontrolled Monarchy, and the absorption of every

power by a Court, from which Englishmen are to learn what remnant of personal security it will vouchafe to spare, what formality of public freedom it will deign to endure, with what image of the Constitution it will indulge and amuse an infatuated rabble.

Such are the effects which the success or the subversion of French Democracy seem calculated to produce on the temper and sentiments of the European nations. This therefore is the moment to repair and to strengthen the English Constitution. The fate of France hangs in suspence. Her success is yet too dubious, widely or dangerously to diffuse a spirit of imitation; and the contest between her and the Despotic League is still too equal to plunge the people of Europe into the lethargy of servility or despair. This then is that pause of tranquillity, during which we have to prepare against the hurricane with which we are menaced. This therefore is the moment when what was before expedient is become necessary. Reform was before useful to improve; it is now necessary (and perhaps the period of its efficacy is shorter than we may imagine) to preserve the Government. Menaced by the predominance of a Democratical or a Monarchical spirit, give the people their rights, and they will not be provoked to demand more; create an independent House of Commons, and the power of the Crown will be checked; Despotism and tumult will be equally averted; the peace of the country will be preserved; the constitutional liberty of the country will be immortalised.

Such a moment must have been chosen by a Statesman, who to an enlightened love for public tranquillity united an honest zeal for political Reform. Such a moment therefore was not chosen by You. The opportunities which it furnished, and the public duties which it imposed, you neither felt nor regarded. But it afforded an opportunity of another kind, which you did not neglect, and of which, I must confess, you have availed yourself with no mean dexterity.

The discussions produced by the French Revolution had given birth to exaggerated ideas of liberty on one hand, and had furnished a ground to some men, and a pretext to more, for exaggerated fears of anarchy on the other. No such ferment of the human mind had ever arisen without producing many extravagant opinions. Every passion and every frailty, in the ardor of dispute, seduced men into extremes. Many honest men were driven into Toryism by their fears. Many sober men were betrayed into Republicanism by their enthusiasm. Such a division of sentiment was precisely that which a good Minister would labor to heal; but which a crafty Minister would inflame into faction, that he might use it to strengthen and extend his power. You had to choose

under which of these characters you were to pass to posterity, and you have made your election. It was in your choice to mitigate extremes, to conciliate differences, to extend the impartial beneficence of Government to all parties and sects of citizens. But you chose to take the most effectual means to exaggerate extremes, to inflame differences, to give the sanction and countenance of power to one party, to put the Government of the country at the head of a triumphant faction. You disseminated alarms of designs to subvert the Constitution so widely and so successfully, that you have created in this country a spirit of Toryism more indiscriminate, more abject, and more rancorous than has existed in England since the accession of the House of Hanover. Bigotry animates servility, servility mingles with the fear of confusion; the honest fear of confusion becomes the dupe of the corrupt monopolists of power; and from the fermentation of these various passions practised on by your emissaries, there has arisen a pusillanimous and merciless Toryism, which is ready to support the most corrupt Minister, and to proscribe the most temperate advocates of freedom. No spirit could be so valuable to a Minister; nothing could ensure him such cheap and indiscriminate support. You could not fail to recollect the happy use which the dread of Jacobitism was to Sir Robert Walpole, and you easily saw that the dread of Republicanism might be an equally successful engine in your hands. The reformers of abuse are in such cases called enemies to establishment—The enemies of the *Government* are to be called enemies of the Constitution. To have proposed the retrenchment of a *Teltership* of the *Exchequer* from a Walpole, was once to aim at the introduction of the Pretender; to doubt the consistency of William Pitt, or to impeach the purity of George Rose! is now to meditate the establishment of a democracy.

The progress of such a valuable spirit you saw with a joy which your hirelings boasted, which your higher dependents but ill dissembled, and which was even clumsily concealed by the plausible and pompous hypocrisy of your own character. What wonder that you should see with rapture and triumph the likelihood of even honest men gratuitously enrolling themselves among your Janissaries—What did it import to you, that in the mean while the phrenzy of Republicanism was likely to gain ground among a populace, provoked into wild extremes by the wild extremes of their superiors? What signified the dangers that might in time arise from the awakening understanding of SCOTLAND, from the honest indignation of IRELAND? What were these dangers to you! The Toryism of the higher classes would *last your time*, and any collision between the opposite orders in society, which the diffusion of extreme opinions among them might produce, was

viewed without terror by him whose heart had no virtuous interest in the future fate of his country.

It had not however appeared necessary to declare by any overt act the alliance of Government with the favored faction, till an attempt was made to mediate between parties, and to avert the evils which impended over the country.

An association of gentlemen was formed for these purposes. They erected the standard of the British Constitution. They were likely, by the liberality of their principles, to reclaim every thinking man who had been seduced into Republicanism, and by the moderation of their views, to attract every honest man who had for a moment been driven into Toryism. They had already almost effected an union of the friends of liberty and order, and reduced to a miserable handful the two extreme factions; the dread of one of which, and the fury of the other, were to be the instruments of your power.

Such a danger demanded an extreme remedy. No man has more studied or more experienced the *gullibility* of mankind than yourself. You knew that the popular grossness would not distinguish between what it was your policy to confound. You therefore issued a PROCLAMATION, which by directing a vague and indiscriminate odium against all political change, confounded in the same storm of unpopularity the wildest projects of subversion, and the most measured plans of Reform.

A Statesman, emboldened by success, and instructed by experience in all the arts of popular delusion, easily perceived the assailable position of every MEDIATORIAL party, the various enemies they provoke, the opposite imputations they incur. In their labors to avert that fatal collision of the opposite orders of society, which the diffusion of extreme principles threatened, you saw that they would be charged by the corrupt with violence, and accused by the violent of insincerity. It was easy, you knew, to paint moderation as the virtue of cowards, and compromise as the policy of knaves, to the stormy and intolerant enthusiasm of faction; and the malignant alarms of the corrupt would, it is obvious, be forward to brand every moderate sentiment and every mediatorial effort as symptoms of collusion with the violent, and of treachery to the cause of public order. It scarcely required the incentive and the sanction of a solemn public measure from the Government to let loose so many corrupt interests and malignant passions on the natural object of their enmity. But such a sanction and incentive might certainly add something to the activity of these interests, and to the virulence of these passions. Such a sanction and incentive you therefore gave in your Proclamation. To brand mediation as treachery, and neutrality

as disguised hostility; to provoke the violent into new indiscretions, and to make those indiscretions the means of aggravating the Toryism of the timid by awakening their alarms; to bury under one black and indiscriminate obloquy of licentiousness the memory of every principle of freedom; to rally round the banners of religious persecution, and of political corruption, every man in the kingdom who dreads anarchy, and who deprecates confusion; to establish on the broadest foundation oppression and servility for the present, and to heap up in store all the causes of anarchy and civil commotion for future times; such is the malignant policy, such are the mischievous tendencies, such are the experienced effects of that PROCLAMATION. It is sufficient that, *for the present*, it converts the kingdom into a camp of janissaries, enlisted by their alarms to defend your power. It is indeed well adapted to produce other remoter and collateral effects, which the *far-sighted* politics of the Addressers have not discerned. It is certainly well calculated to blow into a flame that spark of Republicanism which moderation must have extinguished, but which may, in future *conceivable circumstances*, produce effects, at the suggestion of which good men will shudder, and on which wise men will rather meditate than descant. It is certain that in this view your Proclamation is as effectual in irritating some men into Republicanism, as Paine's pamphlets have been in frightening others into Toryism.

Perhaps, however, the events which such a spirit might produce, are contingencies that enter into the calculations of certain Statesmen. Perhaps they anticipate the moment when the Republican mob of the lower orders may be as valuable to them as the Tory vulgar of the higher are now. Perhaps they may deem it a master stroke of Machiavelian policy to foment the animosity of two factions, one of which maintains the present Dictator, and the other may aggrandize the future Demagogue.

Such a policy is not altogether improbable; and if the eternal alliance of wisdom with virtue could be broken, might not be thought altogether unwise. The man who was capable of it would not be deceived by the present appearance of prosperity and content. He would easily see, how rapidly public calamity, acting upon Republican theories, might change the scene; far less would be hindered by the present appearances of furious loyalty among some of the lower classes of society. He would perceive this state of sentiment to be the forced produce of artificial causes, and he could anticipate the violence with which they would rebound to an opposite extreme, more natural to their situation, more congenial to their feelings, and more gratifying to their pride.

The success of such a policy would certainly demand in the

Statesman who adopted it a union of talents and dispositions which are not often combined. Cold, stern, crafty, and ambiguous, he must be, without those entanglements of friendship and those restraints of feeling, by which tender natures are held back from desperate enterprises. No ingenuousness must betray a glimpse of his designs; no compunction must suspend the stroke of his ambition. He must never be seduced into any honest profession of *precise* public principle, which might afterwards arise against him as the record of his apostasy; he must be prepared for acting every inconsistency, by perpetually veiling his political professions in the *no-meaning* of lofty generalities. The absence of gracious and popular manners, which can find no place in such a character will be well compensated by the austere and ostentatious virtues of insensibility. He must possess the parade without the restraints of morals. He must unite the most profound dissimulation with all the ardor of enterprise; he must be prepared by one part of his character for the violence of a multitude, and by another for the duplicity of a Court. If such a man arose at any critical moment in the fortune of a State; if he were unfettered by any great political connexion; if his interest were not linked to the stability of public order by any ample property; if he could carry with him to any enterprise no little authority and splendor of character; he indeed would be an object of more rational dread than a thousand Republican pamphleteers.

Against such a man it would be fit to warn the people whom he might delude, and the opulent whom he might destroy. Whether such be the character of any living Statesmen, it belongs to History to determine.

I shall dwell no longer on portraits that may be imaginary, and speculations which may be illusive. The dangers which have haunted my imagination may be unreal; but if ever such dangers should be realised in a moment of public calamity, and if public confidence should then be triumphantly seized by a convicted delinquent, like the present Minister of England; if the people should then forget the blackest treachery to their cause, and the meanest malignity against their friends; then indeed the parade of your confidence in popular folly will be justified; and a contempt for the understanding of the people will be proved to be the best requisite for ruling them absolutely, as well as the best proof of having estimated them correctly.

If such be the state of the People of England, no human power can save them; they must be abandoned to their misfortunes and to your delusions. In the confidence that they are more generous, and more wise, I have now arraigned you before their tribunal. Events will decide whether my respect or your con-

tempt be best founded, and the decision involves the fate of our country.

I will not conclude this letter with expressions of respect which I do not entertain, but I will close it with confidently asserting, that every line of it contains the unbiassed sentiments of

AN HONEST MAN.

---

# APPENDIX.

## No. I.

### OPINION OF MR. LOCKE ON REPRESENTATION.

"THINGS of this world are in so constant a flux, that nothing remains long in the same state. Thus people, riches, trade, power, change their stations, florishing mighty cities come to ruin, and prove in time neglected desolate corners, whilst other unfrequented places grow into populous countries, filled with wealth and inhabitants. But things not always changing equally, and private interest often keeping up customs and privileges, when the reasons of them are ceased, it often comes to pass, that in governments, where part of the legislative consists of representatives chosen by the people, that in tract of time this representation becomes very unequal and disproportionate to the reasons it was at first established upon. To what gross absurdities the following of custom, when reason has left it, may lead, we may be satisfied, when we see the bare name of a town, of which there remains not so much as the ruins, where scarce so much housing as a sheep-cot, or more inhabitants than a shepherd is to be found, sends *as many Representatives* to the grand Assembly of Law makers, as a whole county, numerous in people, and powerful in riches. This strangers stand amazed at, and every one must confess needs a remedy. For it being the interest, as well as the intention of the people to have a fair and *equal Representation;* whoever brings it nearest to that, is an undoubted FRIEND TO, AND ESTABLISHER OF THE GOVERNMENT, and cannot miss the consent and approbation of the community. 'Tis not a change from the present state, which perhaps corruption or decay has introduced, that makes an inroad upon the Government, but the tendency of it to injure or oppress the people, and to set up one part, or party, with a distinction from, and an unequal subjection of the rest."

*Locke on Civil Government, Book II. Chap.* 13. *Sect.* 157, 158.

## No. II.

OPINION OF MR. JUSTICE BLACKSTONE.

"THIS is the SPIRIT of our Constitution: not that I assert it is in fact quite so perfect as I have here endeavoured to describe it; for, if any alteration might be wished or suggested in the present frame of Parliaments, it should be in favor of a more COMPLETE REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE."

*Blackstone's Commentaries, Vol. I. Page* 171, 172.

## No. III.

Extracts from a letter written by the Duke of Richmond to Lieutenant Colonel Sharman, Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence at Belfast, dated August 15th, 1783.

"I HAVE no hesitation in saying, that from every consideration which I have been able to give to this great question, that for many years has occupied my mind; and from every day's experience to the present hour I am more and more convinced, that the restoring the right of voting universally to every man not incapacitated by nature for want of reason, or by law for the commission of crimes, together with annual elections, is the only reform that can be effectual and permanent. I am further convinced, that it is the only reform that is practicable. The lesser reform *(alluding to Mr. Pitt's motion in the House of Commons)* has been attempted with every possible advantage in its favor; not only from the zealous support of the advocates for a more equal one, but from the assistance of men of great weight both in and out of power. But with all those temperaments and helps it has failed; not one *proselyte* has been gained from *corruption*, nor has the least ray of hope been held out from any quarter, that the House of Commons was inclined to adopt any other mode of reform. The weight of corruption has crushed this more gentle, as it would have defeated any more efficacious plan in the same circumstances. From that quarter, therefore, I have nothing to hope. It is from the people at large that I expect any good, and I am convinced that the only way to make them feel that they are really concerned in the business, is to contend for their full, clear, and indisputable rights of universal representation. But in the more liberal and great plan of universal representation a clear and distinct principle at once appears, that cannot lead us wrong. Not CONVENIENCY, but RIGHT. If it is not a maxim of our Constitution, that a British subject is to be governed only by laws to which he has consented by himself or his representative, we should instantly abandon the error; but if it is the essential of Freedom, founded

on the eternal principles of justice and wisdom and our unalienable birth-right, we should not hesitate in asserting it. Let us then but determine to act upon this broad principle of giving to every man his own, and we shall immediately get rid of all the perplexities to which the narrow notions of partiality and exclusion must ever be subject."

## No. IV.

### OPINION OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

"*Guildhall, Tuesday, April* 11, 1782.

"At a meeting of the Livery of London, appointed to correspond with the Committees of the several counties, cities, &c. of the kingdom,

"Mr. Alderman Crosby in the Chair.

"Resolved Unanimously,

"That in the judgment of this Committee, unless a melioration of Parliament can be obtained, the best official regulations may soon be set aside, the wisest and most virtuous ministers may soon be displaced; by the prevalence of that corrupt influence now subsisting in the House of Commons, which its defective frame naturally generates, and which has already so nearly effected the ruin of this unhappy country."

## No. V.

### OPINION OF ASSOCIATED ENGLISH COUNTIES.

Extracts from the proceedings of a Meeting of Deputies appointed by the several petitioning or associated bodies hereinafter mentioned.

The counties of York, Surry, Hertford, Huntingdon, Middlesex, Essex, Kent, Devon, and Nottingham, and the city of Westminster, held on the 3rd day of March, and by different adjournments on the 10th, 17th, 19th, 24th, and 31st days of March, and 21st day of April, 1781,

"Resolved,

"That the parliamentary representation of this kingdom is extremely inadequate.

"Resolved,

"That the extensive public evils have been produced by the gross inadequacy of the representation of the people in parliaments."

## No. VI.

"Thatched House Tavern, May 16, 1782.

"At a numerous and respectable meeting of members of par-

liament friendly to a Constitutional Reformation, and of members of several committees of counties and cities,

PRESENT,

| | |
|---|---|
| The Duke of RICHMOND, | The Hon. WILLIAM PITT, |
| Lord SURREY, | The Rev. Mr. WYVILL, |
| Lord MAHON, | Major CARTWRIGHT, |
| The LORD MAYOR, | Mr. JOHN HORNE TOOKE, |
| Sir WATKIN LEWES, | Alderman WILKES, |
| Mr. DUNCOMBE, | Doctor JEBB, |
| Sir C. WRAY, | Mr. CHURCHILL, |
| Mr. B. HOLLIS, | Mr. FROST, |
| Mr. WITHERS, | &c. &c. &c. |

"Resolved unanimously,

"That the motion of the HON. WILLIAM PITT, on the 7th inst. for the appointment of a Committee of the House of Commons to enquire into the State of the Representation of the people of Great Britain, and to report the same to the House, and also what steps it might be necessary to take, having been defeated by a motion for the order of the day, it is become indispensably necessary that application should be made to Parliament by petitions from the collective body of the people, in their respective districts, requesting a substantial Reformation of the Commons' House of Parliament.

"Resolved unanimously,

"That this meeting, considering that a general application by the collective body of the people to the House of Commons cannot be made before the close of the present session, is of opinion that THE SENSE OF THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE TAKEN AT SUCH TIMES AS MAY BE CONVENIENT DURING THIS SUMMER, IN ORDER TO LAY THEIR SEVERAL PETITIONS BEFORE PARLIAMENT EARLY IN THE NEXT SESSION, WHEN THEIR PROPOSALS FOR A PARLIAMENTARY REFORMATION (WITHOUT WHICH NEITHER THE LIBERTY OF THE NATION CAN BE PRESERVED, NOR THE PERMANENCE OF A WISE AND VIRTUOUS ADMINISTRATION CAN BE SECURE) MAY RECEIVE THAT AMPLE AND MATURE DISCUSSION, WHICH SO MOMENTOUS A QUESTION DEMANDS."

## No. VII.

UNTIL the report of the Committee of the Friends of the People on the present state of the Representation shall appear, the following may serve as a specimen of the wretched tenure by which the privileges and liberties of the People of England are now held.

"If we take the places where the majority of the electors comes below 20, it is shameful what a proportion of the 513 (members for England and Wales) is sent into the House by a handful, and that handful mostly people in low circumstances, and therefore obnoxious to bribery, or under the power of their superiors.

| | Sends members | Chosen by |
|---|---|---|
| "Lestwithiel | 2 | 13 |
| Truro | 2 | 14 |
| Bodmin | 2 | 19 |
| Saltash | 2 | 15 |
| Camelford | 2 | 10 |
| Bossiney | 2 | 11 |
| St. Michael | 2 | 14 |
| St. Mawes | 2 | 16 |
| Tiverton | 2 | 14 |
| Malden | 2 | 14 |
| Harwich | 2 | 17 |
| Thetford | 2 | 17 |
| Brackley | 2 | 17 |
| Banbury | 2 | 11 |
| Bath | 2 | 17 |
| Newport, Wight | 2 | 13 |
| Newton, ditto | 2 | 1 |
| Andover | 2 | 13 |
| Gatton | 2 | 11 |
| Bramber | 2 | 8 |
| East Grinstead | 2 | 19 |
| Calne | 2 | 18 |
| Malmsbury | 2 | 7 |
| Old Sarum | 2 | 1 |
| Bewdley | 2 | 18 |
| New Romney | 2 | 17 |
| Marlborough | 2 | 2 |
| Buckingham | 2 | 7 |
| | 56 | 354 |

"Here we see 56 members (about a ninth-part of the whole for England) are sent into the House of Commons by 354 votes, which number ought not to send one member. For no member ought to be elected by fewer than the majority of 800, upon the most moderate calculation, in order to give 410,000 voters their due and equally distributed share of legislative power, without which equal distribution the majority of the men of property are enslaved to the handful of beggars, who, by electing the majority of the House of Commons, have so great an overbalance of power over

them, as to be able to carry every point in direct opposition to their opinion and to their interest."

*Burgh's Political Disquisitions*, vol. i. pp. 47—8.

## No. VIII.

Sentiments delivered by Mr. Pitt, on Parliamentary Reform, in his Speech in the House of Commons, on Monday, the 19th of April, 1785.

"He said he was sensible of the difficulty which there was now, and ever must be, in proposing a plan of Reform. The number of gentlemen who were hostile to Reform, were a phalanx which ought to give alarm to any individual upon rising to suggest such a measure. Those who, with a sort of superstitious awe, reverence the Constitution so much as to be fearful of touching even its defects, had always reprobated every attempt to purify the representation. They acknowledged its inequality and corruption, but in their enthusiasm for the grand fabric, they would not suffer a reformer with unhallowed hands to repair the injuries which it suffered from time. Others who, perceiving the deficiencies that had arisen from circumstances, were solicitous of their amendment, yet resisted the attempt, under the argument, that when once we had presumed to touch the Constitution in one point, the awe which had heretofore kept us back from the daring enterprize of innovation might abate, and there was no foreseeing to what alarming lengths we might progressively go under the mask of Reformation. Others there were, but for these he confessed he had not the same respect, who considered the present state of representation as pure, and adequate to all its purposes, and perfectly consistent with the first principles of representation. The fabric of the House of Commons was an ancient pile, on which they had been all taught to look with reverence and awe: from their cradles they had been accustomed to view it as a pattern of perfection; their ancestors had enjoyed freedom and prosperity under it; and therefore an attempt to make any alterations in it, would be deemed by some enthusiastic admirers of antiquity, as impious and sacrilegious. No one reverenced the venerable fabric more than he did; but all mankind knew, that the best institutions, like human bodies, carried in themselves the seeds of decay and corruption; and therefore he thought himself justifiable in proposing remedies against this corruption, which the frame of the Constitution must necessarily experience in the lapse of years, if not prevented by wise and judicious regulations.

"The argument of withstanding all reformation, from the fear of the ill consequences that might ensue, made gentlemen come to a sort of compromise with themselves. 'We are sensible of certain defects; we feel certain inconveniences in the present state of representation; but fearing that we may make it worse by alteration, we will be content with it as it is.' This was a sort of argument to which he could not give his countenance. If gentlemen had at all times been content with this sort of average, the nation would have lost much of that excellence of which our Constitution now had to boast.

"If there always had been a House of Commons who were the faithful stewards of the interests of their country, the diligent checks on the administration of the finances, the constitutional advisers of the executive branch of the Legislature, the steady and uninfluenced friends of the People, he asked, IF THE BURDENS, WHICH THE CONSTITUENTS OF THAT HOUSE WERE NOW DOOMED TO ENDURE, WOULD HAVE BEEN INCURRED? Would the People of England have suffered the calamities to which they had lately been made subject?

"He needed not, he believed, to enumerate the arguments that presented themselves to his mind in favor of a reform. Every gentleman, who had taken pains to investigate the subject, must see that it was most materially wanted. To conquer the corruption that existed in those decayed boroughs, he believed that gentlemen would acknowledge to be impossible. The temptation were too great for poverty to resist, and the consequence of this corruption was so visible, that some plan of reforming the boroughs had clearly become absolutely necessary. In times of calamity and distress, how truly important was it to the people of this country that the House of Commons should sympathize with themselves, and that their interests should be indissoluble? It was most material that the People should have confidence in their own branch of the Legislature; the force of the Constitution, as well as its beauty, depended on that confidence, and on the union and sympathy which existed between the constituent and representative. The source of our glory and the muscles of our strength were the pure character of freedom which our Constitution bore. To lessen that character, to taint it, was to take from our vitals a part of their vigor, and to lessen not only our importance but our energy with our neighbours.

"The purity of representation was the only true andpermanent source of such confidence; for though occasionally bright characters had arisen, who, in spite of the general corruption and depravity of the day in which they lived, had manifested the superior influence of integrity and virtue, and had forced both Parliament

and People to countenance their Administration; yet it would be unwise for the People of England to leave their fate to the chance of such characters often arising, when prudence must dictate that the certain way of securing their properties and freedom was to purify the sources of representation, and to establish that strict relation between themselves and the House of Commons which it was the original idea of the Constitution to create. He hoped that the plan which he had mentioned was likely to re-establish such a relation; and he recommended to gentlemen not to suffer their minds to be alarmed by unnecessary fears. NOTHING WAS SO HURTFUL TO IMPROVEMENT AS THE FEAR OF BEING CARRIED FARTHER THAN THE PRINCIPLE ON WHICH A PERSON SET OUT.

"It was common for gentlemen to reason with themselves, and to say that they would have no objection to go so far, and no farther, if they were sure, that in countenancing the first step, they might not either be led themselves, or lead others, farther than they intended to go. So much they were apt to say was right—so far they would go—of such a scheme they approved; but fearing that it might be carried too far, they desisted from doing even what they conceived to be proper. He deprecated this conduct, and hoped that gntlemen would come to the consideration of this business, without fearing that it would lead to consequences that would either ruin or alarm us."

*Parliamentary Register for* 1785, p. 43 et seq.

# PROPOSAL
## FOR
## A CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM,
### FOUNDED ON PROPERTY, AND SUBVERSIVE OF OLIGARCHY, AND OCHLOCRACY.

The necessity of Reform in the election of the House of Commons is felt by all, and denied by those only, whose private advantage is at variance with their public interest. But the great argument of the latter, is the discrepancy of opinion among the Reformers, "Let all men," they say, "unite in one consistent system of Reform, and we will listen to their suggestions." Had a complete similarity of opinions,—an event as unknown in history, as inconsistent with the nature of man,—been necessary for the adoption of any improvement, the world would still be immersed in the gloom of ignorance; neither Reformation nor Revolution would have taken place. It is to the general conviction of the existence of abuse, and to the good sense of a nation, that we are indebted for the salutary alterations that have been made in all public institutions.

Time is the universal innovator. As all public systems are subject to the frailty that pervades all the works of man, time will gradually and imperceptibly sap the foundations, and impair the stability of every human edifice. It is therefore the business of a wise policy to repair or rebuild that edifice, and prevent the impending ruin. To this salutary object the following short suggestions are dedicated. They will displease the violent of all parties,—the Radical Whigs, who indulge the wild and absurd reveries of Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage; and the Radical Tories, who aim at the perpetuation of every corrupted and corrupting practice.

The English Constitution theoretically consists of the Monarchy, the Aristocracy, and the Democracy. But the slow and certain workings of corruption have introduced into its practical operation two extraneous bodies, an Oligarchy and an Ochlocracy.

The first is the most important and the most powerful. The members of it command the King, the Lords and the Commons;

and keep the administration in such a state of dependence, that the latter, sensible of the necessity of propitiating their influence and securing their support, dare not propose those plans of economy and retrenchment, which their duty and their inclination might induce them to attempt. The effects of those close elections, to which they owe their power, on the public morals are lamentable. Every engine of bribery and corruption is employed, and produces perjury and the most abject selfishness that degrades the human mind. To those, who understand the history of their country, it is unnecessary to trace the origin of those boroughs, or to describe the means by which they have gradually become the instruments of undermining the beautiful fabric of the Constitution.

The *Ochlocracy* is a species of Universal Suffrage, and therefore equally productive of bribery and corruption. The members of it are of two kinds,—the forty-shilling freeholders, and the non-resident freemen of certain boroughs.

Leaseholders and copyholders were originally considered as dependent on the Lords of manors, and therefore unfit to be trusted with the elective franchise. That cause has long ceased to operate, and they are now under no political control. But, by an absurdity, the continuance of which is unaccountable, a man possessing a large copyhold or leasehold property, is not permitted to vote, while a laborer in his service has the power of electing his legislators.

The non-resident freemen of boroughs are generally equally low in the scale of society, and must be sent for by the candidates, at a considerable expense, from East, West, North, and South; and, like the low freeholders, are usually at the service of the highest bidder. It is not a very uncommon case to see the resident voters, who have placed their confidence in some neighbour of known integrity, as the object of their choice, defeated and overwhelmed by the sudden irruption of the out-voters, introducing a stranger, whose chief merit consists in the weight of his purse.

To correct these evils, and to bring the Representation to that state of purity, which was originally designed; and to prevent the injurious consequences, which have resulted from the present practice, the following sketch of a plan is humbly submitted to the

consideration of the impartial, the independent, the moderate, the moral, and the religious part of the community. From others, the most labored treatises, the most powerful arguments would not elicit the least expression of satisfaction or conviction.

### In County Elections,

Every Proprietor, and every Householder, paying direct taxes to the amount of *eight* pounds a year, shall be entitled to vote.

### In Borough Elections,

Every resident Householder, paying direct taxes to the amount of *four* pounds a year, shall have a vote.—But no Borough shall have the privilege of sending Representatives to Parliament, that has not at least *one hundred* such voters.—The example of the disfranchisement of Grampound shall be followed; the deficiency shall be supplied by Counties, and by the large towns at present unrepresented.

The advantages obtained, and the evils averted, by this plan, are too obvious to need description. It is merely a sketch; the wisdom of Parliament would easily mature and complete the system.—It might be necessary to fix the qualification to vote on a basis, which would, at certain periods, accommodate itself to the fluctuations of the value of money.

It is probable that this plan would not only prove an incentive to industry, but would tend to the increase of the revenue. Householders in Counties, paying *six* or *seven* pounds a year, and in Boroughs *two* or *three* pounds, finding that the right of voting was attended with some degree of respectability and consequence, might be induced to make some augmentation in their establishments to attain that privilege.

# THOUGHTS

ON

# LIBERTY,

AND

# THE RIGHTS OF ENGLISHMEN.

BY BASIL MONTAGU, ESQ.

---

He that takes
Deep in his soft credulity the stamp
Design'd by loud declaimers on the part
Of Liberty, themselves the slaves of Lust,
Incurs derision for his easy faith
And lack of knowledge, and with cause enough.
Can he be strenuous in his country's cause,
Who slights the charities, for whose dear sake
That country, if at all, must be beloved!

---

THIRD EDITION.

---

LONDON:

1822.

[THIS Essay was published a few years since, with the hope of rendering some assistance in counteracting the mischievous opinions which were at that time circulated through the country under the title of Liberty.—I reprint it from the belief that it is calculated to do good;—'the drops of rain which fall separately into the river mix themselves at once with the stream, and strengthen the general current.']

# THOUGHTS,

## &c. &c.

---

DIFFERENT visionaries have at different times appeared in society, and will for ever appear, and contend that all men are or ought to be equal: that all men are or ought to be free: that law is oppression, and that general rules of conduct are improper restraints.

These visionaries are certain of a favorable reception from the multitude, because they are supposed to be disinterested, and because the sentiments which they inculcate are acceptable to their audience.

They are supposed to be disinterested, because, from the nature of their opinions, they cannot be expected to seek preferment.

Their sentiments are acceptable to the multitude, either because they are recommended by their novelty to that want of knowlege to which all things are new; or, because they proclaim the defects to which all human institutions are subject; or, because they pamper the vicious by promising sensual delights or an increase of property, which they represent as having been unjustly witheld; or, because they mislead the generous through their virtues, by recommending equality and liberty, which they describe as the right of all men.

The different considerations on this subject appear then to be,

1. The disinterestedness of Demagogues.
2. The novelty of their doctrines.
3. Their power of misleading both vicious and virtuous youth.
4. Their proclaiming the defects of Government.

A supposition of the disinterestedness of Demagogues has for ever existed, and will for ever exist, until knowlege is so diffused through the community that the people are able to distinguish between the true Patriot and the headstrong Demagogue; but this is attended with some difficulty; for,

> False patriotism, till it gain its end,
> Is as the true in many semblances.
> Like that, it takes upon it to reform
> Oppressive judgments and injurious laws,
> That bear too hard upon the common weal:
> Cries out upon abuses, seems to weep
> Over the country's wrongs: and by this face,
> Of seeming zeal and justice, craftily
> It wins those hearts for which its bait is thrown.

There are, however, certain tests by which the Demagogue may be known.

*The foundation of patriotism is virtue in private life.* The Patriot is reared amidst the charities of home: he learns to love his country, from his mother's song: from his father's prayer: from his wife's respect and tenderness: from his children's love and duty.—Such were the Patriots of old: such was William Tell: such was Washington: such are thousands in England. The Demagogue has neither hearth nor household god: he wanders to and fro: he shows his aptness to manage the affairs of the commonwealth by the neglect and ruin of his own family.—Such was Catiline: such are the modern Demagogues.

*The Patriot prefers the good of his country to his private good.* When Pompey was in the commission for purveyance for a famine at Rome, he was vehemently dissuaded by his friends from risking his life by venturing to sea in an extremity of weather: 'It is necessary that I should sail, not that I should live,'—*Necesse est ut eam, non ut vivam,*—was his answer. The Demagogue refers all things to himself as if he were the world's centre, and cares not in all tempests what becomes of the ship of the state, so that he may save himself in the cockboat of his own fortune. The Patriot's conduct originates in love of his country: the Demagogue's in love of himself, either to gratify his irritability because a reasonable or an unreasonable request has been refused; or to force his way by virulence and invective; or to be pleased with the sound of his own harangues; or as some reason for neglecting his nearest connexions;—'*Il aime les Tartares pour être dispensé d'aimer ses voisins.*'

As the good sailor obtains knowlege of the art of navigation, that his vessel may not strike on a rock, and be wrecked; so *the Patriot studies the science of government, that he may not mislead or be misled by injudicious zeal.* He remembers the admonition

of John Milton, that 'he who is born to promote the public good, should read the Law of God above his years, and make it his whole delight.' He remembers the admonition of Socrates, 'that the meanest trade is not attempted without an apprenticeship, but every man thinks himself qualified by intuition for the hardest of all trades, that of government.' The Demagogue can manage a ship in a tempest, although he never saw the ocean: he can cure diseases, although he is unacquainted with the structure of the human body: he would be a governor, without any knowlege of the being to be governed.[1]

[1] In a discourse between Phocion, Nicocles, and Aristias; Nicocles says, —'Phocion was going to answer me, when he was interrupted by Aristias, a young man naturally of the happiest dispositions, but whose mind the Sophists had begun already to vitiate. He came in with the volatility of a coxcomb who imagines himself profoundly acquainted with weighty truths, because his opinions are singular, and full of himself for his fortitude in throwing off some vulgar prejudices. 'My business, Phocion,' abruptly making up to him, 'is to ask your friendship, and deny me you cannot, it being for the good of our country that I ask it. Our magistrates seem not to know how to avail themselves of our abilities; it is plain to me that the republic, which should rule Greece with a high hand, droops, and is in a sensible decline; and this from our own fault.'

'Phocion answered this exordium only with a careless smile; but for my part, I could hardly forbear checking this pragmatical spark, who drew on himself our contempt, whilst he fancied he was raising our admiration: however, I remained silent, leaving Aristias to pursue his reflections, which he did with equal warmth and volubility. No part of our government escaped his lash; and such unhappily is our folly, that I must own the young coxcomb was not seldom in the right; but then the remedies he proposed are most egregiously irrational. He was greatly pleased with his discoveries. At length when he conceited that he had approved himself the tutelar genius of Athens, and that should the republic decline, the fault did not lie at his door, he ended.

'I must return you thanks, said Phocion to him, for the insight you have given me, and cannot but commend your zeal for our country. You have with great perspicuity laid open several flaws in our republic, and indeed in all Greece: however, in the many remedies you suggest, methinks you do not observe that order and method which appear to me necessary, and without which all you propose, though it might for a while patch up our distempers, will not effectually cure them.

"Would you take upon you to set up for a physician before you have closely studied the whole texture of the human system? Undoubtedly no; you would first get a knowlege of all its several parts; you would inform yourself of their functions, their different relations, and carefully examine the virtue and the propriety of every medicament. Politics, Aristias, is a science in which knowlege and exact disquisition are not less necessary than in the other branches. Before you strike out so many schemes for the prosperity and glory of our country, have you maturely weighed the motives for which men consented to give up their natural independence, and erected among themselves government, laws, and magistrates? Have you well considered the nature of the human heart and mind, and the hap-

*The Patriot is seldom a member of any party.* He does not surrender his judgment to any man, or to any body of men. He does not adopt opinions upon trust. He does not unite himself to the opposers of government; nor does he join those herds and flocks of people who follow any body that whistles to them or drives them to pasture. The happiness of his country is his rule of conduct: his mode of ascertaining it, the exercise of his own understanding. The Demagogue is the worst of all partisans. He is the leader of the mob: the triton amongst the minnows.

*The Patriot does not deny his governors their due praise.* He says, with John Milton, 'this is not the liberty which we can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the commonwealth; that let no man in this world expect. But when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty attained, that wise men look for.

> 'This is true liberty, when freeborn men,
> Having to advise the public, may speak free.'

The Demagogue is marked by acrimonious and unremitting opposition to the court. His love of the people consists in exciting hate against the government. If public distress incline the lower orders to turbulence, he infuses vindictive and discontented fancies into their minds. He exaggerates the evils to produce riot. He inflates passing events into permanent causes of misery. He displays defects without their accompanying advantages. He misleads by chains of simple questions where the apparent answers are obvious, but the real answers require the comprehension of a system.

piness we are susceptible of? Have you traced our passions up to the source? Are you well acquainted with their strength, their activity, their caprices? Have you endeavoured to divest yourself of your prepossessions, that you may consult only genuine reason, and by its help attain to a knowlege of nature's general view concerning us? In a word, have you endeavoured to distinguish our real wants from those to which we ourselves have given rise; from those artificial wants which perhaps are the sources of all our misfortunes, procuring us only short intervals and some transient pleasures, of which we are drawn into fatal delusions?

'Without these previous lights, who can warrant you that the object you have in view is in reality that which deserves your attention? How will you be sure that the remedy you are making use of will produce the good expected; or, that the application of it to one part of society will not hurt the other? Politics would be an art no less contemptible than our superficial Grecian practitioners of it, if in ridding us of one disease it brings on another, and does not recur to the primary cause of the several disorders and morbid humors in the body of the republic. If all you want, Aristias, be but a collection of empirical nostrums, or juggling prestiges, I am not your man; but let me tell you, none of those things belong to politics. The art of deceiving men and the art of making them happy are totally different."

*The Patriot views the people as a father views his children, erring and liable to err from want of knowlege:* he therefore *avails himself of every opportunity to diffuse information amongst his countrymen.* He endeavours to inculcate right opinions into the higher ranks, and by their influence to regulate the lower. He lives with the wise, the temperate, the regular, and the virtuous. The Demagogue professes to wish that education should be progressive: but he dreads and shuns intellect. The frogs are silent when a light appears. He endeavours to infuse his opinions into the indigent, who are always inflammable; into the timid, who are naturally suspicious; into the ignorant, who are easily misled; and into the profligate, who have no hope but from mischief.

*The Patriot* views the people as a father views his children, erring and liable to err from the impulses of generous or turbulent passion: he therefore *prevents their being hurried to excess by popular harangues.* The Demagogue promotes them: he misleads the populace by addresses to their best and to their worst passions: he deceives the timid with fictitious mischief; appeals to the judgment, and flatters the vanity of ignorance: he slanders honesty, and insults dignity. He talks of natural equality; the absurdity of many made for one; the original compact; the foundation of authority; the rights of man; the majesty of the people; the advances of the prerogative; and the danger of arbitrary power. The Patriot pleads *for* the people: the Demagogue pleads *to* them. —'At the conclusion of the American war, while the citizens of the United States were anticipating the blessings of peace, their army, to which America was so deeply indebted, was unrewarded for its services. The States, which had been rescued by their exertions, were in no condition to pay them. An attempt was made by anonymous and seditious publications to inflame the minds of the officers and soldiers, and induce them to unite in redressing their own grievances, while they had arms in their hands. As soon as General Washington was informed of the nature of these papers, he requested the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper representation from the staff of the army, to assemble on an early day. The General sent for each officer separately, and enlarged in private on the fatal consequences, and particularly on the loss of character to the whole army, which would result from intemperate resolutions. When the officers were convened, the commander addressed them. He pledged himself to exert all his influence in their favor, and requested them to rely on the faith of their country, and conjured them, 'as they valued their honor: as they respected the rights of humanity, and as they regarded the military and national character of America, to express their utmost detestation of the man who

was attempting to open the floodgates of civil discord, and deluge their rising empire with blood.' General Washington then retired. No reply whatever was made to the General's speech. After a short silence, a resolution was unanimously adopted, by which they declared, 'that no circumstance of distress, or danger, should induce a conduct that might tend to sully the reputation and glory they had acquired; that the army continued to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and their Country; and that they viewed with abhorrence, and rejected with disdain, the infamous propositions in the late anonymous address to the officers of the army.'

*The Patriot promotes a masculine and independent spirit in the people:* he is always ready to countenance their just claims and animate their reasonable hopes: he reminds them frequently of their rights: he encourages them to oppose encroachments, and to multiply securities. The Demagogue debases the spirit of liberty by inflaming all classes to acts of violence: he countenances the claims of the people, whether just or unjust, and raises false hopes to secure his own purposes.

*If necessary for the happiness of the people, the Patriot incurs their censure:* although, as an instrument of good, he is not indifferent to popular praise. Applause is the Demagogue's existence: he is nothing if not popular: he is elated by the triumph, not by the cause of victory. Instead of opposing the errors of the multitude, he encourages their prejudices and inflames their passions. He unites in the condemnation of Phocion, and in the cry of Barabbas: 'Mark,' said Demosthenes to the Athenians, 'my counsels unto you are not such whereby I should grow great amongst you, and you become little amongst the Grecians: but they are of that nature as they are sometimes not good for me to give, but are always good for you to follow.'—When Phocion's friends bid him beware how he offended the people, he answered, 'They may wrongfully put me to death speaking for the benefit of my country, but they would have reason to do so if I continue silent.' And judgment was given by the voices of the people, no man sitting, but all standing up, and most of them with garlands on their heads: and Phocion was condemned to death. 'It was,' says an old translator of Plutarch, 'the nineteenth day of the month of Munichion, (to wit, March) on which day the Knights were wont to make a solemne procession in the honor of *Jupiter:* howbeit, some of them left off the garlandes of flowers which they should have worne on their heades, and others also looking towards the prison dore as they went by, burst out a weeping. For they whose hearts were not altogether hardened with cruelty, and whose

iudgments were not wholly suppressed with enuie, thought it a grievous sacriledge against the goddes, that they did not let that day passe, but that they did defile so solemne a feast, with the violent death of a man. His enemies notwithstanding continuing still their anger against him, made the people passe a decree, that his bodie should be banished and carried out of the boundes of the contry of Attica, forbidding the Athenians that no fire might be made for the solemnising of his funeralls. For this respect no friend of his durst touch his bodie. Howbeit a poor man called Canopion, that was wont to get his living that way, being hired for money to burne men's bodies: he took his corse, and carried it beyond the City of Eleusin, and getting fire out of a woman's house of Megara, he solemnized his funerals. Furthermore a gentlewoman of Megara, who coming by chaunce that way, with her gentlewoman, where his body was but newly burnt, she caused the earth to be cast up a little where the body was burnt, and made it like a hollow tombe, whereupon she did use such sprinklings and effusions, as are commonly done at the funerals of the dead: and then taking up his bones in her lappe in the night, she brought them home, and buried them in her harth: saying, Oh dear harth, to thee I bequeath the relicks of this noble and good man, and pray thee to keep them faithfully, to bring them one day to the grave of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall confesse the faulte and wrong they have done unto him. And truly it was not long after that the Athenians found by the vn-towardnesse of their affairs, that they had put him to death, who only maintained justice and honesty at Athens. Whereupon they made his image to be set up in brasse, and gave honorable buriall to his bones, at the charge of the Citie. And for his accusers, they condemned Agnonides of treason, and put him to death themselves. The other two, Epicurus and Demophilus, being fled out of the Citie.'

*The Patriot's plans are not subservient to considerations of reward, estate, or title:* they have not precedence in his thoughts: nor does he decline them if they follow in the train of his duty. The Demagogue professes to despise what he knows he cannot attain. In the Patriot there is nothing personal: in the Demagogue there is nothing liberal but his pretences.—When an application was made to General Washington to accept the command of the American army: he said, 'Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust: however, as the Congress desire it, I will enter into the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for support of the

glorious cause: and I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation. But, lest some unlucky event should happen unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with. As to pay, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. These, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire.'—When an application was made by King John to the Earl of Ulster to act for him as Champion, he being the only man qualified for such an encounter; the Earl twice refused, as the King had imprisoned him unheard at the suit of his rival and enemy, Hugh de Lacy. The King made a third application. The Earl returned for answer, 'Though I will not fight for the King, I will hazard my life for the crown and dignity of the realm.'

*The Patriot refuses preferment if it may deprive him of the power to advance real good from the* appearance *of being interested. Esse et videri,* is his motto.—— Sir Thomas More says, 'When I returned from the embassy to Flanders, the king would have given me a yearly pension, which surely, if one would respect honor and profit, was not to be little esteemed. Yet have I hitherto refused it, and I think shall refuse it still, because I should be forced to forsake my present means, which I have already in the city, and I esteem it more than a better; or else I must keep it with some dislike to the citizens, between whom and his highness, if there should happen any controversy (as sometimes it doth chance) about their privileges, they might suspect me as not sincere and trusty unto them in respect I am obliged to the king with an annual stipend.'

*The Patriot cannot be bought: every Demagogue has his price.* When Alexander sent Phocion 100 talents, Phocion asked his messengers why Alexander gave him such a great reward above all the other citizens of Athens? 'Because,' said they, 'he esteemeth thee alone to be a good and honest man.' 'Let me then,' replied Phocion, 'be what I seem.'—Charles the Second sent Lord Treasurer Danby to Andrew Marvel with offers of protection: the Lord Treasurer found him in one of the little courts of the Strand, and assured him that he was expressly sent from His Majesty, to know what he could do to serve him? 'It is not in His Majesty's power to serve me,' said Mr. Marvel jocularly; when the Lord Treasurer answered, 'that His Majesty, from the just sense he had of his merit alone, desired to know whether

there was any place at court he would be pleased with?' To which he replied, 'that he could not with honor accept the offer, since if he did, he must be either ungrateful to the king in voting against him, or false to his country in supporting the measures of the court; the only favor therefore which he begged of his Majesty was, that he would esteem him as dutiful a subject as any he had, and acting more truly in his proper interest while thus he refused his offers, than he possibly could do should he accept them.'

*When the Patriot has discharged his public duties, he retires to the charities of private life.*—The hour now approached in which it became necessary for General Washington to take leave of his army, who had been endeared to him by a long series of common sufferings and dangers. The officers having previously assembled, General Washington, calling for a glass of wine, thus addressed them:—'With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you: I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable.' The officers came up successively, and he took an affectionate leave of each of them. The General then left the room and passed through the corps of light infantry to the place of embarkation; the officers all following him. On his entering the barge to cross the North river, he turned towards the companions of his glory, and by waving his hat, bid them farewell. Some answered this last signal of respect and affection with tears, and all hung upon the barge which conveyed him from their sight till they could no longer distinguish in it the person of their beloved commander.

Such is the true Patriot: such the imagined disinterestedness of Demagogues. Such are some of the marks by which false patriotism may be discovered:

> —— 'Tis flattering, cruel,
> Pompous and full of sound and stupid rage:
> Of faith neglectful: heaping wrong on wrong:
> Ambitious, selfish:——while the true is calm,
> Firm, persevering, more in act than show.

The supposition of the novelty of the doctrines of Demagogues, is as fallacious as the supposition of their disinterestedness. There is not any thing new in their opinions. These zealots are not of one place or of one season. They are the perennials of history: and, though they may disappear for a time, they exist always in the egg, and need only a distempered atmosphere, and an accidental ferment, to start up into life and activity. These visionaries have for ages been known and proclaimed by all lovers of true liberty; by those whose precepts and examples have enlightened and raised mankind and taught us to walk in the paths of justice and virtue.

They are described in scripture as 'walking in the flesh after the lust of uncleanness and despising government. Presumptuous are they, self-willed, they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities. They speak evil of the things that they understand not. They are wells without water, clouds that are carried with a tempest; to whom the mist of darkness is reserved for ever. For, when they speak great swelling words of vanity, they allure through the lusts of the flesh, through much wantonness. While they promise liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption.'[1]

They were described some thousand years ago by Homer:

> Thersites only clamored in the throng,
> Loquacious, loud and turbulent of tongue:
> Aw'd by no shame, by no respect controled,
> In scandal busy, in reproaches bold.
> With witty malice studious to defame;
> Scorn all his joy, and laughter all his aim.
> But chief he gloried with licentious style
> To lash the great, and monarchs to revile.
> Spleen to mankind his envious heart possess'd
> And much he hated all, but most the best,
> Ulysses or Achilles still his theme,
> But royal scandal his delight supreme.

Similar descriptions are to be found in our sweetest poets; in our most holy divines, and in our most profound legislators: in Shakspeare and in Spenser; in Hooker and in Bacon: and, above all, in every question relating to the freedom of mankind, John Milton; who, himself a noble patriot, well knew the nature of true liberty, and how little it is understood by those

> Who bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,
> And still revolt when truth would set them free:
> License they mean when they cry Liberty.

Such visionaries did not escape—and what did escape?—the notice of Shakspeare. In the Tempest there is the following dialogue:—

> *Gon.* I' the commonwealth, I would by contraries
> Execute all things: for no kind of traffic
> Would I admit; no name of magistrate:
> Letters should not be known; wealth, poverty,
> And use of service, none; contract, succession,
> Bourn, bond of land, tilth, vineyard, none;
> No use of metal, coin, or wine, or oil;
> No occupation, all men idle, all,
> And women too, but innocent and pure:
> No sov'reignty.
> *Seb.* And yet he would be king on't.
> *Ant.* The latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning.
> *Gon.* All things in common, nature should produce
> Without sweat or endeavour. Treason, felony,

[1] 2 Peter ii.

Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine,
Would I not have; but nature should bring forth
Of its own kind, all foyzon, all abundance
To feed my innocent people.
*Seb.* No marrying 'mong his subjects?
*Ant.* None, man: all idle; whores and knaves.
*Gon.* I would with such perfection govern, Sir,
T' excel the golden age.

Nor did these visionaries escape the divine Spenser. In the fifth book of the Fairy Queen, when Arthegal and Talus are journeying together, and are represented as arriving at an assembly of people who are listening to these harangues upon equality, the Orator in his address says,

Therefore I will throw down these mountains high,
And make them level with the lowly plain.
These towering rocks which reach unto the sky
I will thrust down into the deepest main,
And, as they were, them equalize again.
Tyrants that make men subject to their law,
I will suppress, that they no more may reign:
And lordlings curb that commons overawe:
And all the wealth of rich men to the poor will draw.
— he said, they all unequal were,
And had encroached upon each other's share:
Like as the sea (which plain he showed there)
Had worne the earth: so did the fire the air:
So all the rest did other parts impair:
And so were realms and nations run awry;
All which he undertook for to repair,
In sort as they were formed anciently:
And all things would reduce unto equality.
Therefore the vulgar did about him flock,
And cluster thick unto his leasings vain:
Like foolish flies about an honey-crock,
In hope by him great benefit to gain,
And uncontrolled freedom to obtain.

The opinion of the disinterestedness of Demagogues and the supposition of the novelty of their doctrines are not, however, the only advantages which they possess in their addresses to the populace. Knowing that it is easier to tempt, than to resist temptation: knowing that vulgar youth is easily misled by the promise of sensual delight; and that ingenuous youth eagerly listen to the flattering illusions of liberty and equality, the Demagogue addresses the senses of the rabble and the imagination of better minds.

In Shakspeare's account of Wat Tyler's insurrection, Jack Cade says,

*Cade.* Be brave then, for your Captain is brave, and vows reformation. There shall be in England seven halfpenny loaves for a penny. The three hoop'd pot shall have ten hoops, and I will make it felony to drink small

beer. All the realm shall be in common, and in Cheapside shall my palfrey go to grass: and when I am King, as King I will be—

*All.* God save your Majesty!

*Cade.* I thank you, good people. There shall be no money: all shall eat and drink upon my score: and I will apparel them all in one livery, that they may agree like brothers, and worship me their Lord.

In a farce from Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, this species of eloquence did not escape the author. The sailors who mutiny assemble, and the leader of the gang thus addresses them:

Now, my lads, as I am Captain, it behoves me to make a bit of an oration, just that we may understand each other. I am told there are some abroad that would rather stick to their old commander than sail under Jack Windlass and a free flag: but the first that mutinies shall be run up to the yard-arm without mercy, by way of example like to the rest. You that are jolly boys shall share alike in all we have and all we may have! We'll sink the Banian days—sleep eight hours instead of four, work little, eat a great deal, and drink a double allowance of grog every Saturday night.

Such is the fool's paradise which Demagogues offer: such the expedients by which, under specious names, the ignorant are misled. Their promises of liberty and equality are of the same nature. They may be found in any of their works, and are embodied in a play, founded on the story of Wat Tyler, which was written in the early part of the French Revolution, by a young man who soon discovered the erroneous views which he had then taken of society.

*John Ball.* My brethren, these are truths, and weighty ones:
Ye all are equal: nature made you so.
Equality is your birth-right;—when I gaze
On the proud palace, and behold one man
In the blood-purpled robes of royalty,
Feasting at ease, and lording over millions,
Then turn me to the hut of poverty,
And see the wretched lab'rer, worn with toil,
Divide his scanty morsel with his infants,
I sicken, and, indignant at the sight,
'Blush for the patience of humanity.'

*Jack Straw.* We will assert our rights.

*Tom Miller.*——We'll trample down
These insolent oppressors.

*Sir J. Tresilian.* John Ball, you are accused of stirring up
The poor deluded people to rebellion;
Not having the fear of God and of the King
Before your eyes: of preaching up strange notions
Heretical and treasonous; such as saying
That kings have not a right from heaven to govern;
That all mankind are equal; and that ranks
And the distinctions of society,
Aye, and the sacred rights of property,
Are evil and oppressive:—Plead you guilty
To this most heavy charge?

*John Ball.* If it be guilt—
To preach what you are pleased to call strange notions:

That all mankind as brethren must be equal;
That privileg'd orders of society
Are evil and oppressive; that the right
Of property is a juggle to deceive
The poor whom you oppress;—I plead me guilty.

*Sir J. Tresilian.* Did you not tell the mob they were oppress'd,
And preach upon the equality of man;
With evil intent thereby to stir them up
To tumult and rebellion?

*John Ball.* That I told them
That all mankind are equal, is most true;
Ye came as helpless infants to the world:
Ye feel alike the infirmities of nature;
And at last moulder into common clay.
Why then these vain distinctions?—bears not the earth
Food in abundance?—must your granaries
O'erflow with plenty, while the poor man starves?
Sir Judge, why sit you there clad in your furs?
Why are your cellars stor'd with choicest wines?
Your larders hung with dainties, while your vassal,
As virtuous, and as able too by nature,
Tho' by your selfish tyranny depriv'd
Of mind's improvement, shivers in his rags,
And starves amid the plenty he creates?
I have said this is wrong, and I repeat it—
And there will be a time when this great truth
Shall be confess'd—be felt by all mankind.
The electric truth shall run from man to man,
And the blood-cemented pyramid of greatness
Shall fall before the flash!
Tell me, Sir Judge,
What does the government avail the peasant?
Would not he plow his field and sow the corn,
Aye, and in peace enjoy the harvest too?
Would not the sunshine and the dews descend,
Tho' neither King nor Parliament existed?
Do your Court Politics aught matter him?
Would he be warring even unto the death
With his French neighbours?—Charles and Richard contend;
The people fight and suffer:—think ye, Sirs,
If neither country had been cursed with a chief,
The peasants would have quarrell'd?

Such are the baits by which our better passions are allured.

In addition to the power which Demagogues possess, from the supposition of their disinterestedness and of the novelty of their doctrines and their addresses to the passions; the Demagogue, knowing that it is easier to find faults than to mend them, fixes upon the real or apparent objections to which all human institutions are subject; and, finding a favorable disposition for his address in the common propensity of mankind to discover and exaggerate defects, easily induces ignorance to believe that the whole of

government is defective: whilst the Patriot, in explaining the advantages of society, the necessity of coercion and the beauty of order, finds an unfavorable disposition in his hearers from their aversion to restraint; is watched with suspicion, and has difficulty in explaining, even to intelligent youth, the necessity of our establishments. 'We see,' says Lord Bacon, 'it ever falleth out, that the forbidden writing is always thought to be certain sparks of truth, that fly up into the faces of those that seek to choke it and tread it out: whereas a book authorized is thought to be but *temporis voces*, the language of the time.'

The Demagogue appeals to the ignorance of his hearers, and is surrounded by a multitude. The Patriot relies upon the permanent effect of reason upon their understandings, and is, for a time, deserted. When a citizen of London threatened Mr. Wilkes that he would take the sense of the Livery upon his conduct, Mr. Wilkes answered, 'I will take the nonsense, and beat you out and out.'—'Why,' said the regular physician to the quack doctor, 'do you live in affluence whilst I am starving?' 'Because,' answered the mountebank, 'I live upon their folly, and you upon their wisdom.' ——But so this has ever been and ever will be. Some *thousand* years ago Isocrates said in one of his orations against the sophists, that it is far more easy to maintain a wrong cause, and to support paradoxical opinions to the satisfaction of a common auditory, than to establish a doubtful truth by solid and conclusive arguments; and, some *centuries* ago, we were admonished by the pious Hooker, who says, 'The stateliness of houses, the goodliness of trees, when we behold them, delighteth the eye; but that foundation which beareth up the one, that root which ministreth unto the other nourishment and life, is in the bosom of the earth concealed; and if there be occasion at any time to search into it, such labor is then more necessary than pleasant, both to them which undertake it and for the lookers on. In like manner the use and benefit of good laws all that live under them may enjoy with delight and comfort, albeit the grounds and first original causes from whence they have sprung be unknown, as to the greatest part of men they are. He therefore that goeth about to persuade a multitude that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favorable hearers, because they know the manifold defects whereunto every kind of regimen is subject; but the secret lets and difficulties, which in public proceedings are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgment to consider. And because such as openly reprove supposed disorders of state are taken for principal friends to the common benefit of all, and for men that carry singular freedom of mind; under this fair and

plausible color, whatsoever they utter passeth for good and current. That which wanteth in the weight of their speech, is supplied by the aptness of men's minds to accept and believe it; whereas, on the other side, if we maintain things that are established, we have not only to strive with a number of heavy prejudices deeply rooted in the hearts of men, who think that herein we serve the time and speak in favor of the present state, because thereby we either hold or seek preferment; but also to bear such exceptions as minds so averted beforehand usually take against that which they are loth should be poured into them.'

It appears, then, that Demagogues, in their addresses to the populace, possess the following advantages.

1st, A supposition of their disinterestedness.—2d, A supposition of the novelty of their doctrines.—3d, The promise of sensual delight, and of Liberty and Equality; and, 4thly, The fixing upon the defects of governments.

Such is the vantage ground upon which they stand. They are too cautious to descend into the plain, and submit their doctrines to unprejudiced investigation. The mountebank prefers the audience round his stage to any conflict with impartial intelligence.

That all men are or ought to be equal: that all men are or ought to be free; and that the restraints of government are, therefore, unnecessary, seems to be the substance of all their harangues.

It may be well to consider what portion of truth, and what of error, each of these positions contains. Bad tenets gain credit only because they contain a mixture of something that is good.

There are scarcely any words which seem to be more frequently used, and to be less understood, than the words 'Liberty and Equality.'—If by the word Equality it is meant that *we are all equally able to do all things:* that, for instance, we are all equally good makers of watches or clocks; or equally able to steer a ship in a dangerous channel in a storm, the position is too monstrous to call for refutation. The advocates for such Equality may easily discover their error, by supposing that all men are equally good pugilists, and by trying their theory by a few practical lessons with some of our celebrated professors who are not converts to their doctrines.

If by the word Equality it is meant that *we are all born equal,* it must surely be forgotten that some men are born with beautiful and healthy bodies, and some with frames distorted and filled with the most deplorable diseases;—that some minds are fraught with the seeds of wisdom and genius, and some with those of idiotism

and madness: and that some men by the industry of their parents, are born to the inheritance of property; and some, by their idleness and vices, to poverty and disgrace.

Nor by the word Equality can it be meant, that *we are equal in after life*, as it is obvious that we differ in body and in mind, in our passions, and in our possessions.—Some men are diminutive and deformed; others tall, athletic, and graceful. There are idiots and lunatics; and there are men of genius and imagination. Some minds are torpid and dreaming; others soft as the air to receive impressions with the vigor of fire when in action. There is every gradation of intellect, from imbecility to Shakspeare and Bacon: and every gradation of moral feeling, from the few who debase themselves and human nature by malevolence, to the many who never see distress without an anxiety to relieve it.—There is also every variety of industry and idleness, from the many who by their steady exertions procure a competence for themselves, and families, to the few who by their drunkenness and profligacy reduce themselves to beggary and their wives and children to the parish.

If by Equality it is meant, that although there are great individual differences, yet men are, on an average, so equal, that no man can, on account of this difference, claim for himself a benefit to which another may not pretend: this, if rightly understood, is to a certain extent true; that is,—we have equal rights to be industrious, and to the undisturbed possession of property acquired by our industry.—We have equal rights, if we do not interfere with the happiness of others, *to personal security*, or the legal and uninterrupted enjoyment of life, limbs, body, health, and reputation. —We have equal rights to *personal* LIBERTY, or unqualified freedom from restraint, so long as we do not interfere with the rights of others.—We have equal rights to *private property*: or the free use, enjoyment, and disposal of all acquisitions, without any control or diminution, save only by the laws of the land.

Such are the Rights of Englishmen: which, to use the words of Sir William Blackstone, 'at some times we have seen depressed by overbearing and tyrannical princes; at others, so luxuriant as even to tend to anarchy, a worse state than tyranny itself, as any government is better than none at all. But the vigor of our free Constitution has always delivered the nation from these embarrassments: and, as soon as the convulsions consequent on the struggle have been over, the balance of our rights and liberties has settled to its proper level; and their fundamental articles have been from time to time asserted in parliament, as often as they were thought to be in danger.

'First, by the great charter of liberties, which was obtained,

sword in hand, from King John; and afterwards, with some alterations, confirmed in Parliament by King Henry the Third, his son.—Afterwards by the statute, called *confirmatio cartarum*, whereby the great charter is directed to be allowed as the common law; all judgments contrary to it are declared void; copies of it are ordered to be sent to all cathedral churches, and read twice a year to the people; and sentence of excommunication is directed to be as constantly denounced against all those that by word, deed, or counsel, act contrary thereto, or in any degree infringe it.—Next by a multitude of subsequent corroborating statutes, from the first Edward to Henry the Fourth.—Then, after a long interval, by *the Petition of Right*, which was a parliamentary declaration of the liberties of the people, assented to by King Charles the First, in the beginning of his reign; which was closely followed by the still more ample concessions made by that unhappy Prince to his Parliament, before the fatal rupture between them; and by the many salutary laws, particularly the *Habeas Corpus Act*, passed under Charles the Second.—To these succeeded the *Bill of Rights*, or declaration delivered by the Lords and Commons to the Prince and Princess of Orange, 13th February, 1688, and afterwards enacted in Parliament when they became King and Queen; which declaration concludes in these remarkable words: '*and they do claim, demand, and insist upon, all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties.*' And the act of Parliament itself recognises 'all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration, to be true, antient, and indubitable rights of the people of this kingdom.'—Lastly, these liberties were again asserted at the commencement of the present century, in *the Act of Settlement*, whereby the Crown was limited to His present Majesty's illustrious House: and some new provisions were added at the same fortunate æra, for better securing our religion, laws, and liberties, which the statute declares to '*be the birthright of the people of England,' according to the antient doctrine of the common law.*'

Such are the modes by which the rights of Englishmen have been confirmed. To preserve them inviolate, the Constitution has provided certain outworks and barriers, which can never be infringed without danger to our liberties: viz. 1st.—The powers and privileges of Parliament. 2d.—The limitation of the King's prerogative by bounds so certain and notorious, that it is impossible he should mistake or legally exceed them. 3d.—The right to apply to the courts of justice for redress of injuries. 4th.—The right, under checks which promote peace without restraining liberty, to petition the King, or either House of Parliament, peaceably but not tumultuously: and,—5thly, the right to have arms for our defence suitable to our condition and degree.

Such are the rights of Englishmen, the modes by which they have been confirmed, and the modes by which they are secured. They consist, not in any fanciful opinions, but in

The right to—1. Personal security.—2. Personal liberty.—3. Private property.

Confirmed by—1. Magna Charta.—2. The Habeas Corpus Act.—3. The Bill of Rights.—4. The Act of Settlement.

Secured by—1. The powers and privileges of Parliament.—2. The limitation of the King's prerogative.—3. The right to apply to Courts of Justice.—4. The right to petition the King or either House of Parliament.—5. The right to have suitable arms for defence.

These then are our rights, and this the true goddess of liberty to whom an Englishman erects an altar on his hearth, and whom he teaches his young children to reverence. She is supported by order, and justice, and religion, and holds in her right hand the book of the law, which she doth see equally dealt out to the least of her worshippers. She sanctions not the crimes committed in her name. She sits not on a throne built of bones and skulls, hoisting caps and flags red with the blood of her victims. It was not to support a spurious idol that those great men contended, whose names are disgraced by being made the watchword of every ignorant faction, Hampden, Russell, and Sydney. It was not to maintain her trophies that our countrymen bravely fought and nobly fell at Cressy and at Agincourt, at Trafalgar and at Waterloo; it was not physical force, mere bones and muscle, but the strong beating of hearts, indignant at tyranny, and full of the love of liberty, of order, and of justice, by which England conquered.

May these our rights and liberties, thus nobly obtained, for ever be preserved sacred! May they be deeply impressed on our own minds, and on the minds of our children! May they never be violated by the excesses of power: or, what is more to be dreaded, by the accession to power from the excesses of popular infatuation! May they, above all, never be polluted by the wild doctrines of Demagogues!

Athens once was what London now is; the seat of every private virtue: a city of refuge: the mansion-house of liberty. Let us not be unmindful of its sad reverse! The decline and fall of empires proceed from causes as certain in their operation as any other cause in nature. In vain was this heedless people admonished that, as vice and folly hurry individuals to destruction, they convert a living nation into a sepulchre. The sophists prevailed—Phocion was condemned to death, and the decencies of burial were denied to his corpse. Athens is now a ruin. Of all those massive temples, whether built for pomp or for pleasure, in which

were chaunted the strains of sweet Menander, learned Euripides, lofty Sophocles, scarcely one stone stands on another; and the walls that did echo them are laid low! The people are slaves: the city is commanded by a Vaivode, who buys his office of the chief of the black eunuchs, to whom the revenue belongs. The whole country is governed by unlettered barbarians. The plains of Marathon and the pass of Thermopylæ are under the dominion of the Turks!

Such are the bitter fruits of erroneous opinions upon liberty and property. Instead of promoting order, they mislead ignorance by teaching that restraint is tyranny. Instead of encouraging industry, they allure poverty by the delusion that property ought to be in common: that vice may consume the earnings of virtue: that one man may sow, and another reap: that the slothful drone, who murmurs round the hive, may seize the honey which the industrious bee has carefully and cheerfully collected.

A

# HISTORY

OF

# THE PENAL LAWS

AGAINST THE

# IRISH CATHOLICS;

FROM THE TREATY OF LIMERICK TO THE UNION.

WITH AN INDEX.

---

By SIR HENRY PARNELL, BART. M. P.

[*Concluded from No. XL.*]

NEW EDITION, CORRECTED FOR THE PAMPHLETEER EXCLUSIVELY.

LONDON:

1822.

A

# HISTORY

OF THE

# PENAL LAWS,

*&c. &c.*

---

## GEORGE III

*University of Valladolid.*

To the first question it was answered—*That neither Pope, Cardinals, or even a General Council,* have any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, in the kingdom of Great Britain; or over *any other kingdom or province* in which they possess no temporal dominion.

To the second it is answered—That neither Pope nor Cardinals, nor even a General Council, can absolve the subjects of Great Britain from their oaths of allegiance, or dispense with their obligation.

To the third it is answered—That the obligation of keeping faith is grounded on the law of nature, which binds all men equally, without respect to their religious opinions; and with regard to Catholics it is still more cogent, as it is confirmed by the principles of their religion.

Signed in the usual form, February 17, 1789.

While the general committee were occupied in carrying these measures into effect, Parliament had passed a law[1] for removing part of the restraints and disabilities to which the Catholics were liable. It was introduced into the House of Commons by Sir H. Langrishe, and, being supported by Government, it met with little opposition. But the conduct of Government, on this occasion,

[1] 32d Geo III. c. 21.

was so suspicious, and its favor conferred with so bad a grace,[1] that it did not in the least degree contribute to appease the irritation which its former conduct in 1791 had so justly given rise to.

By this act Catholics may be called to the bar, and may be admitted as students into the King's Inns; Attorneys may take Catholic apprentices, and are relieved from the necessity of educating their children Protestants; and barristers may marry Catholics. Catholic barristers, and apprentices to attorneys, must, nevertheless, qualify themselves for the benefits of this act, by taking the oath of the 13th & 14th Geo. III. c. 35.

By this act, so much of 9th William III. c. 3. and 2d Anne, c. 6. as prevents Protestants from intermarrying with Papists, is repealed. But Protestants married to Catholics are not to vote at elections; and the law is not altered which makes it a capital felony for a priest to celebrate the marriage of a Protestant and a Catholic, though the very next act in the statute book enables a Presbyterian clergyman to celebrate the marriage of a Protestant and a Presbyterian.

By this act, also, the 7th William III. for restraining foreign education, is repealed; and Catholics are permitted to teach school without taking out a licence from the ordinary. And so much likewise of 8th Anne, c. 3. is repealed, which enacts that no Papist shall take more than two apprentices.

In the course of the debates upon this act, the Catholics were accused of professing tenets inimical to good order and government; and with harbouring pretensions to the forfeited estates of their forefathers, and with wishing to subvert the existing establishment, that they might reinstate a Popish one in its stead. The general committee were also accused of being turbulent and seditious agitators. It was asserted, that the petition which they presented this year to Parliament, was the act of an obscure faction, confined merely to the capital, and disavowed by the great mass of the Catholics.

In order to repel the first of these accusations, the declaration of 1774, which has already been introduced into this work, was republished, and signed by Dr. Troy and the principal Catholic clergy and laity of the kingdom. The second charge was not so easily to be contradicted. It was one of most serious importance to the interests of the whole body, and, if suffered to pass without the fallacy of it being exposed, would have contributed to defeat all the exertions which had been made to obtain redress. Urged by these considerations, and also by a communication, which,

[1] This measure was introduced into the House of Commons without any communication with the general committee.

about this time, was made, from the first authority, that a further application for relief would have great weight with his Majesty, and with Parliament, if the committee were qualified to declare, that it was the measure of every Catholic in the kingdom,[1] the committee devised a plan, by which a convention of delegates should be held, elected by the whole Catholic body. A circular letter was immediately written, directing that each parish should proceed to choose one or two electors, and that these electors should then elect from one to four delegates, as it might appear most expedient to them. Their directions were obeyed, and carried into effect with so much promptitude and good order, that the convention were able to meet on the 3d of December, without the smallest degree of tumult or agitation having occurred in any part of the kingdom.

In the mean time, this circular letter had been laid hold of by the Government, as a proper instrument with which to rekindle the embers of religious animosities. Where the partizans of Government were sufficiently strong, corporate and county meetings were held to reprobate the plan of the general committee; but if defeat, or even formidable resistance, was apprehended, similar resolutions were entered into by the grand juries, where success could easily be secured, from the influence of Government in their appointment.

In order to counteract the effect of these resolutions, those Protestants who had the virtue and the good sense neither to become the tools or the dupes of Government, held a great number of meetings of different towns and districts. Some few, with Londonderry at their head, expressed themselves favorable to a gradual admission of the Catholics; but the great majority followed the example of an immense body of volunteers, who, when assembled together at their commemoration meeting, declared their sentiments in favor of the immediate and unqualified extension of the right of suffrage to the whole Catholic body.

When the convention met in December, their proceedings were wise, temperate, and decisive, and conducted without any violation of the laws of the land, or of the good order of society. At the first meeting the following petition to the King was unanimously agreed to, pursuant to instructions which had been given to each delegate by his respective electors.

[1] See the plan for conducting the election of delegates, published 1793.

*To the King's most Excellent Majesty, the humble Petition* of the Undersigned Catholics, *on behalf of themselves* and the rest of his Catholic Subjects of the *kingdom of Ireland.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects of your kingdom of Ireland, professing the Catholic religion, presume to approach your Majesty, who are the common father of all your people, and humbly to submit to your consideration the manifold incapacities and oppressive disqualifications under which we labor.

For, may it please your Majesty, after a century of uninterrupted loyalty, in which time five foreign wars and two domestic rebellions have occurred, after having taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to your Majesty, and given, and being still ready to give, every pledge, which can be devised for their peaceable demeanour and unconditional submission to the laws, the Catholics of Ireland stand obnoxious to a long catalogue of statutes, inflicting on dutiful and meritorious subjects pains and penalties of an extent and severity, which scarce any degree of delinquency can warrant, and prolonged to a period, when no necessity can be alleged to justify their continuance.

In the first place, we beg leave, with all humility, to represent to your Majesty, that, notwithstanding the lowest departments in your Majesty's fleets and armies are largely supplied by our numbers, and your revenue in this country to a great degree supported by our contributions, we are disabled from serving your Majesty in any office of trust and emolument whatsoever, civil or military—a proscription, which disregards capacity or merit, admits of neither qualification nor degree, and rests as an universal stigma of distrust upon the whole body of your Catholic subjects.

We are interdicted from all municipal stations, and the franchise of all guilds and corporations; and our exclusion from the benefits annexed to those situations is not an evil terminating in itself; for, by giving an advantage over us to those, in whom they are exclusively vested, they establish throughout the kingdom a species of qualified monopoly, uniformly operating in our disfavor, contrary to the spirit, and highly detrimental to the freedom of trade.

We may not found nor endow any university, college, or school, for the education of our children; and we are interdicted from obtaining degrees in the university of Dublin by the several charters and statutes now in force therein.

We are totally prohibited from keeping or using weapons, for the defence of our houses, families, or persons, whereby we are exposed to the violence of burglary, robbery, and assassination; and to enforce this prohibition, contravening that great original law of

nature, which enjoins us to self-defence, a variety of statutes exist, not less grievous and oppressive in their provisions, than unjust in their object; by one of which, enacted so lately as within these sixteen years, every one of your Majesty's Catholic subjects, of whatever rank or degree, peer or peasant, is compellable by any magistrate to come forward and convict himself of what may be thought a singular offence in a country professing to be free—keeping arms for his defence; or, if he shall refuse so to do, may incur not only fine and imprisonment, but the vile and ignominious punishments of the pillory and whipping, penalties appropriated to the most infamous malefactors, and more terrible to a liberal mind than death itself.

No Catholic whatsoever, as we apprehend, has his personal property secure. The law allows and encourages the disobedient and unnatural child to conform and deprive him of it: the unhappy father does not, even by the surrender of his all, purchase his repose; he may be attacked by new bills, if his future industry be successful, and again be plundered by due process of law.

We are excluded, or may be excluded, from all petit juries, in civil actions, where one of the parties is a Protestant; and we are further excluded from all petit juries in trials by information or indictment founded on any of the Popery laws, by which law we most humbly submit to your Majesty, that your loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, are in this their native land, in a worse situation than that of aliens, for they may demand an equitable privilege denied to us, of having half their jury aliens like themselves.

We may not serve on grand juries, unless, which it is scarcely possible can ever happen, there should not be found a sufficiency of Protestants to complete the pannel; contrary to that humane and equitable principle of the law, which says, that no man shall be convicted of any capital offence, unless by the concurring verdicts of two juries of his neighbours and equals; whereby, (and to this we humbly presume more particularly to implore your royal attention) we are deprived of the great palladium of the Constitution, trial by our peers, independent of the manifest injustice of our property being taxed in assessments by a body, from which we are formally excluded.

We avoid a further enumeration of inferior grievances; but may it please your Majesty, there remains one incapacity, which your loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, feel with most poignant anguish of mind, as being the badge of unmerited disgrace and ignominy, and the cause and bitter aggravation of all our other calamities; we are deprived of the elective franchise, to the manifest perversion of the spirit of the Constitution, inasmuch as your faithful subjects are thereby taxed, where they are not represented,

actually or virtually, and bound by laws, in the framing of which they have no power to give or withhold their assent; and we most humbly implore your Majesty to believe, that this our prime and heavy grievance is not an evil merely speculative, but is attended with great distress to all ranks, and, in many instances, with the total ruin and destruction of the lower orders of your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects the Catholics of Ireland; for, may it please your Majesty, not to mention the infinite variety of advantages in point of protection and otherwise, which the enjoyment of the elective franchise gives to those who possess it, nor the consequent inconveniencies to which those who are deprived thereof are liable; not to mention the disgrace to three-fourths of your loyal subjects of Ireland, of living the only body of men incapable of franchise, in a nation possessing a free Constitution, it continually happens, and of necessity from the malignant nature of the law must happen, that multitudes of the Catholic tenantry in divers counties in this kingdom are, at the expiration of their leases, expelled from their tenements and farms, to make room for Protestant freeholders, who, by their votes, may contribute to the weight and importance of their landlords; a circumstance which renders the recurrence of a general election, that period which is the boast and laudable triumph of our Protestant brethren, a visitation and heavy curse to us, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects. And may it please your Majesty, this uncertainty of possession to your Majesty's Catholic subjects, operates as a perpetual restraint and discouragement on industry and the spirit of cultivation, whereby it happens, that this your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, possessing many and great natural advantages of soil and climate, so as to be exceeded therein by few, if any countries on the earth, is yet prevented from availing herself thereof so fully as she otherwise might, to the furtherance of your Majesty's honor, and the more effectual support of your service.

And, may it please your Majesty, the evil does not even rest here; for many of your Majesty's Catholic subjects, to preserve their families from total destruction, submit to a nominal conformity against their conviction and their conscience, and preferring perjury to famine, take oaths which they utterly disbelieve; a circumstance which we doubt not will shock your Majesty's well known and exemplary piety, not less than the misery which drives those unhappy wretches to so desperate a measure, must distress and wound your royal clemency and commiseration.

And may it please your Majesty, though we might here rest our case on its own merits, justice, and expediency, yet we further presume humbly to submit to your Majesty, that the right of franchise was, with divers other rights, enjoyed by the Catholics of

this kingdom, from the first adoption of the English Constitution by our forefathers, was secured to at least a great part of our body by the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, guaranteed by your Majesty's royal predecessors, King William and Queen Mary, and finally confirmed and ratified by Parliament; notwithstanding which, and in breach of the public faith of the nation, thus solemnly pledged, for which our ancestors paid a valuable consideration, in the surrender of their arms, and a great part of this kingdom, and notwithstanding the most scrupulous adherence on our part, to the terms of the said treaty, and our unremitting loyalty from that day to the present, the said right of elective franchise was finally and universally taken away from the Catholics of Ireland, so lately as the first year of his Majesty King George the Second.

And when we thus presume to submit this infraction of the treaty of Limerick to your Majesty's royal notice, it is not that we ourselves consider it to be the strong part of our case; for, though our rights were recognized, they were by no means created by that treaty; and we do with all humility conceive, that if no such event as the said treaty had ever taken place, your Majesty's Catholic subjects, from their unvarying loyalty, and dutiful submission to the laws, and from the great support afforded by them to your Majesty's Government in this country, as well in their personal service, in your Majesty's fleets and armies, as from the taxes and revenues levied on their property, are fully competent, and justly entitled to participate and enjoy the blessings of the Constitution of their country.

And now that we have, with all humility, submitted our grievances to your Majesty, permit us, most gracious Sovereign, again to represent our sincere attachment to the Constitution, as established in the three estates of King, Lords, and Commons; our uninterrupted loyalty, peaceable demeanour, and submission to the laws for one hundred years, and our determination to persevere in the same dutiful conduct, which has, under your Majesty's happy auspices, procured us those relaxations of the penal statutes, which the wisdom of the legislature has from time to time thought proper to grant; we humbly presume to hope, that your Majesty, in your paternal goodness and affection towards a numerous and oppressed body of your loyal subjects, may be graciously pleased to recommend to your Parliament of Ireland, to take into their consideration the whole of our situation, our numbers, our merits, and our sufferings; and as we do not give place to any of your Majesty's subjects, in loyalty and attachment to your sacred person, we cannot suppress our wishes of being restored to the rights and privileges of the Constitution of our country, and thereby becom-

ing more worthy, as well as more capable, of rendering your Majesty that service, which it is not less our duty than our inclination to afford.

So may your Majesty transmit to your latest posterity, a crown secured by public advantage and public affection; and so may your royal person become, if possible, more dear to your grateful people.

On the 2d January, 1793, the gentlemen who had been deputed to present this petition, were introduced to his Majesty by Mr. Dundas; and, on the 10th of the same month, Lord Westmoreland, in a speech from the throne to both Houses of Parliament, said, "I have it in particular command from his Majesty, to recommend it to you, to apply yourselves to the consideration of such measures as may be most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes of his Majesty's subjects, in support of the established Constitution; with this view his Majesty trusts, that the situation of his Majesty's Catholic subjects will engage your serious attention; and, in consideration of this subject, he relies on the wisdom and liberality of Parliament."

In a few days afterwards, Major Hobart, the chief Secretary presented to the House of Commons a petition from the Catholics, and soon after the royal assent was given to the following "act for affording relief to his Majesty's Popish or Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland."

Whereas various acts of Parliament have been passed, imposing on his Majesty's subjects professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, *many restraints and disabilities to which other subjects of this realm are not liable;* and, from the peaceable and loyal demeanour of his Majesty's Popish or Roman Catholic subjects, *it is fit that such restraints and disabilities shall be discontinued:* Be it therefore enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that his Majesty's subjects being Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, or married to Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, or educating any of their children in that religion, *shall not be liable or subject to any* penalties, forfeitures, disabilities, or incapacities; or to any laws for the limitation, charging, or discovering of their estates and property, real or personal, or touching the acquiring of property, or securities affecting property, *save such as his Majesty's subjects of the Protestant religion are liable and subject to;* and that such parts of all oaths as are required to be taken by persons, in order to qualify themselves for voting at elections of members to serve in Parliament; and also such parts of all oaths required to be taken by persons voting at

elections for members to serve in Parliament, as import to deny that the person taking the same is a Papist, or married to a Papist, or educates his children in the Popish religion, shall not hereafter be required to be taken by any voter, but shall be omitted by the person administering the same; and that it shall not be necessary, in order to entitle a Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to vote at an election of members to serve in Parliament, that he should at or previous to his voting, take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, any statute now in force to the contrary of any of the said matters, in any-wise notwithstanding.

2. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that all Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, who may claim to have a right of voting for members to serve in Parliament, or of voting for magistrates in any city, town corporate, or borough, within this kingdom, be hereby required to perform all qualifications, registries, and other requisites, which are now required of his Majesty's Protestant subjects in like cases, by any law or laws now of force in this kingdom, save and except such oaths and parts of oaths, as are herein before excepted.

3. And provided always, That nothing herein before contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to repeal or alter any law or act of Parliament now in force, by which certain qualifications are required to be performed by persons enjoying any offices or places of trust under his Majesty, his heirs and successors, other than as hereinafter is enacted.

4. Provided also, That nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend, to give Papists or persons professing the Popish religion, a right to vote at any parish vestry for levying money to rebuild or repair any parish church, or respecting the demising or disposal of the income of any estate belonging to any church or parish, or for the salary of the Parish clerk, or at the election of any churchwarden.

5. Provided always, That nothing contained in this act shall extend to, or be construed to affect any action or suit now depending, which shall have been brought or instituted previous to the commencement of this session of Parliament.

6. Provided also, That nothing herein contained shall extend to authorize any Papist or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to have or keep in his hands or possession any arms, armor, ammunition, or any warlike stores, sword blades, barrels, locks, or stocks of guns or fire arms, or to exempt such person from any forfeiture or penalty inflicted by any act respecting arms, armor, or ammunition, in the hands or possession of any Papist, or respecting Papists having or keeping such warlike stores, save and except Papists or persons of the Popish or Roman Catho-

lic religion, seized of a freehold estate of one hundred pounds a-year, or possessed of a personal estate of one thousand pounds or upwards, who are hereby authorized to keep arms and ammunition as Protestants now by law may; and also save and except Papists or Roman Catholics possessing a freehold estate of ten pounds yearly value, and less than one hundred pounds, or a personal estate of three hundred pounds, and less than one thousand pounds, who shall have, at the session of the peace in the county in which they reside, taken the oath of allegiance prescribed to be taken, by an act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his present Majesty's reign, entitled, "An act to enable his Majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him;" and also, in open court, swear and subscribe an affidavit, that they are possessed of a freehold estate, yielding a clear yearly profit to the person making the same, of ten pounds, or a personal property of three hundred pounds above his just debts, specifying therein the name and nature of such freehold, and nature of such personal property; which affidavits shall be carefully preserved by the clerk of the peace, who shall have for his trouble a fee of sixpence, and no more, for every such affidavit; and the person making such affidavits, and possessing such property, may keep and use arms and ammunition as Protestants may, so long as they shall respectively possess a property of the annual value of ten pounds and upwards, if freehold, or the value of three hundred pounds if personal, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

7. And be it enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to hold, exercise, and enjoy, *all civil* and military offices, or places of trust or profit under his Majesty, his heirs and successors, in this kingdom; and to *hold or take degrees, or any professorship* in, or be masters or fellows of any college to be hereafter founded in this kingdom, provided that such *college shall be a member* of the university of Dublin, and shall not be founded exclusively for the education of Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, nor consist exclusively of masters, fellows, or other persons to be named or elected on the foundation of such college, being persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, or to hold any office or place of trust in, and *to be a member of any lay body corporate*, except the college of the Holy and undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin, without taking and subscribing the oath of allegiance, supremacy, or abjuration, or making or subscribing the declaration required to be taken, made, and subscribed, to enable any person to hold and enjoy any of such places, and without receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rights and ceremonies of

the Church of Ireland, any law, statute, or *bye-law, of any corporation*, to the contrary notwithstanding; provided that every such person shall take and subscribe the oath appointed by the act, passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his Majesty's reign, entitled "An act to enable his Majesty's subjects, of whatever persuation, to testify their allegiance to him;" and also the oath and declaration following, that is to say:.

"I A. B. do hereby declare, that I do profess the Roman Catholic religion."

"I A. B. do swear, that I do abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any person whatsoever for or under the pretence of being *a heretic;* and I do declare solemnly before God, that I believe, that no act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be *justified or excused* by or under pretence or color that it was done either *for the good of the church*, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever. I also declare, that it is not an article of the Catholic faith, neither am I thereby required to believe or profess that *the Pope is infallible*, or that I am bound to obey any order in its own nature immoral, though the Pope, or any ecclesiastical power, should issue or direct such order; but, on the contrary, I hold that it would be sinful in me to pay any respect or obedience thereto: I further declare, that I do not believe that *any sin whatsoever*, committed by me, can be *forgiven at the mere will of any Pope*, or of any priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever; but that sincere sorrow for past sins, a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, are previous and indispensible requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness; and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament; and I do swear that I will *defend, to the utmost of my power, the settlement* and arrangement of property in this country as established by the laws now in being; I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead; and I do solemnly swear, that I will not exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, *to disturb and weaken* the Protestant religion and Protestant Government in this kingdom.

"So help me God."

8. And be it enacted, That Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, may be capable of being elected professors of medicine upon the foundation of Sir Patrick Dunn, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

9. Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to enable any person to sit or vote in either House of Parliament, or to hold, exercise, or enjoy the Office of Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other Chief Governor or Governors of this kingdom, Lord High Chancellor or Keeper, or Commissioner of the Great Seal of this kingdom, Lord High Treasurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Justice of the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, or Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, Master or Keeper of the Rolls, Secretary of State, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Vice-Treasurer, Teller and Cashier of the Exchequer, or Auditor General, Lieutenant or Governor, or *Custos Rotulorum* of Counties, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other Chief Governor or Governors of this kingdom, Member of his Majesty's most honorable Privy Council, Prime Serjeant, Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, Second and Third Serjeants at Law or King's Council, Masters in Chancery, Provost or Fellow of the College of the holy and undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin; Postmaster General, Master and Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Forces, General on the Staff, and Sheriffs and Sub-sheriffs of any County in this kingdom, *or any office contrary to the rules*, orders, and directions, made and established by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, in pursuance of the act passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of the reign of King Charles the Second, entitled, "An Act for the explaining of some doubts arising upon an act, entitled, an Act for the better execution of his Majesty's gracious Declaration for the settlement of his Kingdom of Ireland, and satisfaction of the several interests of adventurers, soldiers, and other his Majesty's Subjects there, and for making some alterations of, and additions unto the said act, for the more speedy and effectual Settlement of this Kingdom," unless he shall have taken, made, and subscribed the oaths and declaration, and performed the several requisites which by any law heretofore made, and now of force, are required to enable any person to sit or vote, or to hold, exercise, and enjoy, the said offices respectively.

10. Provided also, and be it enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall enable any Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to exercise any right of presentation to any ecclesiastical benefice whatsoever.

11. And be it enacted, That no Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, shall be liable to, or subject to any penalty for not attending divine service on the Sabbath-day, called Sunday, in his or her parish church.

12. Provided also, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to extend to authorize any Popish priest, or reputed Popish priest, to celebrate marriage between Protestant and Protestant, or between any person who hath been, or professed himself or herself to be a Protestant at any time within twelve months before such celebration of marriage, and a Papist, unless such Protestant and Papist should have been first married by a clergyman of the Protestant religion; and that every Popish priest, or reputed Popish priest, who shall celebrate any marriage between two Protestants, or between any such Protestant and Papist, unless such Protestant and Papist shall have been first married by a clergyman of the Protestant religion, shall forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds to his Majesty, upon conviction thereof.

13. And whereas it may be expedient, in case his Majesty, *his heirs and successors, shall be pleased to alter* the statutes of the college of the holy and undivided Trinity, near Dublin, and of the university of Dublin, as to enable persons professing the Roman Catholic religion *to enter into or take degrees in the said university*, to remove any obstacle which now *exists by statute law;* be it enacted, That from and after the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and nienty-three, it shall not be necessary for any person upon taking any of the degrees usually conferred by the said university to make or subscribe any declaration, or to take any oath save the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

14. Provided always, That no Papist or Roman Catholic, or persons professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, shall take any benefit by or under this act, unless he shall have first taken and subscribed the oath and declaration in this act contained and set forth, and also the said oath appointed by the said act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his Majesty's reign, entitled "An act to enable his Majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him," in some one of his Majesty's four courts of Dublin, or at the general sessions of the peace, or at any adjournment thereof to be holden for the county, city, or borough wherein such Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, doth inhabit or dwell, or before the going judge or judges of assize, in the county wherein such Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion doth inhabit and dwell, in open court.

15. Provided always, and be it enacted, That the names of such persons as shall so take and subscribe the said oaths and declaration, with their titles and additions, shall be entered upon the rolls for that purpose to be appointed by said respective courts; and

that the said rolls, once in every year, shall be transmitted to, and deposited in the rolls office in this kingdom, to remain amongst the records thereof; and the masters or keepers of the rolls in this kingdom, or their lawful deputy or deputies, are hereby empowered and required to give and deliver to such person or persons so taking and subscribing the said oaths and declaration, a certificate or certificates of such person or persons having taken and subscribed the said oaths and declaration, for each of which certificates the sum of one shilling, and no more, shall be paid.

16. And be it further provided and enacted, That from and after the first day of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, no freeholder, burgess, freeman, or inhabitant of this kingdom, being a Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, shall at any time be capable of giving his vote for the electing of any knight or knights of any shire or county within this kingdom, or citizen or burgess to serve in any Parliament, until he shall have first produced and shown to the high sheriff of the said county, or his deputy or deputies, at any election of a knight or knights of the said shire, and to the respective chief officer or officers of any city, borough, or town corporate to whom the return of any citizen or burgess to serve in Parliament, such certificate of his having taken and subscribed the said oaths and declaration, either from the rolls office, or from the proper officer of the court in which the said oaths and declaration shall be taken and subscribed; and such person being a freeholder, freeman, burgess, or inhabitant, so producing and showing such certificate, shall be then permitted to vote as amply and fully as any Protestant freeholder, freeman, burgess, or inhabitant of such county, city, borough, or town corporate, but not otherwise.[1]

[1] As admission into the Army and Navy is the only concession that has been made to the Catholics, it may be as well to enumerate here, as in any other place, the various disabilities to which they are still liable.

*Education.*—They cannot teach school, unless they take the oaths of 13th, 14th Geo. III. c. 35. *They cannot take Protestant scholars, or be ushers to Protestant schoolmasters,* 32d Geo. III. c. 20.

*Guardianship.*—They cannot be guardians, unless they take the oaths of 13th, 14th Geo. III. c. 35. *If ecclesiastics,* they *cannot, under any circumstances, be guardians; nor can any Catholic be guardian to a child of* a Protestant, 30th Geo. III. c. 29.

*Marriage.*—If a *Catholic clergyman marries* a Protestant and a Catholic, the marriage is null and void, and he is liable to suffer death, 32d Geo. III. c. 21. and 33. G. III. c. 21. § 12.

*Self-defence.*—*No Catholic can keep arms;* unless he possesses a freehold estate of 10*l.* per annum, or a personal estate of 300*l.* If so qualified, he must further qualify himself by taking the oaths of 13th, 14th Geo. III. c. 35. unless he has a freehold estate of 100*l.* per annum, or a personal estate of 1000*l.* 33d Geo. III. c. 21.

*Exercise of Religion.*—The Catholic clergy must take the oaths of 13th, 14th

The general committee, in testimony of their gratitude to the King for this most important concession, presented the following address to the Lord Lieutenant, to be by him transmitted to his Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, animated with sentiments of the most lively gratitude, beg leave to approach your Majesty with our sincere and heartfelt thanks, for the substantial benefits, which, through your Majesty's gracious recommendations, we have received from the wisdom and liberality of Parliament.

Impressed with a deep sense of your Majesty's goodness, we reflect, that, in consequence of this last and signal instance of your royal favor, the disabilities under which we and our ancestors so long labored, have, in a considerable degree, been removed, the constitutional energy of three-fourths of your loyal subjects restored to their country, and themselves enabled to testify, in a manner more useful to your Majesty's service, their devoted attachment to your person, family, and Government. Restored as we now are, to such valuable privileges, it shall be our duty, as it is

Geo. III. c. 35. and register their place of abode, age, and parish. No chapel can have a steeple or bell, no funeral can take place in any church or chapel-yard, and no rites or ceremonies of the religion or habits of their order are permitted, except within their several places of worship, or in private houses, 21st, 22d Geo. III. c. 24. § 6.

*Property.—The laws of Anne* are in force against all Catholics who do not take the oaths of 13th, 14th Geo. III. c. 35. and also against all those who may have lapsed *or become converts* to the Catholic religion.

*Franchises.*—No Catholics can hold any of the offices enumerated in § 9. of the act here inserted of 33 G. III. c. 21.

Catholics cannot sit in Parliament. They cannot vote at the elections for members without taking the oaths of the 13th, 14th Geo. III. c. 35. and of 33d Geo. III. c. 21. They cannot vote at vestries. They cannot be barristers, attorneys, or professors of medicine in Sir P. Dunn's foundation, without taking the oaths of 13th, 14th Geo. III. c. 35. and of 33d. Geo. III. c. 21. or even *fowlers* and *game-keepers.*

*Catholic Soldiers*, by the mutiny act, if they refuse to frequent the Church of England worship, when ordered to do so by their commanding officer, shall, for the first offence, forfeit 12d.; and, for the second, not only forfeit 12d. but be laid in irons for 12 hours; and, by the 2d section, art 5, of the articles of war, the punishment even extends to that of death.

An Irish Catholic officer or soldier on landing in Great Britain, Jersey, or Guernsey, is immediately liable to the penalty, among others, by the English act 1st Geo. I. c. 13. of forfeiting 300*l.*

Catholics are excluded from holding the offices of Governor, Deputy-Governor, or Director, of the Bank of Ireland.

No part, scarcely, in fact, of the penal code is repealed, but all of it is now the law of the land, and in full force against those Catholics who have not qualified themselves for relief from its violence, by taking the oaths of 13th, 14th Geo. III. c. 35. or who may have lapsed or become converts to the Catholic religion.

our inclination, to unite in support of our excellent Constitution, as established in King, Lords and Commons: a Constitution revered by us for its excellence, even when secluded from its blessings, and from which every advantage we derive becomes a new tie of fidelity and attachment.

Permit us, most gracious Sovereign, to express our unfeigned satisfaction, that, to a Monarch endeared to us by so many proofs of clemency, belongs the glorious distinctions of being the first to begin that work of emancipation, in the accomplishment of which, we humbly hope, your Majesty will enjoy the gratification of seeing your whole people united in the bonds of equal law and equal liberty.

May your Majesty long continue to reign in the hearts of your faithful subjects, dispensing, as common father to all your people, the inestimable blessings of freedom, peace, and union.

Although this act declared that Catholics might hold any military office or employment, as its powers could not extend out of Ireland, and as all Irish Catholic soldiers, sailors, and officers, were uniformly employed on services out of Ireland, it was represented to the Government, that, in order to give it any useful effect in this respect, the English act of 1st Geo. I. which prohibits Catholics from filling any military situation, should be repealed. In answer to their application, the Catholics were informed by Lord Hobart, that such a measure would be immediately adopted, and the letter of the Secretary of State was shown to them, containing the promise of the English Government. In the House of Lords, when, upon the debate of this act, Lord Farnham proposed an amendment to the clause relating to the military officers, by rendering its operation conditional, until England should pass a similar law, the Chancellor, Lord Clare, opposed it; "for," said he, "it could not be supposed that his Majesty would appoint a man to such a post until the laws of the empire should fully qualify him to act in every part of it. It was more than probable a similar law to this would be adopted in England before the lapse of two months, and on this ground the amendment would be wholly unnecessary."[1]

Fourteen years, however, were allowed to pass by without any such law having been attempted to be adopted in England; and, when the late Ministers sought to rescue the plighted faith of their predecessors from well merited reproach, they were accused of an attempt to subvert the established church, and driven from the councils of his Majesty as the allies of the Pope and the instruments of Bonaparte.

[1] Plowden's Hist. of Br. Empire during 1792 and 1793.

In the course of this year, a most unequivocal proof was given of the liberal sentiments which prevailed throughout the Protestants of the North of Ireland, in regard to their Catholic fellow-countrymen. At the meeting of the convention of delegates, which was held in February, at Dungannon, and in which the counties of Antrim, Down, Londonderry, Tyrone, Donegal, and Monaghan, were fully represented, they passed resolutions in favor of the absolute necessity of a reform in Parliament, including the unqualified admission of the Catholics. The Synod of Ulster also (a body consisting of the whole dissenting clergy of the North, and the Presbytery of Dublin, together with a lay delegate from each parish) presented an address to the Lord Lieutenant, in which they expressed their satisfaction at the admission of the Catholics to the privileges of the Constitution.

These occurrences are of vast importance in forming a correct view of the opinion of the Irish Protestants upon this question; because the Presbyterians being in numbers fully equal to the Protestants of the Church of England, it leaves but a small number of the whole people adverse to the Catholic claims, even if all these Protestants were, as they certainly are not, hostile to emancipation.

During this session, another subject occupied the serious attention of the upper house of Parliament. Disturbances had broken out, and outrages were committed in the county of Louth, and the neighbouring counties of Meath, Cavan, and Monaghan, by persons of the very lowest rank in life, associated under the name of defenders. This body had its origin in religious persecution, and was an almost inevitable consequence of the system, according to which Ulster had been colonized and settled, and Ireland ruled since the reformation. In that province English and Scotch planters had been established on the forfeited lands of the native Catholics. These last were, for the most part, obliged to retire to the bogs and mountains; but, even there, they were not permitted to lose the remembrance of their forefathers, their power and their opulence, in the tranquil enjoyment of security and content. The bogs and mountains afforded them no refuge against the acts of uniformity and supremacy, or the accumulating oppressions of the Popery laws. Nor were the wretched inhabitants exempted by their defenceless condition from the hatred, contempt, and persecution of their privileged and arrogant neighbours. Hence arose a mutual rancorous animosity between the new settlers and natives; or, in other words, between the Protestants and Catholics, transmitted from generation to generation, until at last it became more voilent and intolerant than in any other part of Ireland.

The volunteers, by the benign influence of their institution, had,

for the first time, considerably abated this spirit; and, by their successful activity as military men, in keeping the peace, had prevented its receiving fresh provocation by outrage and insult. But in proportion as this body declined, or was discouraged, prejudices and hatred revived, especially in districts remote from the principal presbyterian towns, where the growing liberality of the most enlightened dissenters could scarcely operate. These prejudices, which chiefly prevailing in the county of Armagh,[1] ex-

[1] *Lord Viscount Gosford's Address to the Magistrates of the County of Armagh.* Gentlemen—Having requested your attendance here this day, it becomes my duty to state the grounds upon which I thought it adviseable to propose this meeting, and at the same time to submit to your consideration a plan which occurs to me as most likely to check the enormities that have already brought disgrace upon this country, and may soon reduce it into deep distress. It is no secret, that a persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty, which have in all ages distinguished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in this country. Neither age nor sex, nor even acknowledged innocence as to any guilt in the late disturbances, is sufficient to excite mercy, much less to afford protection.

The only crime which the wretched objects of this ruthless persecution are charged with, is a crime, indeed, of easy proof; it is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith, or an intimate connection with a person professing this faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this new species of delinquency, and the sentence they have denounced is equally concise and terrible! It is nothing less than a confiscation of all property, and an immediate banishment. It would be extremely painful, and surely unnecessary, to detail the horrors that attend the execution of so rude and tremendous a proscription—a proscription that certainly exceeds, in the comparative number of those it consigns to ruin and misery, every example that ancient and modern history can supply: for, where have we heard, or in what story of human cruelties have we read, of more than half the inhabitants of a populous country deprived at one blow of the means, as well as of the fruits, of their industry, and driven, in the midst of an inclement season, to seek a shelter for themselves and their helpless families where chance may guide them. This is no exaggerated picture of the horrid scenes now acting in this county. Yet surely it is sufficient to awaken sentiments of indignation and compassion in the coldest bosoms. These horrors are now acting with impunity. The spirit of impartial justice (without which law is nothing better than an instrument of tyranny) has for a time disappeared in this county, and the supineness of the magistracy of Armagh is become a common topic of conversation in every corner of the kingdom.

It is said in reply, the catholics are dangerous; they may be so—they may be dangerous from their numbers, and still more dangerous from the unbounded views they have been encouraged to entertain; but I will venture to assert, without fear of contradiction, that these proceedings are not more contrary to humanity than they are to sound policy. It is to be lamented, that no civil magistrate happened to be present with the military detachment on the night of the 21st instant; but, I trust, the suddenness of the occasion, the unexpected and instantaneous aggression on the part of the delinquents, will be universally admitted as a full vindication of the conduct of the officer, and the party acting under his command. Gentlemen, I have the honor to hold a situation in this county, which calls upon me to deliver my senti-

ended, more or less, into the adjoining districts of the counties of Down and Tyrone, began to break out in the year 1791. About that period several associations, among the lower orders of the Protestants, were formed, under the appellation of *Peep-a-day Boys*, whose object was to scour the Catholic districts about the break of day, and strip the inhabitants of fire-arms, alleging that they were warranted in so doing by the Popery laws, which had indeed for a long period forbidden, to the members of that communion, the use of arms, even for self-defence.

The Catholics, thus exposed and attacked, entered into a counter-association, called defenders, which derived its name from the necessity of their situation, and its excuse from the difficulty, or as they stated, the impossibility, of obtaining justice against their

ments, and I do it without fear and without disguise. I am as true a protestant as any gentleman in this room. I inherit a property which my family derived under a protestant title, and, with the blessing of God, I will maintain that title to the utmost of my power. I will never consent to make a sacrifice of protestant ascendancy to catholic claims, with whatever menace they may be urged, or however speciously or invidiously supported. Conscious of my sincerity in this public declaration, which I do not make unadvisedly, but as the result of mature deliberation, I defy the paltry insinuations that malice or party-spirit may suggest.

I know my own heart, and I should despise myself, if, under any intimidation, I could close my eyes against such scenes as present themselves on every side, or my ears against the complaints of a persecuted people.'

I should be guilty of an unpardonable injustice to the feelings of gentlemen here present, were I to say more on this subject. I have now acquitted myself to my conscience and my country, and take the liberty of proposing the following resolutions.

1st. That it appears to this meeting, that the county of Armagh is at this moment in a state of uncommon disorder; that the Roman catholic inhabitants are grievously oppressed by lawless persons unknown, who attack and plunder their houses by night, and threaten them with instant destruction, unless they immediately abandon their lands and habitations.

2d. That a committee of magistrates be appointed to sit on Tuesdays and Saturdays, in the chapter-room in the town of Armagh, to receive information against all persons of whatever description, who disturb the peace of this county.

3d. That the instruction of the whole body of magistrates to their committee shall be, to use every legal means within their power to stop the progress of the persecution now carrying on by an ungovernable mob, against the Roman catholic inhabitants of this county.

4th. That said committee, or any three of them, be empowered to expend any sum or sums of money, for information or secret service, out of the fund subscribed by the gentlemen of this county.

5th. That a meeting of the whole body of the magistracy be held every second Monday, at the house of Mr. Charles M'Reynolds, in the town of Armagh, to hear the reports of the committee and to give such further instructions as the exigence of the case may require.

6th. That offenders of every description in the present disturbances shall be prosecuted out of the fund subscribed by the gentlemen of this county.

aggressors. This association, at first local and confined, as much as mutual hatred would allow, to actual self-defence, began in 1792 to spread through other parts of the kingdom, and not a little to connect itself with more general politics.

In proportion as this association extended itself into districts where no Protestants of inferior rank in life were to be found, and therefore no outrages like those committed by the *Peep-a-day Boys* to be apprehended, it gradually lost its characteristic of being a religious feud, and became, in fact, an association of the very lowest orders, particularly for procuring a redress of the grievances of the very lowest orders. Even in the counties where it originated, it ceased to be actuated by religious animosity before the end of 1792, in consequence of the exertions of the early United Irishmen, whose chief endeavours were always directed to reconcile the Protestants and Catholics.

These disturbances having attracted the attention of the House of Lords early in 1793, a secret committee was appointed to enquire into their causes, to endeavour to discover their promoters, and to prevent their extension.

In their report they exculpate the Catholics as a body from all criminality with respect to these proceedings. They say, "That nothing appeared before them which could lead them to believe that the body of the Roman Catholics in this kingdom were concerned in promoting or countenancing such disturbances:" and then they even acquit the lower orders of Catholics of being to blame, by saying, "That if all the Magistrates in the disturbed counties had followed the spirited example of the few, who, much to their honor, exerted themselves with vigor and courage to support the laws, the committee are persuaded that these disturbances might have been suppressed; but, instead of doing so, they remained inactive."

In further corroboration of the innocence of the Catholics, there is the following declaration of one of the members of the committee in the debate on the Catholic bill. Lord Portarlington said, "That if he was not fully convinced that the Catholic body had no connection whatever in the disturbances created by some of their communion in the North, he should never give this bill his support."

The Catholic clergy, who have been uniformly ready to promote tranquillity, and inculcate the obligation of a strict submission to the laws, were not backward, on this occasion, in assisting Government to suppress the outrages of the defenders. Dr. Troy, Dr. O'Reilly, Dr. Bray, Dr. Bellew, and Dr. Cruise, all of them titular bishops, happening to be in Dublin when the business was first taken up to the House of Lords, published the following admonition to

those of their communion, and directed the priests of their dioceses to read it in their respective chapels.

Dear Christians, Dublin, January 25, 1793.

It has been our constant practice, as it is our indispensable duty, to exhort you to manifest on all occasions, that unshaken loyalty to his Majesty, and obedience to the laws, which the principles of our holy religion inspire and command. This loyalty and obedience have ever peculiarly distinguished the Roman Catholics of Ireland. We do not conceive a doubt of their being actuated at present by the same sentiments; but think it necessary to observe, that a most lively gratitude to our beloved Sovereign should render their loyalty and love of order, if possible, more conspicuous. Our gracious King, the common father of all his people, has, with peculiar energy, recommended his faithful Roman Catholic subjects of this kingdom to the wisdom and liberality of our enlightened Parliament. How can we, dear Christians, express our heartfelt acknowledgements for this signal and unprecedented instance of royal benevolence and condescension! Words are insufficient; but your continued and peaceable conduct will more effectually proclaim them, and in a manner equally, if not more satisfactory and pleasing to his Majesty and his Parliament. Avoid then, we conjure you, dearest brethren, every appearance of riot: attend to your industrious pursuits for the support and comfort of your families; fly from idle assemblies; abstain from the intemperate use of spirituous and intoxicating liquors; practise the duties of our holy religion: this conduct, so pleasing to Heaven, will also prove the most powerful recommendation of your present claims to our amiable Sovereign, to both Houses of Parliament, to the magistrates, and to all our well meaning fellow-subjects of every description. None but the evil-minded can rejoice in your being concerned in any disturbance.

We cannot but declare our utmost and conscientious detestation and abhorrence of the enormities lately committed by seditious and misguided wretches of every religious denomination, in some counties of this kingdom; they are enemies to God and man, the outcasts of society, and a disgrace to Christianity: we consider the Roman Catholics amongst them unworthy the appellation; whether acting from themselves, or seduced to outrage by arts of designing enemies to us, and to national prosperity, intimately connected with our emancipation.

Offer your prayers, dearest brethren, to the Father of mercy, that he may inspire these deluded people with sentiments becoming Christians and good subjects; supplicate the Almighty Ruler and Disposer of empires, by whom kings rule and legislators determine

what is just, to direct his Majesty's councils, and forward his benevolent intentions to unite all his Irish subjects in bonds of common interest, and common endeavours for the preservation of peace and good order, and for every purpose tending to increase and secure national prosperity.

Beseech the throne of Mercy also, to assist both Houses of Parliament in their important deliberations; that they may be distinguished by consummate wisdom and liberality, for the advantage of the kingdom, and the relief and happiness of his Majesty's subjects.

Under the pleasing expectations of your cheerful compliance with these our earnest solicitations, we most sincerely wish you every blessing in this life, and everlasting happiness in the next; through our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the summer of 1794, Mr. Pitt formed his memorable coalition with the Rockingham party; and though the ground of this transaction was a concurrence of opinion concerning the war with France, "if the general management and superintendance of Ireland had not been offered to the Duke of Portland, that coalition could never have taken place: The sentiments that he had entertained, and the language he had held so publicly for years back on the subject, rendered the superintendance of Irish affairs a point that could not be dispensed with by him."[1] It having thus become a point that could not be dispensed with by the Duke of Portland,[2] to grant the Catholics of Ireland complete emancipation, the first measure of his Grace, immediately upon the coalition being arranged, was to solicit Lord Fitzwilliam to accept of the office of Lord Lieutenant, and to propose to him to carry this measure instantly into effect.[3] This measure was decided upon by the Cabinet on the day the Duke of Portland kissed hands, after frequent consultations between Mr. Pitt, the Duke of Portland, Lord Fitzwilliam, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Ponsonby.[4]

Lord Fitzwilliam having acceded to the pressing solicitations of the Duke of Portland, to undertake to carry this favorite and indispensable measure, landed in Dublin on the 2d of January. He had consented not to bring the question forward on the part of Government, but rather to endeavour to keep it back until a period of more general tranquillity; "*but it had been resolved by the Cabinet, that if the Catholics should appear determined to stir the*

[1] Letter from Lord Fitzwilliam to Lord Carlisle.

[2] The reader may possibly suppose that this Duke of Portland is not the Duke of Portland now at the head of the present Administration. The fact, however, is so.

[3] Lord Fitzwilliam's letter to Lord Carlisle. [4] Ibid.

*business, and bring it before Parliament, then he was to give it a handsome support on the part of Government.*"[1] But no sooner was Lord Fitzwilliam landed than he found this determination had been taken by the Catholics.

The Catholics of Dublin had held a meeting on the 23d of December, and agreed to a petition to Parliament, claiming the repeal of all the penal laws. Similar petitions had been agreed to throughout the whole kingdom, the natural consequences of its being known for some months, that so steady and strenuous a friend to emancipation as the Duke of Portland had become one of his Majesty's Ministers. Lord Fitzwilliam finding, therefore, that the question would force itself upon his immediate consideration, communicated his opinion and intentions to the English Government, on the third day after his arrival, in the following terms: "that not to grant cheerfully, on the part of Government, all the Catholics wished for, would not only be exceedingly impolitic, but perhaps dangerous; that in doing this no time was to be lost; that the business would presently be at hand; and that, *if he received no very peremptory directions to the contrary*, he would acquiesce to the wishes of the Catholics."[2]

Parliament met on the 22d of January, and on the 12th of February "no peremptory directions to the contrary having arrived," though so much time had elapsed since Lord Fitzwilliam had communicated his intentions to the English Government, Mr. Grattan, with the consent of Lord Fitzwilliam, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the farther relief of the Catholics.

Meanwhile the English Cabinet forgot the stipulations which they had entered into with Lord Fitzwilliam, "that if the Catholics should appear determined to stir the business and bring it before Parliament, he was to give it a handsome support on the part of Government," and the Duke of Portland was directed by Mr. Pitt, to inform Lord Fitzwilliam, that, notwithstanding the length to which the Irish Government had gone, it must retrace its steps. "Then," says Lord Fitzwilliam, in his letter to Lord Carlisle, "it appears to have been discovered that the deferring of it would be not merely an expediency or thing to be desired for the present, but the means of doing a greater good to the British empire, than it has been capable of receiving since the revolution, *or at least since the union.*"

Lord Fitzwilliam having refused to become an accomplice in the tergiversation of Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland, that fatal measure of his recall was determined upon; a measure which has involved Ireland in 13 years of sufferings under military tyranny,

[1] Lord Fitzwilliam's letter to Lord Carlisle. [2] Ibid.

insurrection, and rebellion, and which at length has shook the stability of the empire to its centre.

Upon a debate in the House of Lords, which took place soon after Lord Fitzwilliam's return to England, on the subject of his conduct in Ireland, Lord Westmorland said, by the directions of Mr. Pitt, "That he had no authority whatever from Ministers in this country for taking the steps which he had done on the Catholic question." The incorrectness, however, of this assertion, it is now no very difficult matter to expose. In the first place, the measure of emancipation to the Catholics was originally the measure of Mr. Pitt and the Westmorland administration.[1] "The most strenuous and zealous friends," says Lord Fitzwilliam, "of my predecessor, claimed the credit of it for their patron in terms of the highest compliment. They did it in the House of Commons, they did it in the House of Lords last night. The persons whom Lord Westmorland then principally consulted, opposed it; but the open interference of Lord Hobart, the avowed determination of the British Cabinet, communicated as such to the Catholic agents on the spot, as through the medium of confidential persons sent over to England for that purpose, bore down the opposition. The declarations of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas are well known in this country, and are often quoted. They would not risk a rebellion in Ireland on such a question."

Here then is evidence, which has never been controverted, that, even before Lord Fitzwilliam went to Ireland, the measure had been determined upon by Mr. Pitt. The only question, therefore, to be decided, in judging of the correctness of Lord Westmorland's assertion, is, whether or not Mr. Pitt had consented that the proper time for adopting this measure was arrived, when Lord Fitzwilliam was sent to Ireland. That he had so consented there is in proof "the language which the Duke of Portland had held so publicly for years back," that the emancipation of the Catholics was indispensably necessary. There is the fact of his refusing to coalesce with Mr Pitt, unless this measure was conceded; there are the frequent consultations that took place concerning it between Mr. Pitt, Lord Fitzwilliam, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Ponsonby; the acceptance also of the office of Lord Lieutenant by Lord Fitzwilliam; and, finally, the word and honor of Lord Fitzwillam, that his consent was absolutely given. All these circumstances, then, are in direct contradiction of the assertion of Lord Westmorland. But there is, besides, the remarkable sentence in the Duke of Portland's dispatch, that the deferring of the measure would be "the means of doing a greater good to the British Empire, than it had

[1] Lord Fitzwilliam to Lord Carlisle.

been capable of receiving since the revolution, *or at least since the union.*" This shows that it was the object of Mr. Pitt's mind, at that time, to carry the union, and all the events which have since taken place, are evidence in favor of Lord Fitzwilliam's integrity and his duplicity; they are conclusively contradictory of the assertion of Lord Westmorland, and fully expose one of the most disgraceful transactions that the annals of history have recorded in the worst of times.

When the differences that existed between the Lord Lieutenant and the English Cabinet were known, grief and consternation seized all who had flattered themselves that the measures of his Excellency's administration were to redress the grievances, remove the discontents, and work the salvation of Ireland. In the House of Commons, Sir Lawrence Parsons moved to limit the money bills to two months; but Lord Milton and Mr. George Ponsonby deprecated the measure, and it was rejected. The House of Commons, however, unanimously resolved, that his Excellency had, by his conduct since his arrival, merited the thanks of the House, and the confidence of the people.

Out of Parliament the discontent was more manifest. The Catholics, who had now for six months felt secure of being at length relieved from the execrable system of pains and penalties, as the Duke of Portland himself was accustomed to call it, now saw the cup dashed from their lips, and could not but despair of ever seeing any termination to the perfidy of the English Cabinets. The Catholics of Dublin, impelled by these feelings, assembled on the 27th of February, and voted a petition to the King for the continuance of Lord Fitzwilliam as their Chief Governor; and those of the whole kingdom followed their example, by adopting resolutions and addresses expressive of the same sentiments.

The Protestants, too, assembled extensively, and as loudly spoke their indignation at what they condemned as ministerial treachery, and considered as a great public calamity. The freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, like the Catholics, agreed to a petition to the King. The merchants and traders of the city expressed their sorrow at the rumored recall of his Excellency, and their entire concurrence in the removal of all religious disabilities. The counties of Kildare, Wexford, Antrim, and Londonderry, followed the example of the freemen and freeholders of the capital, and the same sentiments seemed to pervade every part of the kingdom. The active republicans and new united Irishmen alone were not sorry at the agitation and controversies which were now springing up.

These expressions, however, of dissatisfaction on the part of the Irish people, were of no avail. A system of burning and torture

was to succeed a system of conciliation, for the purpose of preparing Ireland for the union, and Lord Camden was selected as a fit person to succeed Lord Fitzwilliam as Lord Lieutenant.

The measure of union comes the next in the course of events in which the Catholics as a body were concerned; and, in strict propriety, it would be right now to proceed to show how the Catholics were affected by it. But as there have been, and still are, those who, either through ignorance or in defiance of all regard for truth, assert that the rebellion of 1798 was a Catholic rebellion, and that the conduct of the Catholics on that occasion affords a justification for refusing to grant them further concessions, it will contribute to promote a more just view of the subject, if those facts are referred to, which exist, in refutation of the supposition that the Catholics, as a body, were concerned in this rebellion.

Fortunately for the cause of truth and justice, there do exist documents, the authority of which no sophistry or calumny can impeach. These are the reports of the Committees of the Irish Parliament. They so minutely explain the cause, the conduct, and the character of this rebellion, and give such accurate information respecting those who were concerned in it, that it is impossible for any one to affix to it any other character than that which they have given to it. The justification, therefore, of the Catholics, by these reports, rests upon this circumstance, that, to maintain that the rebellion was a Catholic rebellion, is to dispute the authority of these reports, which make no such charge, and account for it by other means.

The following extracts from the report of the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed, in 1798, to examine the evidence, contains a faithful description of the origin and object of this transaction.

"The society under the name of United Irishmen, it appears, was established in 1791; its founders held forth what they termed Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, as the ostensible objects of their union: but it clearly appeared, from the letter of Theobald Wolf Tone, accompanying their original constitution, as transmitted to Belfast for their adoption, that, from its commencement, the real purpose of those who were at the head of the institution, was to separate Ireland from Great Britain, and to subvert the established Constitution of this kingdom: in corroboration of which, your committee have annexed to this report several of their early publications, particularly a prospectus of the society which appeared in the beginning of the year 1791; as also the plan of reform they recommended to the people."

"For the first three years their attention was entirely directed to the engaging in their society persons of activity and talents, in

every quarter of the kingdom; and in preparing the public mind for their future purposes, by the circulation of the most seditious publications, particularly the works of Mr. Thomas Paine. At this time, however, the leaders were rather cautious of alarming minds not sufficiently ripe for the adoption of their principles, by the too open disclosure of the real objects which they had in view. In 1795, the test of the society underwent a striking revision; the words in the amended test stand, "a full representation of the people," omitting the words, "in the Common's House of Parliament;" the reason for which has been admitted by three members of the executive, examined before your committee, to be the better to reconcile reformers and republicans in a common exertion to overthrow the state."

"In the summer of 1796, great numbers of persons, principally in the province of Ulster, had enrolled themselves in this society. About the same period, as will be more fully explained hereafter, a direct communication had been opened by the heads of the party with the enemy, and French assistance was solicited and promised to be speedily sent to aid the disaffected in this kingdom."

"With a view of being prepared as much as possible to co-operate with the enemy then expected, and in order to counteract the effect of the armed associations of yeomanry established in October 1796, directions were issued by the leaders to the societies to form themselves into military bodies, and to be provided with arms and ammunition."

"These directions were speedily obeyed; the societies assumed a new military form, and, it appears by the original papers seized at Belfast in the month of April 1797, that their numbers, at that period, in the province of Ulster alone, were stated to amount to nearly 100,000 men. That they were very largely supplied with fire-arms and pikes; that they had some cannon and ammunition, and were diligently employed in the study of military tactics; in short, that nothing was neglected by the party which could enable them to take the field on the arrival of the enemy, or whenever they might receive orders to that effect from their superior officers, whom they were bound by oath to obey."

In the report of the committee of 1797, it appears that no part of the kingdom, in which the Catholic population prevails, was organised, except the counties of Westmeath and Kildare, and the city of Dublin.

These extracts establish the following facts, 1st, That the persons who were the founders of the rebellion were those who formed the societies of United Irishmen, and who were all Protestants.

2dly, That the object of the rebellion was a republican form of government, and separation from England, and not Catholic emancipation, or the establishment of the Catholic religion.

3dly, That in May 1797, the province of Ulster being inhabited almost entirely by Protestants, no Catholics whatever were concerned, except some of the lowest orders in Dublin, and in the counties of Westmeath and Kildare; and,

4thly, That 100,000 Protestants were, in May 1797, completely organized for open rebellion, and well supplied with arms.

Now, as we learn from the evidence of Mr M'Nevin, before the committee of the House of Lords, in 1798, that the leaders of the measure had determined to commence operations in 1797, let us suppose the rebellion had then broke out, and ask this question, Would it have been a Catholic rebellion? Certainly not. No man could venture to maintain an opinion so utterly untenable. Then, if the rebellion, had it broken out in 1797, would have been a rebellion of Protestants, and not one of Catholics, how could it become a Catholic rebellion in 1798? Let us again refer to the report of the secret committee. This gives an accurate account of the progress of the rebellion during the year 1797, and shows by what means, and *by whom*, the deluded Catholic peasantry of the South were made parties to the treason.

"It appears to your Committee, that the leaders of the treason, apprehensive lest the enemy might be discouraged from any further plan of invasion, by the loyal disposition manifested throughout Munster and Connaught,[1] on their former attempt, (by Hoche, in December 1796,) determined to direct all their exertions to the propagation of the system in those provinces, which had hitherto been but partially infected. With this view emissaries were sent into the South and West in great numbers, of whose success in forming new societies, and administering the oaths of the union, there were, in course of a few months, but too evident proofs, in the introduction of the same disturbances and enormities into Munster, with which the northern province had been so severely visited."

"In order to engage the peasantry in the southern counties, particularly in the counties of Waterford and Cork, the more eagerly to their cause, the united Irishmen found it expedient, in urging their general principles, to dwell with peculiar energy on the supposed oppressiveness of tithes (which had been the pretext for the old White-boy insurrections); and it is observable, that in addition to the acts of violence usually resorted to by the party, for the furtherance of their purposes, the ancient practice of burning the corn and houghing the cattle of those against whom their resentment

[1] The two great Catholic provinces.

was directed was revived, and very generally practised in those counties."

"With a view to excite the resentment of the Catholics and to turn their resentment to the purposes of the party, fabricated and false tests were presented, as having been taken to exterminate Catholics, and were industriously disseminated by the emissaries of the treason throughout the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. Reports were frequently circulated amongst the ignorant of the Catholic persuasion, that large bodies of men were coming to put them to death. This fabrication, however extravagant, was one among the many wicked means by which the deluded peasantry were engaged the more readily in the treason."

"The measures thus adopted by the party[1] completely succeeded in detaching the minds of the lower classes from their usual habits and pursuits; insomuch, that, in the course of the autumn and winter 1797, the peasantry in the midland and southern counties were sworn and ripe for insurrection."

From this account of the progress of the treason in 1797, in the south of Ireland, the following inferences may be deduced:—1st, That the Catholics of Ireland were unconnected with the system of rebellion which had extended over the whole of the Protestant province of Ulster; 2dly, That the peasantry of the south were corrupted by emissaries sent amongst them by the leaders of the treason in the North, and not by the Catholic clergy or Catholic aristocracy; and, 3dly, That the organization of the south was not a distinct effort of a distinct body of people, but a measure subsidiary to the original organization of the Protestants of the North, conducted by the same party, and having the same object in contemplation.

Then it follows, that the leaders of the rebellion being the same in 1798 as they were in 1797; the object of it the same in 1798 as it was in 1797; the means for carrying it into effect in 1798 the same as the means for carrying it into effect in 1797, there can be no more grounds for calling it a Catholic rebellion in 1798, than there were for calling it a Catholic rebellion in 1797; and, therefore, as there were no grounds for affixing this character to it in 1797, neither are there any for calling it a Catholic rebellion in 1798.

In direct contradiction, however, of such a conclusion, and of the statements of the secret committee, it has been asserted by those who are interested in calumniating the Catholic character, and believed by those who are ignorant of its true nature, that the rebellion of Ireland was a Catholic rebellion; that the designs of the Catholic body went to the massacre and destruction of every

[1] The Protestant United Irishmen.

Protestant in Ireland; and that all their other plans were wholly subservient to that of establishing the Catholic religion.[1]

As to the conduct of the Catholic clergy of the county of Wexford, it is now well known, "that not one of them who had a flock, not one parish priest was implicated, or had any concern in fomenting, encouraging, or aiding the rebellion; nay, it is certain, that they abhorred, and detested, and shuddered at it as the most wicked, scandalous, and abominable event that they had ever witnessed."[2]

The supposition that the establishment of the Catholic religion was one of the objects of this rebellion is proved to be unfounded, by the evidence of the principal leaders, Emmett and M'Nevin.

The following are their answers, given before the committees, to the question, "Whether or not they would set up the Catholic religion?"

*M'Nevin.*—"I would no more consent to that, than to the establishment of Mahometanism."

*Emmett.*—"I do not think the Catholics would wish to set up a Catholic establishment, even at the present day. Perhaps some old priests, who have long groaned under the penal laws, might wish for a retribution to themselves but I do not think the young priests wish for it; and I am convinced the laity would not submit to it; and that the objections to it will be every day gaining strength."

Two circumstances more only remain to be taken notice of regarding the conduct of the Catholics as a body in this rebellion. One of them, the indisputable fact, that, of the twenty-four leaders of the rebellion who were banished to fort St. George, only four of them were Catholics, twelve were of the Church of England,

[1] These are the propositions which Sir Richard Musgrave has labored to maintain. His work professes to do that which the secret committee of the House of Commons was appointed to do, namely, to give a faithful account of this rebellion. A discerning public will at once see to which authority they ought to give a preference. Sir Richard dedicated his first edition to Lord Cornwallis. Upon reading it, however, Lord Cornwallis directed his Secretary to write the following letter to him:

SIR, *Dublin, March* 24, 1801.

I am directed by the Lord Lieutenant to express to you his concern at its appearing, that your late publication of the History of the Rebellions of Ireland has been dedicated to him by permission. Had his Excellency been apprized of the contents and nature of the work, he would never have lent the sanction of his name to a book, which tends so strongly to revive the dreadful animosities which have so long distracted this country, and which it is the duty of every good subject to endeavor to compose. His Excellency, therefore, desires me to request, that, in any future edition of the book, the permission to dedicate it to him may be omitted.

I have, &c. E. LITTLEHALES.

[2] See Dr. Caulfield's Reply to Sir R. Musgrave, sold by Keating and Co. Duke-street.

and the remaining eight were Dissenters. Well indeed, then, might Mr. Pitt say, in the House of Commons, in 1805, whose opinion is the other circumstance alluded to, "I do not consider the late rebellion in Ireland to have been a Catholic rebellion."[1]

Facts, reason, and authority, therefore, it appears, all coincide in the condemnation of the calumny, which a few blind and mistaken men have had just talent enough to propagate amongst the ignorant and prejudiced. The *magna vis veritatis* will, however, prevail on this, as well as upon all other occasions, and sooner or later bring forward the unfortunate and much injured Catholics of Ireland to the view of their English fellow-subjects, as highly deserving of their confidence and their affection.

The next great event belonging to the Catholic question is the measure of union, not as having, in any way, altered the political condition of the Catholics in respect to the penal laws, but as a measure concerning which a compact was virtually entered into between them and the English Government. For though it is true, that no regular articles, like those of Limerick, can be produced to prove this compact, still there is circumstantial evidence of such a nature as is sufficient to bring conviction to every candid mind, that, on the one hand, the Catholics did agree to support the union, and, on the other, that the English Government, on their part, did indirectly agree to secure to them, in consideration of that support, the measure of emancipation.

This evidence is to be collected, 1st, From the speech of Mr. Pitt, on proposing the union articles to the House of Commons; 2dly, From the act of union; 3dly, From Mr. Pitt's speech, and the letters of Lord Cornwallis and him concerning the change of administration in 1801.

1st, Mr. Pitt's speech—"I am well aware," says Mr. Pitt, "that the subject of religious distinction is a dangerous and delicate topic, especially when applied to a country such as Ireland; the situation of which, in this respect, is different from every other. Where the established religion of the state is the same as the general religion of the empire, and where the property of the country is in the hands of a comparatively small number of persons professing that religion, while the religion of a great majority of the people is different, it is not easy to say, on general principles, what system of church establishment, in such a country, would be free from difficulty and inconvenience. By many I know it will be contended, that the religion professed by the majority of the people would, at least, be entitled to an equality of privileges. I have heard such an argument urged in this House; but those who apply it without

[1] Debates on the Catholic petition, (sold by Cuthell and Martin,) p. 166.

qualification to the case of Ireland, forget, surely, the principles on which English interest and English connection has been established in that country, and its present legislature is formed. No man can say that, in the present state of things, and *while Ireland remains a separate kingdom, full concessions could be made to the Catholics without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution to its centre.*"

Is not this as much as to say, that, after an incorporate union shall have taken place, these FULL CONCESSIONS *could be made* without endangering Ireland? Could these words be understood in any other way by the Catholics? and are they not an indirect offer, on the part of Mr. Pitt, to the Catholics to make these FULL CONCESSIONS, provided they would enable him to make them without endangering the state? But the language which he next employs is stronger and still more in point. He immediately proceeds, "On the other hand, without anticipating the discussion, or the propriety of agitating the question, or saying how soon or how late it may be fit to discuss it, two propositions are indisputable —1st. When the conduct of the Catholics shall be such as to make it safe for the Government to admit them to the participation of the privileges granted to those of the established religion, and when the temper of the times shall be favorable to such a measure; when those events take place, it is obvious that such a question may be agitated in an United Imperial Parliament, with much greater safety than it could be in a separate legislature. In the second place, I think it certain, that even for whatever period it may be thought necessary, after the union, to withhold from the Catholics the enjoyment of those advantages, many of the objections which at present arise out of their situation would be removed, if the Protestant legislature were no longer separate and local, but general and impartial."

The speech, from which the foregoing is extracted, was circulated gratis by Government, throughout all Ireland. It was considered by the Catholics as a tender of emancipation; it was anxiously read by all who could read; at the Castle it was explained, to those who sought for explanation, as an unequivocal offer of every concession; and, in the result, the Catholics opposed their own Parliament, and gave their support to Mr. Pitt; and, by the aid of this support, he was enabled to contend with a majority in the House of Commons, and to carry the measure.

We come now to the evidence to be collected from the Act of Union.

Many of the leading Catholics have not hesitated to declare, that the oath prescribed by this act, to qualify members of parliament to take their seats, was framed under an arrangement, that,

immediately after the measure was passed, they were to enjoy the privilege of sitting in Parliament. The act runs thus: "That every one of the Lords and Commons of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and every member of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, in the first and every succeeding Parliament shall, *until the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall otherwise provide*, take the oaths as now enjoined to be taken." Do not quibble with us," the Catholics say, "concerning terms and formalities; it was clearly understood between us, that if we co-operated to bring about the union, as we actually did, you would effect the emancipation. To give a coloring to this engagement, you inserted in the articles of union an intimation of a proposed change of the oaths in our favor: when, behold! now you roundly tell us that this alteration never shall take place, and that we must make up our minds to wear our shackles till the end of time."[1]

The third head of evidence is Mr. Pitt's speech on explaining the cause of his resignation in 1801. "As to the merits," Mr. Pitt said, "of the question which led to my resignation, I am willing to submit them to the House. I and some of my colleagues in office, did feel it an incumbent duty upon us to propose a measure on the part of Government, which, *under the circumstances of the union* so happily effected between the two countries, we thought of great public importance, and necessary to *complete* the benefits likely to result from that measure; we felt this opinion so strongly, that, when we met with circumstances which rendered it impossible for us to propose it as a measure of Government, we felt it equally inconsistent with our duty and our honor any longer to remain a part of that Government. What may be the opinion of others, I know not, but I beg to have it understood to be a measure which, if I had remained in government, I *must* have proposed."[1]

Why must Mr. Pitt have proposed this measure? To this question one answer alone can be given, because his honor, as a statesman, was substantially engaged to the Catholics, that, if they supported the union, he would propose emancipation.

We now come to the written communications which, at this time, were made to the Catholics by Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis, and which were given by Lord Castlereagh to Dr. Troy:—

Mr. Pitt to Lord Cornwallis,

"The leading part of his Majesty's Ministers finding insurmountable obstacles to the bringing forward measures of concession to the Catholic body, whilst in office, have felt it impossible to continue in administration under the inability to propose it with

[1] Dr. Milner's Inquiry, p. 68. [2] Debret's Debates, 14, 161.

the circumstances necessary to carrying the measure with all its advantages, and they have retired from his Majesty's service, considering this line of conduct as most likely to contribute to its ultimate success. The Catholic body will, therefore, see how much their future hopes must depend upon strengthening their cause by good conduct in the mean time; they will prudently consider their prospects as arising from the persons who now espouse their interests, and compare them with those, which they could look to from any other quarter; they may with confidence rely on the zealous support of all those who retire, and of many who remain in office, when it can be given with a prospect of success. They may be assured that Mr. Pitt will do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favor, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects: and the Catholics will feel, that as Mr. Pitt could not concur in an hopeless attempt to force it now, that he must at all times repress, with the same decision as if he held an adverse opinion, any unconstitutional conduct in the Catholic body.

"Under these circumstances, it cannot be doubted that the Catholics will take the most loyal, dutiful, and patient line of conduct, that they will not suffer themselves to be led into measures which can, by any construction, give a handle to the opposers of their wishes, either to misinterpret their principles, or to raise an argument for resisting their claims; but that by their prudent and exemplary demeanor they will afford additional grounds to the growing number of their advocates to enforce their claims on proper occasions, until their objects can be finally and advantageously attained."

"*The Sentiments of a sincere Friend (i. e. Marquis Cornwallis) to the Catholic Claims.*"

"If the Catholics should now proceed to violence, or entertain any ideas of gaining their object by convulsive measures, or forming associations with men of jacobinical principles, they must of course lose the support and aid of those, who have sacrificed their own situations in their cause, but who would at the same time feel it to be their indispensable duty to oppose every thing tending to confusion.

"On the other hand, should the Catholics be sensible of *the benefit they possess by having so many characters of eminence pledged not to embark in the service of Government, except on the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained,* it is to be hoped, that, on balancing the advantages and disadvantages of their situation, they would prefer a quiet and peaceable demeanor to any line of conduct of an opposite description."

The originals of these two declarations were handed to Dr. Troy, and afterwards to Lord Fingal, by Marquis Cornwallis. His Excellency desired they should be discreetly communicated to the Bishops and principal Catholics, but not inserted in the newspapers. They appeared, nevertheless, in the English prints soon afterwards, and were copied into the Irish papers.

Under circumstances such as these, is it surprising that the Catholics should now feel that faith has been broken with them by the Government of England? Mr. Pitt, so long ago as in Lord Westmorland's administration, had made no hesitation to say, in such a manner that his sentiments might be known to the Catholics, that he would not risk a rebellion by withholding emancipation. In 1795, he sent Lord Fitzwilliam to Ireland, to carry this measure into effect; and, in 1799, he held forth, in language not to be misunderstood, this measure, as the reward which he would give the Catholics for their support to the union. At this time he had governed England for fourteen years, he was supported by great majorities in Parliament, and he possessed the unbounded confidence of the King, and of the people. What other construction, then, could his language on the union bear among the Catholics, than that of a positive engagement on the part of England to give them emancipation, provided they gave the union, in the first instance, their support? No one can say that they formed their expectations that this measure would be conceded to them without good grounds for doing so; and there being good grounds, no correct moralist can maintain that England made no such engagement.

Having now traced the history of the penal laws and the Catholics, from the treaty of Limerick down to the union, it remains only to make a conclusion of this work, by collecting the several inferences which may be drawn from the facts contained in it.

In the first place, the Catholics have to complain of three distinct breaches of faith by the Government of England.—1st. In the violation of the treaty of Limerick; 2d. In the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam; and, 3d. In the treatment which they have received since the union.

Secondly, They have to complain of having endured a greater share of insult and of oppression than it ever was the lot of any other people in any other country to be exposed to.

Thirdly, They have it in their power to repel all those charges which have been made against them for being disloyal to the House of Brunswick: 1st, By their conduct in 1715; 2dly, By their conduct in 1745; 3dly, By their conduct during the American war; and, lastly, By their conduct in 1798.

Fourthly, They have it in their power to show that their clergy have, at all times, inculcated sound doctrines of morality, of peace

and submission to the Government, and of brotherly affection for their Protestant fellow-countrymen.

Fifthly, They can prove that their religious principles have been wholly misunderstood; and that these principles are not in any degree repugnant to their duty as loyal subjects.

Sixthly, This very important inference may be drawn from what has already been stated, namely, "that for a long period of time, there has prevailed amongst the Protestants of Ireland a very general inclination to concede to the Catholics a participation with them in constitutional privileges.

And, lastly, when we consider the effects, direct and collateral, of such a penal code as has existed in Ireland, it is not too much to say, that it may be laid down as incontrovertibly proved, that to the penal code it is, England has to look as the source of all alarm she now entertains for the safety of Ireland; and to England Ireland has to look for the cause of all the misery and degradation which, at this day even, peculiarly mark her character among the nations of the world.

---

# INDEX.

The Roman numerals refer to the vol. and the Arabic to the page.

Arms, Catholics deprived of the use of xx, 201, 437, 447
Act of 1793 xxi, 105
Articles of Limerick xx, 189, 201
Attorneys, Catholics not admitted to be xx, 203, 434
——————— admitted to be xxi, 99
Advowsons xx, 205, 462
Apprentices, Catholic xx, 434. xxi, 99
Allegiance of Catholics xx, 444, 454
Absolution of sins xx, 444
Address to the Duke of Bedford, 1757 xx, 446
——— to the Inhabitants of Cork xx, 447
——— to the King, 1774 xx, 456
——— to the King, 1793 xxi, 112
Barristers, Catholics not to be xx, 437
——————— admitted to be xxi, 99
Burke, Edmund, Letter of, to Sir H. Langrishe xx, 475
Catholics, rights secured to them by the treaty of Limerick xx, 199, 206
——— Laws in force against them in 1697 xx, 200
——— Conduct of, in 1715 xx, 430
——— Conduct of, in 1745 xx, 439
——— Declaration of, in 1757 and 1792 xx, 443. xxi, 99
——— Resolutions of, in 1792 xx, 475
——— Admitted to marry Protestants xxi, 99
——— Convention of, in 1792 xxi, 100
——— To what disabilities now subject xxi, 111

Catholic Clergy, Conduct of, in 1745 xx, 440
——————— Exhortation of, in 1757 xx, 441
——————— Exhortation of, in 1793 xxi, 118
——————— Conduct of, in 1798 xxi, 127
Catholic soldiers, how circumstanced xxi, 111, 113
Catholic religion, Establishment of xx, 445. xxi, 127
Catholic general Committee xx, 443
Constables, Catholics not to be xx, 435
Coronation oath xx, 449
Declaration of 1757 xx, 443
——— of 1792 xx, 443
Defenders xxi, 128
Education of Catholics prohibited xx, 200, 433
——— ——— admitted xx, 462. xxi, 99
Elections, Catholics not to vote at xx, 205, 435, 437
——— Catholics to vote at xxi, 105
Forfeited Lands xx, 445
Fitzwilliam, Lord, Lord Lieutenant xxi, 119
——————— Recall of xxi, 129
Guardianship by Catholics xx, 201, 204, 462, 465
Gamekeepers xx, 203
Grand Jurors, Catholics not to be xx, 434
Gosford's, Lord, Speech xxi, 115
Heretics xx, 443
Jurors, Petit, Qualification of xx, 437
Limerick, Articles of xx, 189
Marriage of Protestants with Catholics xx, 203, 436
Oaths xx, 443
Priests, Banishment of xx, 201
——— Converted xx, 433
——— Discovery of xx, 433
——— Registering of xx, 434, 462
Popery, Act to prevent xx, 204
——————— to discharge persons from penalties of xx, 436
Property xx, 204, 461, 462. xxi, 105
Penal Laws, Effect of xx, 451
——————— Repeal of some of the xx, 463
——————— Still in force xxi, 111
Protestant Charter Schools xx, 438
Pope, Authority of xx, 444
Parliament, Catholics excluded from xx, 448
Petition, 1774 xx, 456
——— 1791 xx, 466
——— 1792 xx, 467
——— 1793 xxi, 101
Pitt, Mr., favorable to Emancipation xx, 467
Protestants favorable to the Catholics xx, 464, 467, 475. xxi, 105, 114, 122
Presbyterians favorable to the Catholics xxi, 114
Rebellion of 1798 xxi, 123
Sheriffs, Catholics not to be xx, 434
Students of King's Inns, Catholics not to be xx, 448
——————— admitted to be xxi, 99
Vestry, Catholics not to vote at a xx, 435
Universities, Answers of Foreign xx, 477
Union, supported by the Catholics xxi, 128

# LETTER

## TO THE REV. P. ELMSLEY, A.M.

IN ANSWER TO THE APPEAL

## MADE TO PROFESSOR SANDFORD,

AS UMPIRE BETWEEN THE

## UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

AND

## THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

---


## BY D. K. SANDFORD, ESQ.

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.


---

*Leonato to Dogberry.*

"All thy tediousness on me! ha!"

*Much ado about Nothing.*

..... "Be assur'd
"Thou shalt have justice, more than thou desir'st."

*Merchant of Venice.*

"The Man's a Monk, and Monk-like has dreamed, to get a little money—give him a hundred shillings, that he may not think he has been dreaming for nothing."

*Matthew Paris.*

---


LONDON:

1822.

# LETTER,

*&c.*

SIR,

I ADDRESS this letter to you, as by far the most eminent scholar whom the University of Oxford at present numbers on her lists; as one, whose name stands high with the world in general for literature and genius; and whose aid, wherever it can be serviceable, will not be refused to a fellow-laborer in the cause of Classical Education. The appeal that has been made to me, by the anonymous assailant of the Edinburgh Review, in behalf of the open Colleges of Oxford, has placed me in rather an awkward predicament. With every wish and intention to act as an upright Judge, the consciousness, that a question so important must now be finally determined by my decision, makes me shrink a little from the responsibility imposed by the appellant. I am anxious, therefore, to associate some one with me in my office of Arbiter, and I see none, whom I can invite to be my assessor on the Bench, with greater propriety than yourself.

In calling upon me as an *Oxford man*, and considering me as much connected with that University as with Edinburgh, the Champion of the open Colleges has exaggerated my claims to the character which he has chosen to assign to me. Except that I suppose my name to be still on the books of Christ-Church; that I shall probably graduate as a Master; and that I made the University, for upwards of 3 years, the scene of studies, which, for all the assistance I received in them, might as well have been conducted at Jerusalem; I have no title to these fraternal hugs. Such is the full extent of my connexion with Oxford, which was my temporary residence, but never my home. I carried with me

some paternal, and the general voice of the University has done me the honor to testify that I established some personal claim, to a more intimate union with her interests: but, happily for me, it was otherwise ordered; and I can therefore regard her with no other feelings, as far as I myself am concerned, than those of absolute indifference. Some useful knowlege, a few pleasing triumphs, and a large portion of affection and respect towards one or two individuals, are mixed up with my Oxonian recollections; but none, I fear, of those *local attachments*, on which the disinterested Champion, in his impartial rage for justice, seems to build with so much confidence of a favorable issue to his suit.

You, on the contrary, although not on the foundation of a College, have at least made Oxford very much your home, and may, consequently, fairly be presumed to be more inflamed with predilections in favor of the place, and more anxious to see the University triumphant in any contest that affects her character and credit. It is, then, to give the Champion all possible indulgence, that I call on you to divide with me the task of arbitration. While I write under this impression, the idea of your zeal must rectify my coldness; the Champion will meet with still more tenderness than he could hope from me in a single capacity, though I confess my usual bias towards the weaker party; and the judgment thus jointly pronounced, (for I shall take care to deliver none but that in which you must completely coincide,) will thoroughly satisfy the public at large, however widely it may differ from what the advocate of Oxford elections appears to expect.

In all other respects, except that which you are to supply, I will not disclaim the character of *a competent judge*. I have sufficient general knowlege of Oxonian matters for the purpose, and even some slight remembrance of the particular examinations, that form one point in the questions to be considered: I have a sincere desire that we should award the purest justice in the plainest terms, and shall take good care, though we must be oracular, not to be ambiguous. The gentleman of Oxford, whose sentence is self-sought, cannot of course have any plea for complaint, whatever it may be. And as for his *antagonist*, as he merrily styles the Reviewer, who will probably be somewhat amused at finding himself paired off with such an opponent, we may give him credit for wishing nothing better than a fair discussion, and look from *him* also, for a silent acquiescence in the fiat of our balanced and authorised tribunal.

In the very first step of our proceedings, I feel grieved that we must direct our censure against the conduct of the Champion. Observe the striking difference between the modes in which he and the Reviewer have commenced their attacks.

The Reviewer, whose subject was to lead him to a violent condemnation of *one* part of the Oxford system, begins with a warm and rather an exaggerated eulogium on *another*. He tells the University that, with a few relics of imperfection and absurdity, which blindness alone could overlook, her plan of education seems better calculated than any hitherto known to attain the true end of the classical studies she encourages. He even enters with a sort of enthusiasm into the details of her public examinations, and calls upon his readers to consider and applaud with him the various merits of the separate parts that go to compose them. It is after he has thus roused and heated their minds into an admiration of Oxford, and filled and dazzled their eyes with all the fervors of his honest commendation, that he bids them turn with him a sorrowful glance upon a foul blot that tarnishes the picture. *This* is at least a generous and self-denying method of warfare. He invests the object of his confined and qualified strictures with all the armor she can claim to wear; sets her in a high and advantageous posture; and then comes forward, with a gallant and courageous bearing, to point out and probe the defects that still continue to weaken and degrade her. How different the tactics of the Champion! *He* begins with every attempt to stir up the feelings of his judges, not in favor of, but against his self-sought enemy. He would set us glowing with a *partial warmth*, and *vibrating in unison with tones of indignation*. He would arm all our *prejudices* in his cause, and fearful of a cool, deliberate enquiry, exclaims with the poet,

'*Inde* vaporata lector mihi *ferveat* aure!'

That he has fallen into the hands of arbiters, who will not be swayed by passion to injustice, is not his merit, and will scarcely turn out for his advantage. Even "*his Master Aristotle*" might have taught him that such tricks as these can take effect only on the minds of a *depraved* and *self-conceited*[1] audience, and are worthy only of a pleader who is well aware that truth and equity are decidedly against him. If the Reviewer, by *his* method of proceeding, has gained the benefit of light and shade, and has heightened the colors of his picture by the power of contrast, he cannot be blamed for taking things as they fairly lay before him, and following the natural course in his descriptions. In *this* portion of the subject, then, our opinion, though I say it with pain, must be quite decided against the author of the pamphlet.

While considering preliminaries, we must also take this opportunity of reproving the Champion, once for all, for the numerous

[1] Vide Rhetoricorum, LL. i. et iii.

puerilities, scattered over the beginning and other parts of his work. Not to mention the virulence and foul-mouthed language that sit so ill upon this advocate for "*a calm address*" and "*a becoming demeanor*," what else but derision can he expect to reward such assumptions as "*unceremonious superiority*," "*unwillingness to stoop*," "*sacrifice of fastidiousness*," *&c. &c.* That he actually entertains the feelings thus indiscreetly arrogated we know to be impossible. Six months of patient toil are not bestowed by volunteers upon foes whom they think contemptible. The expressions are probably designed to be facetious, but Providence, that did not create this person for a wit, does not suffer its intentions to be counteracted with impunity. If the Reviewer be really the malignant being, that his assailant labors hard to represent him, we may conceive his secret satisfaction at the awkward and ungainly gambols into which the poor tutor has been stung. Holding, with Dr. Johnson, that abuse is the reaction upon satire, and marks its work to have been done, I acknowledge my surprise that the Champion should have so liberally indulged in it. And then, for a man of his *confessedly small parts* to rave about "*punishment*," and "*fastidiousness*," and "*whips that are not to be wrapt in velvet*," is almost too distressing to be ludicrous. No one knows exactly his own level in the scale of intellect, but surely the Champion might have perceived so broad and sensible an inferiority, as that in which he stands towards the writer whom he endeavors to annoy. The Reviewer, whatever his faults of style or temper, is at least brisk, rapid, and amusing. If he does nothing more, he always makes one laugh. The Champion is far more likely to make one sleep. Some heavy frisking that is meant to be smart, and one or two passages, that I more than half suspect to be intended for eloquence, had nearly lulled me into slumbers, which would have suited the judicial character thus unexpectedly thrust upon me.

Hoping that this reproof, which we have felt compelled to administer, will prepare the Champion for assuming a more modest tone in his next publication, let us proceed to the points at issue between the parties, or in the elegant language of the pamphleteer, to "the facts that he intends to prove disgracefully false; and the opinion he intends to prove ridiculously silly." Strong words these, Mr. Elmsley! and inconvenient for the party to whom we shall be forced finally to apply them! But inventors have always suffered in their own machines, and have never been pitied for it. As the close Fellow, after some "*embarrassment*," allowable enough in a raw writer, has contrived to throw the question into three heads or counts for our investigation, it will save us time and trouble,—

and I have not much of either to spare,—to fall into the order laid down for us. And firstly, for the first count:

Upon this, I must beg you, before we proceed further, to observe the dexterous perversion of meaning, by which the Champion has transformed what, in the Review, is an obvious truth, into a flat falsehood in the pamphlet. Place the position of the Reviewer, and the count in the pamphlet, side by side, and you will perceive the important difference between statements, which the Champion, of course with the most honest intentions, would represent as one and the same thing:

| REVIEWER. | CLOSE FELLOW. |
| --- | --- |
| In many of the Colleges, fitness for election is restricted to some particular school, diocese, county, or kindred. Yet it is among *the Fellows so chosen alone* that we are to look for men who *really deserve to have been eligible.* | In Oxford *men of distinguished talents and attainments* are to be found *only* in those Colleges where the Elections are close. |

The Champion would make the Reviewer assert that, which every one who has heard of the fame of Mr. Elmsley, and that he is not the holder of a close fellowship, must know to be false, viz. that there are *no distinguished members of the University* who are not holders of fellowships, and those fellowships close. The Reviewer has asserted for himself that, which is certainly only matter of opinion, but is an opinion that we shall presently, I fear, be forced to back with the whole weight of our legal authority, viz. that in looking *to the Fellows of the University*, we shall find among the holders of close fellowships alone, such persons as he conceives worthy to enjoy these places of respectability and profit. The Champion, in short, would make the Reviewer set the members of the close Colleges in opposition to the whole University: the Reviewer, who probably knew his own meaning a little better than his gratuitous interpreter, simply, and in the plainest terms, set the members of the close Colleges in opposition to the members of the open Colleges; at the same time delivering the reasons, upon which he accounts for the superiority of the former. The misrepresentation, by the Champion, of the Reviewer's sentiments, is here too gross to be overlooked, and I adduce it as a sample of the candid spirit in which his whole pleading is conveyed.

Although, however, the Champion has thus perverted the words of the Reviewer at the very outset, he reasons upon this count of the indictment, with some glimpse at least of his adversary's meaning, and sets about instituting a comparison between the

respective members of the close and open Colleges. Had he conducted this comparison upon the proper grounds, and with a fair understanding of the opinion expressed in the Review, we should have been spared some chuckling, and a good deal of tedious detail. *That the members of close Colleges have enjoyed during a given period a monopoly of University distinctions* is nowhere stated by the Reviewer; could not have been intended to be stated by any man with his senses about him; and could not have been extracted from the words of the article without a most violent effort of dulness, or of something worse. The Reviewer says that we must search among the holders of the close fellowships alone for persons that really deserve to have obtained *such* situations, and *this* is the opinion, on the soundness or futility, or, if the Champion likes it better, on the *truth* or *falsehood* of which, our disagreeable office must lead us to decide.

The proposition is a very simple one, and to those acquainted with things and persons at Oxford is of very easy solution. It is, certainly, highly disagreeable to be forced, by the indiscretion of their Champion, to say any thing disparaging of a class of men, among whom there exist so many unobtrusive and innocuous individuals. But of course we protest, in the most explicit terms, against our words being construed into an impeachment of moral character, in any of the holders of open fellowships, upon whom we are invited to pass judgment. Under such restriction, I have no hesitation in proposing it, as our united opinion, that the Reviewer is borne out by fact in the truth of his allegation. I presume that when the Reviewer speaks of a person *having deserved to be eligible* to a place of some power and profit, he includes in his notion of *desert* the most distinguished intellectual abilities, the maintenance of high and independent principles, scholarship that has not been confined to the bare routine of University-reading, and that classic spirit and "*enthusiasm*" that is the uniform result of the study of the "*glorious models of antiquity*," wherever the seed has fallen on a good ground, and nothing has intervened to thwart its growth or to impair its vigor. This at least is the sense in which *I* understand and agree with the Reviewer; nor have I any doubt, from what is known of *your* character, that you will fully and heartily coincide with us both. Now, taking the test thus fairly understood, and applying it to the Colleges, which the Champion has spontaneously dragged into the conspicuous places of the field, to what conclusion *must* you and I be driven? Looking to Brasen-nose, as the Champion directs us, and giving up Mr. Milman and "*his nakedness*," since he will have it so, we could point out more than one individual, though the loss of its late most eminent and lamented head has diminished the number, whose abilities *are* brilliant, whose princi-

ples *are* high and independent, whose scholarship *is* elegant and extensive, and whose mental vigor and enthusiasm *are* truly classical. But when we turn to Oriel and Balliol, *as the Champion also directs us*, it is not our fault, as it is not the Reviewer's, that it would puzzle us to cull out from the fellows, individuals who would not be themselves ashamed and alarmed at the application of such a character to them. What name does Oriel, for instance, since the Champion fixes upon that College as the peculiar butt of the review,—what name does Oriel offer, of the smallest weight or celebrity, to those, who recollect that Mr. Davison is no longer a Fellow, and who are not disposed to acquiesce in the praises of Dr. Copleston? I know, indeed, that in the last Number of the Edinburgh Review, whose pages, as being eminently sacred to freedom of discussion, must sometimes present conflicting opinions, Oriel College has been termed (alas! for hapless speculation!) the School of Speculative Philosophy in England; and I have heard also, to my no small amusement, of the purring, and perking of ears, and other visible demonstrations of delight, with which the compliment has been received. Had the compliment really proceeded from the same pen which inflicted the previous censure, as has been boldly, though I doubt not falsely, asserted in a recent publication,[1] I should conceive the malice of the writer to have had in view this diverting consequence; but believing, as I do, this unwary sentence to have dropped from one of the greatest, but certainly the most indulgent writer of the age, whose only weakness is a prodigality of praise, I can impute it to nothing but private partiality, or extravagant good-nature. You and I, however, who are better acquainted with the real state of things, are not to be so blinded to the merits of the case, nor deterred from declaring our concurrence in the statement, uncompromising as it is, of the Reviewer. That his statement *is* uncompromising and severe to the last degree we need not seek to deny. The Champion, indeed has entered into a minute comparison between the open Colleges and the close, or rather between the open Colleges and one of the close. But the Reviewer, whose opinions are much more decided, does not condescend to any comparison at all. He speaks out, without shrinking or prevarication, what he conceives to be the truth, assigning in broad terms *some* members of intellectual power and eminence to the close Colleges, and *none at all* to the open,—a judgment that we may have heard currently advanced in every common-room at Oxford, (those of Oriel and Balliol always excepted,) although you will agree with me in considering it a most undesirable office to be obliged to place it thus solemnly upon record, as that which is to decide the *first of the three counts* in favor of the

[1] *Vindiciæ Analogicæ*, by a Clergyman of Bath.

Reviewer, and against his assailant. I must add, that if the Champion was determined to have *a comparison*, he might have made it upon more extended grounds, between the close and open Colleges. When examining the claims of the former, it was a want of bowels to overlook the wits of New College, and of candor to omit the Westminster students of Christ Church.

As to the footing upon which the Champion has thought proper to stake his comparison, notwithstanding that it occupies eight tedious pages of his pamphlet, it is too ridiculous to occupy much of our attention. Where he found in the Review any reason for supposing that first classes and University prizes were the criterion, which the Reviewer probably intended to strike the balance of merit between the close and open Colleges, I cannot conjecture. Far as that writer pushes his eulogium on the public examinations at Oxford, he does not venture to assert that the highest success in the Schools proves any thing more in a man's favor, than that his taste and intellect have been more expanded and matured than they could have been by the University method of instruction twenty years ago, and that his whole mind must be in a proper state of capacity for further progress. *He* does not speak of the requisites for ensuring success as more than *causes*, and the Champion himself admits that they cannot be deemed an *opus operatum*. But the Reviewer has done more. In his faithful picture of the arts subsequently necessary for raising the triumphant candidate for honors to the "solid pudding" of the open fellowships, he points with minuteness to a train of circumstances, that must counteract, in the youthful bosom, all the beneficial influence of its previous liberal and manly discipline, and reduce the character and intellect, however promising before, to the standard of that *cast* with which they aim, at the expense of original bent and native excellence, to be for the future identified. And he contrasts very briefly with this description the different effect, which the *certainty*, that saves them from the meanness of stooping, and the necessity of conciliation, is likely to produce upon the expectants of *close* fellowships. By thus tracing the operation of the *canvassing* system, as damping the energies of free and rising talent, that may have given promise of better things, he proves to all but the Champion, that University honors could never have entered into his head as the test of real desert in the holders of fellowships. Nor should I suppose that the open Fellows themselves will feel much obliged to their friend, for so strongly supporting the positions of the Reviewer, by virtually confessing that he can find nothing beyond the achievements of their youth, to sustain their whole future character and reputation. He has fixed them down, fast and motionless, at the very point to which their antagonist would nail them. He can show no expan-

sion in the "*bud*," nor fruit from the "*blossom*." A few weeks' reflection upon this obvious result of his reasonings, might have delivered us from all his operose arithmetic, and curious allotments of three men to two honors, and three honors to two men, that resemble nothing on earth with which I am acquainted, except the famous computation of a devil and half to two pigs in the miracle of Sadara. But the gentleman was resolved to praise, and has thus been forced to take up a posture, that no one would have dreamed of adopting, who had any other mode of making out a plausible statement. "*Pessimi inimici, laudatores*" is a remark that I always believed to be just, because it comes from Tacitus, but I never saw its truth so strikingly illustrated before.

The second charge, which the Champion has extracted from the Review, and on the merits of which we are next to pronounce, is divided by this votary of Cocker into three "clauses or counts," arranged as follows; "That in these Colleges where the Fellowships ought to be open, the elections are grossly partial;—the examinations ridiculously insufficient;—and the trial merely nominal, the real road to success lying through a *low, personal, previous* canvass." On this portion of his subject the author seems so much at home,—as indeed the ideas connected with it must have been long familiar to his thoughts,—that we need not seek to deviate from the order, in which he has disposed it.

The first clause of this portentous charge is smuggled out of the way in a very summary and amusing manner. Mark the exquisite philosophy of the reasoning advanced. "Did such a weakness (as gross partiality,) really exist," says the Champion, "let us *calculate* to what results it would lead the Electors. *Surely*, to filling up the vacancies in their number, either from their own relatives, or from the younger part of their own Society." Of a truth our friend, who *can* count his fingers, should confine his calculations to the Oxford Calendar. Moral calculations are beyond his sphere. Was there not one of his aiders and abettors in this unlucky composition to suggest, that *corporate* partialities are uniformly directed, not towards the relatives of this or that individual, whose admission might give the family party an undue preponderance in the firm, but towards such as have sufficient address to engage the general affections of the body by the true, indiscriminating suppleness of a thorough-bred Candidate, and seem likely to bring an accession of the staple qualities required in the Society? Each separate Fellow might be actuated by the instinct of natural affections to support his own relation, but how could such a principle be brought to bear on the whole mass? Even a cat will fizz and worry in behalf of its own pussikin; but who ever heard of two cats clubbing together to provide fort he kittenof a third? What a clashing of hopes

and collision of interests would ensue at the bare hint of such a proposal! What spitting, and mewling, and scratching, and tearing! Tabby to tabby—claw for claw! The effective operations of the sisterhood would stop. Oxford Mathematics go at least far enough to have taught the Champion that equal forces, acting in opposite directions, could produce nothing but repose. His "*machine,*" under such circumstances, must stand still,—or, to use another of his elegant comparisons, his *little* "*vessel*" must cease its "fermentations."

No less peculiar is the notion, that tutorial affections would guide electors to "fill up the vacancies in their number, from the younger part of their own society." He knows nothing of the human heart, who is not aware, that "grins and scrapings," and such-like observances, are trebly piquant, when tendered in the shape of *voluntary* homage. Now, the precious statutes, on this subject, having fallen into desuetude, the junior members of a *different* College have it in their power to captivate close or open Fellows by those resistless charms of spontaneous obeisance, whose poignancy Oxonian magnates alone can appreciate. Not so the junior members of their own communities. *They* must cap tutors *by the book.* Their cappings are rigidly enforced, but the keenest amateur in this strange species of gratification can derive but small refreshment from the tokens of reverence, whose omission may be punished by tasks and fatings, or even, I suppose, *si per ætatem liceat*, by whipping in the buttery. There is nothing to titillate in these legal "genuflections," nothing to awaken or encourage partiality, or to overcome the far more probable effect of countless irritations, and petty animosities, that usually arise from the connection of pye-regulating pedagogues with pye-eating undergraduates. So much for the *co-existent diagnostics* (I love to quote his pretty phraseology) which the Champion would establish as principles of reasoning.

But "let us look to the facts," says the Champion. I can have no objection to obey the hint, although, having shown that the *diagnostics* proposed for our direction are not worth a straw, I shall not think it necessary to examine *his* species of facts, nor can suppose that you will care, more than myself, whether any two of "the twenty-five Fellows of Balliol and Oriel, so often referred to," are brothers, sisters, aunt and nephew, cousins-german (there can be no *Scotch* cousins among them,) or any other kind of relations. For general facts, then, I would simply state, what must be quite notorious to you, that until this rash, though I cannot call it *hasty* publication by the Champion, no one at Oxford has ever dreamed for a moment that the Elections to open Colleges were conducted on impartial grounds; that I myself have heard it put to a Fellow of an open College, by a distinguished member of a close College,

that *no one knew on what principles* he and his colleagues decided their elections, and that the open Fellow *was unable to reply;* and that I have often been treated with the argument, as you also must have been, that the Electors in the open Colleges are perfectly right to consult their own ease, and the harmony of their several common-rooms, rather than the respective merits of the competitors examined. As for *overt acts*, if the Champion *will* have them adduced, (since, though not bound to strengthen the Reviewer, we must show the grounds upon which our sentence is to be pronounced,) I feel compelled to declare, without calling on you to swell the catalogue, that enough of these have fallen under my own observation to justify the assertion in the Review. I have known, for instance, an Elector to have openly avowed, before the examinations commenced, that he would vote for a particular candidate, *because he liked his brother*. I have known, upon another election, the candidate who was confessedly the most distinguished for scholarship and talent rejected, because the convenience of the College required a mathematician. At one time a man is avowedly opposed because he writes quick, and the Fellows are afraid of vivacity; at another because he is said to love a joke, and the Fellows are afraid of sarcasm. I am well aware that

νομίσαι * * ταῦτα χρὴ μυστήρια;

and they are mysteries too, which it is not very pleasant to be thus forced to unravel: but a sense of justice towards the party attacked obliges me to remind you of particulars, that might otherwise have been left untouched; and whatever uneasy feelings the exposure may awaken in the breasts of those concerned, must be imputed not to you or me, who only discharge a painful duty, but to the short-sighted reasoner who has thus fixed attention upon points, which no real friend to Oxford could wish to see discussed, except for the purposes of reproof and reformation.

I proceed to consider the mode of examination, which the Reviewer styles a solemn farce, and the Champion applauds as a well-devised and sufficient test of attainment and ability. Yet, you will observe, that not even the Champion, writing under our correction, has ventured to say one word for "the Sorites and the Earthquake," as they are called in the Review, that is, I presume, (and evidently the Champion agrees in giving the same meaning to the passage,) for the barbarous logic and childish physics, that form an integral portion of this *well-devised* trial of ability. At this time of day it will scarcely be believed, that one part of the examination, on whose merits the parties before us are at issue, *actually* consists in analyzing the last dribbles of Aldrich, and turning into worse than questionable Latin the philosophy of Goldsmith's Animated Na-

ture. As these points, however, are virtually abandoned in the defence, we need not trouble ourselves with more than the composition in Latin and English prose, and off hand rendering of Greek and Latin, which the Champion considers, very properly, the main branches of the examination; which, if wisely and skilfully applied, would be the best possible tests of knowledge and talent; and which, nevertheless, *may* be so managed, as to deserve the being classed, according to the words of the Review, with the memorable "Earthquake and Sorites," as farcical items in a trial that is merely nominal.

On the "off-hand rendering" of Greek and Latin authors I request you to observe, and I call upon all who are accustomed to act as Examiners to support my opinion, that the bare translation of a passage in an ancient Classic, whether it has been previously seen by the translator or not, can afford no proof that he either quickly apprehends his author, if new to him, or has fully mastered his meaning and spirit, if an old acquaintance. If there be no questioning upon the passage construed, no means adopted by the examiner to sift the notions of the candidate, nor opportunity allowed to the candidate of explaining, and enforcing, and enlarging upon his notions to the Examiner, none in short of those ample powers, which the method pursued in the University examinations furnishes for ascertaining the real proficiency and depth of the aspirants after public honors, the task proposed must be, in its own nature, absolutely farcical. This is the real "*parade*," the true florishing of the weapon, whose use may not be fully understood, since it is not fairly proved. It can afford nothing like a test of either knowledge or ability; and such, indeed, is the expressed judgment of the Champion himself. In his hypothetical trial and rejection of the poor Reviewer, whom he imagines standing for a fellowship, he has allowed that, "*in mere construing*," the satirist might perhaps "*equal his brother candidates.*" If, therefore, according to the Champion's own admission, so "*worthless a tool*" as the Reviewer, "*without one single classical element discernible in his intellectual or moral character*," might stand this branch of the ordeal upon an equal footing with the other competitors, it is evident that it must be utterly defective and useless as a criterion of merit; and thus the composition in Latin and English will alone be left, the sole portion of the examination, which the Champion can, with any consistency, affect to defend, and to the consideration of which he must now allow me to pass:

> Utor permisso, caudæque pilos ut equinæ
> Paulatim vello, et demo unum, demo etiam unum!

and I am much mistaken, if, by the time that we have done with him I shall leave a single hair in his tail.

In mercy to you and to myself, and I might add, to the redoubtable Champion, I shall spare you the fine writing about the Areopagus, St. Paul, and the imagination of Goths, with which he has mystified this part of the subject. Summary reasoning is the style of authority, and I hope to decide the present question in a manner as plain and tangible as that which I have employed with all the rest. I put it to yourself, as a writer of some standing, and to all who have any knowledge or practice in the art of composition, whether a school-boy *theme* of four pages, perhaps on a subject that would require a volume, can afford a fair criterion of either genius or facility. Who does not know that the dozing, priggish, methodical young man, whose "*blossoms*" are so effectually "*set*," that there is no chance or promise of ulterior developement, is just the person to produce such a tame and stunted theme, as the Fellows of the open Colleges are just the persons to mistake for a very excellent and admirable essay? Mamma's own darling boy, who mends his pen and writes a pretty letter about scenery or sentiment, is sure to turn praiseworthy periods upon "*truth*," or "*fame*," or any similar topic, that may be tacked on to any imaginable thesis.[1] And will the Fellows of the open Colleges pretend to say that such an exercise is fit to form a component part of a great examination, or to assist in drawing a just conclusion? A post-horse might beat a racer for a hundred yards, but what member of the jockey-club would call this an equitable trial of comparative spirit, or bottom, or speed?

Nor must we forget, what has been already hinted at, that after the compositions, such as they may be, have been completed, their merits are submitted to a very *peculiar* class of critics and judges. This, however, is a consideration, to which I should not have invited your attention, had I not been forced to do so by the Cham-

[1] I suppose *I* shall be charged, as I understand the Reviewer to have been, with a *particular personal* application, in this sketch of a candidate likely to prove successful in the species of examination, which precedes election to an open Fellowship. I think it right, therefore, to disclaim most solemnly all intention of aiming a blow at any individual. I have no resentments to gratify; nor have I *yet* come into contact with a single person, whose hostility or triumphs could provoke me to a public or private attack. My blood *might* "stir," to "rouse a lion," but certainly not "*to start a Hare.*" The description is meant to be as general, as I believe that in the Review to have been. I can say no more. If any "deer" feel "stricken," he must "go weep," but neither he nor his friends have a right to complain. May one not draw the picture of a fool but every body, whose conceit outruns his discretion, must cry out, like Sir Andrew in the play, "*That's me, I warrant you!*"

pion. He has chosen to give us some specimens of his own critical qualifications; and since, although styling himself the member of a close College, he has so identified himself in cause and character with the members of the open Colleges, that we may fairly conceive him identified with them in taste and abilities also, I cannot err in taking it for granted that *his* opinions and judgments must yield tolerable data for ascertaining what, under similar circumstances, would be the stamp of *their* discernment and decision. Turn your attention, then, with me, to the exquisite samples of his knowledge and sagacity, which I shall lay before you, and learn how admirably fitted he and his "parallels" must be to pronounce upon the merits of rival compositions.

In talking of the "views and aspirations, brighter and nobler" than mere prospects of temporal interest or pecuniary advantage, that are "to animate a Scotchman's exertions in the field of learning," the Reviewer has the following passage: "We may at least hold up to his ambition those high hopes and purified desires, that have filled and fired exalted souls in every age. Present eminence, and future fame—be they shapes or phantoms, illusions or realities—have *this* solid and permanent advantage—they will ever be for generous spirits the cheap substitute of baser impulses; and as an easy purchase of national distinction, may be promised without fear, as they may be paid without extravagance."

Now for the critique. "Were 'Fame' his subject (the Reviewer's)" says the Champion,—"but it has been so already; and after preluding with hopes and aspirations, 'the Diapason ended full in' cheapness. Proh Gloria! Where can this be paralleled? Perhaps, though I doubt it, in Cobbett."—The Champion's proclaimed "fastidiousness," then, is thus violently outraged, not by the *conception* of the passage, for of course he cannot be offended at a notion, sanctioned by all that is ennobling in human nature, or sacred in classical authority, but by the *expression*—the innocent and unpretending adjective, which, he fondly hopes, may be found an easy victim, as unable, by the received philosophy of language, *to stand by itself.* It is CHEAP that grates upon the delicate fibres of this sipper of green tea. Unfortunate Burke! Imbecile prop of the detested Noun! *He too* must fall beneath the tremendous castigation of the Oxonian Aristarchus. In that celebrated passage, which has hitherto been ranked with the finest in the English language,—in that passage, where the unavenged wrongs of the murdered Queen of France call forth his indignant apostrophe to chivalry and his lament for its decline,[1] *he too*, unconscious

[1] Reflections on the French Revolution.

of the destined lash, has ventured, after "preluding" with "orbs," and "visions," and "generous loyalty," and "subordination of the heart," and the "pride of Europe extinguished for ever," to swell the "Diapason" with "the *unbought* grace of life, the CHEAP defence of Nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise is gone!"—I quote from memory, but I feel sure that I quote correctly. They are words which must be written on the heart of every one, but the Champion of the University of Oxford.

Burke has been usually esteemed, not only an orator of exalted fancy, but an eminent master of the English tongue, and especially powerful and happy in his choice and application of a nervous diction. I have little doubt that the Reviewer had in view the passage I have quoted, in adopting the fatal monosyllable, that has exposed him to the formidable satire of his antagonist, and that he conceived the mine, in which he was digging, so pure and classical, that none would be found willing to asperse the virgin ore extracted from its wealth. Of course Burke and he must now stand equally condemned. The Champion has said that they are wrong; and who, on points of taste, would argue with the Champion?

But, perhaps, it is *the conception* of the passage, after all, that has had some share at least in rousing the Champion's indignation. He may not be fond of *cheap* impulses applied to himself, nor approve of their application to others. He may think that the best part of the Olympian prize was, not the few twigs of olive, that, in the eyes of Greece, raised mortals to the level of the gods, or the place in Pindar's poetry, that rendered their fame eternal, but the five hundred drachms from the Athenian treasury, and the public maintenance for life, that were the substantial fruits of victory. Nay, he may quote classical authority to second him, and extract the only blot from the funeral oration in Thucydides as the text and rule of his opinion. The ὠφέλιμος στέφανος—the "profitable crown"—he may esteem, with Pericles, the most effective stimulus to virtue. Thus it is that some men turn a classical education to good account, and have an eye to the useful in every branch of literature or knowledge. And thus, too, we may at last discover what the Champion means by that absence of classic elements which he imputes as the vital fault of the Reviewer's intellectual character. Far be it from us to decide whether accuser or accused is more justly blameable on so delicate a point. Perhaps, as the world goes, the Champion's commercial estimate of stimulants may have more practical truth; and it doubtless accords much better with the views, which his own situation must inspire. He is probably some youth possessed with a very laud-

able anxiety for getting forward in the paths of patronage,—some fellowling, who had "rather" *not* "be a kitten and cry mew" any longer. An attack upon the Edinburgh Review is likely to help him out of his obscurity, and, notwithstanding the *ennui*, with which this task afflicts me, he has my best hopes and wishes, that nothing may impede his progress to a Deanery. He is right upon the track, that has been trodden by others before him,

> Ἴστω γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ πεδί-
> λῳ δαιμόνιον πόδ' ἔχων·

May no unlucky stumbling-block prove fatal to his onward course! On his own *vis inertiæ* he may reckon with security.

But he must not impinge upon the crusts of criticism. Besides the indiscreet condemnation of Burke, already noticed, our duty towards the Reviewer must oblige us to advert to some further comments upon his style, equally unfortunate. Now that we are upon this subject, we may as well view the several passages together. Like Junius I will "collect" for you "the scattered sweets," though I will not say *whose* "sense" their "united virtue" is to "torture."

The Reviewer has said that "taste and genuine enthusiasm should lead the scholar, in studying the models of antiquity, rather to imitate than worship, rather to emulate than imitate." The Champion sneers at this mode of expression, and has a facetious "friend" who "*well*" observes that it will "read just as well backwards as forwards." If this very funny person sinned against knowledge, and intended to get the Champion into a scrape, we must say that the sooner the latter shall strike him off the list of his "friends," the better will it be for his interests. If, on the contrary, he joked in honest ignorance, we must mark our consternation and concern that there should exist *two* persons in the University of Oxford unable to follow the Reviewer to the classical sources, from which not only his expression, but his sentiment appears to have been drawn. In the first place, the words, at least to my apprehension, convey no "definition of enthusiasm," but rather a direction as to the proper end and genuine uses of ancient literature; and secondly, the *spirit* of the remark is evidently taken from Bolingbroke, as the *diction* is borrowed, almost directly, from Boileau. In his precepts for translation Boileau has said that "a good writer will *jouster contre l'original*, rather *imitate than translate, and rather emulate than imitate*," and Bolingbroke, expanding a maxim, fraught with real philosophy, and transferring it to his own object, the use of historical study, has added, "Now, to improve by examples is to improve by imitation: We must

catch the spirit, if we can, and conform ourselves to the reason of them; but we must not affect to *translate* servilely into our conduct the particular conduct of those good and great men, whose images history sets before us."[1] The Reviewer has applied to the study of Classical Literature that, which Bolingbroke has applied to the study of History, and, though both have transfused into their observations the lively language of Boileau, there is no plagiarism in either one case or the other. Great writers give a currency to sentences as well as words, and make them pass as freely in the republic of letters. It seems, however, that there *may* be critics found to question the value of any thing, and to deny the authority of any stamp or superscription.

Burke, Bolingbroke, and Boileau,—all at one fell swoop! How was the Reviewer to escape? I even begin to tremble for myself. Although I have avoided, with all possible care, any interference with the rhetorical department of the Champion, I am not sure that he may not pick holes in my simple style, and tell us that our judgment is not drawn up according to the Oxford rules of composition. But at least I have substantiated my statement, in showing that the canons of criticism, by which the themes produced at these examinations for fellowships will probably be tried, are of a very *peculiar* complexion.

There is only one other morsel that need be considered, to prove still further the knowledge and judgment of the Champion. His last condemnation of the style of the Reviewer is conceived as follows:—"He may persist in writing such enigmas instead of sentences as 'the Stocks and Bardi of alternate annotation,' and in reckoning 'local knowledge' among the ingredients of literary fame."—The latter clause of this remark merely shows the writer to be unacquainted with an amusing fairy tale, for which I most sincerely pity him, as I pity every man that loses a laugh; but the first clause is either a piece of affected ignorance, for the sake of a sorry jest in the Appendix, or forms the most melancholy instance of confined acquirements upon record. Were he as well versed in Commentators, as I am forced to be, he must have known that *Stipites*, or *Stocks*, and *Bardi*, or "*dull and senseless fellows*," are the epithets, which these courteous gentlemen, in their "*alternate annotations*," are constantly bestowing on each other. Nay, had he but turned up the octavo edition of Ainsworth's Dictionary, *which is not much dearer than the Oxford Calendar*, he must have found "Bardus, a, um, adj. "*Dull-witted, foolish, heavy, slow*," with Ciceronian authority for its use. It is precisely the epithet, which the Reviewer, who seems so fond of assigning the most significant predicate to every subject, would

[1] Letter III. on the study of History.

undoubtedly apply to the Champion, were he writing a Latin comment on his letter, and, for aught that we have seen, I fear that we could not deny the justice of the application.

Having now considered very fully the mode of examination which prevails in the open Colleges, it can hardly be necessary for me to add, either upon your part or my own, that the Reviewer appears to be entirely borne out by fact in all that he has alleged concerning it; and that, whatever we may think of the zeal, we have no great reason to admire the discretion of the gentleman, who has endeavoured to defend it. His Pindar might have taught him, that silence is often not only the safest, but the soundest policy. I should hasten to another subject, were my attention not arrested by a paragraph, introduced into this part of the pamphlet, and which, for several reasons, demands a little animadversion.

"Some," says the author, "may be inclined to think, that literary attainments alone should be required from a candidate, and be disposed to join issue on the propriety of taking his moral character into the account. To these the answer is plain. Sound principle and common sense, the nature of our establishments, the object of our institution, and (I doubt not) the will too of the founders, seem to concur in forcing us to look for both."—So far the Champion is unquestionably right. I cannot, indeed, suppose, that any body would be foolish enough to dispute his position, and to deny, that in electing to a fellowship, the voters are bound in duty and conscience to consider, not with a spirit of prudery or inquisitorial harshness, but fairly and honestly to consider, the moral character of candidates. I am very much mistaken if the writer of the pamphlet anticipated any objection to so reasonable an assumption as this, or inserted the passage with any other view than for the sake of stringing together a series of insinuations against the private character of an individual, in whose reputation I take a natural interest. I am led to this conclusion from the curious and complete coincidence that exists between the language of the "Letter," and that of a previous publication, evidently proceeding from the same hand, to which my attention was attracted by a foolish calumny against myself, that adorned its pages. The said publication, under the proud title of the "Oxford Review," of course comprised the whole "disposable talent" at present afloat in the University. Such talent as the Champion's could not be omitted; and besides, the strictures on the Edinburgh Review, contained in the Number that fell into my hands, are proved to have dropped from the same ingenuous pen, which traced the "Letter," by several indisputable tokens. There is the same soreness and wriggling under the lash of the Reviewer; the same

blunder about *Erigena*, which I shall presently notice in the "Letter;" and, above all, the same strain of slanderous imputation, and hints of loose habits and religious scepticism, and unfitness for the company of open Fellows, aimed against an object of the writer's fear or envy, or dislike. Now, in the "Oxford Review," this object is too distinctly specified to be mistaken, and therefore I apprehend that we cannot be wrong in believing, that the less palpable hits in the present pamphlet are directed, with equal purity of intention, against the "young man," almost named in its predecessor, of whom I know something, and you must know something too, and who lately finished at Oxford a career, that could have given pain to none but his enemies. Should this suspicion be just, and should the allusions of the Champion be really intended for that young man, whose sins, whatever they may be, were never those of cold-blooded malignity, or rancorous jealousy, —whose "low debauchery" consisted in a free and intimate society with all the persons most distinguished for rank, talent, and accomplishment, that his time and College could boast,—and whose "besotted infidelity" consists in a warm and zealous attachment to sound theology and practical religion, unstained by bigotry, hypocrisy, or cant,—it will be our imperious duty to express our horror at so wicked and preposterous a libel. In *this* case the characters of LIAR, SLANDERER, and COWARD, must be transferred from the brow of the Reviewer to that of his anonymous assailant. This is the only warmth, into which I have been betrayed, but it is coldness itself to what *your* honest indignation would prompt, were the sentence to be worded by yourself. The same titles shall be branded on the front of the defamer, as soon as he shall venture to reveal it, even although it should half-disarm severity to see that "it is no lion, but Snug the joiner" who appears. There is but one consideration, that can induce me to retract this resolution. If the writer of the pamphlet be *really* a female, as some peculiarities of style and disposition have induced many to suppose,—although Miss should not be so pert,—my habitual gallantry will prevent me from ascribing her delinquencies to anything worse than the sexual love of scandal, and propensity to tattle.

"But it is more than time," says the pamphlet, "to return to the last clause of the Reviewer's accusation, in which he tells us, that the Examination is merely nominal, the real road to success lying through a low previous *personal* canvass."

You will perceive that the justice of *this* impeachment depends so entirely upon the truth of the two charges previously discussed, that we have, in fact, already pronounced as to its merits. It is literally compounded of both the other clauses, and should not,

even upon the Aldrichian principles of true division, which the Champion might have been expected to remember, have been separated from them. If the trial be a mere farce, as the Oxonian's own statements prove, and if instances of gross partiality be frequent, and notorious, and never until now denied, it is merciful in the Reviewer,—and *we* cannot wish to aggravate the spirit of his imputations,—to ascribe them to nothing worse than a love of homage and obsequiousness, that is the too common result of a monastic life and habits. It is no answer to the Reviewer's assertion to say, that "the non-resident electors form, in the Societies spoken of, usually at least one half of the body." Country-clergymen, or Town-lawyers, come up to these elections more as a matter of ceremony, to see their friends, and have a common-room jollification, than with any serious intentions of sifting candidates, or much care for the result. It is their annual ploy, and nothing more. Even were the Examinations "strict" and "searching," which they are not, it is not likely that much share in them would be allowed to those, who are rusted in their Greek and Latin; and even were it possible to believe that the wish to see "the body they belong to, ornamented with distinguished men" could be a current motive in a place, where "talent" is esteemed "a bond of union *obnoxiously personal*,"[1] there would not, in general, be anything but University honors to mark out for their choice these "distinguished men," and University honors, as the Champion himself declares, are often thrown out of consideration altogether. What then is left us to infer, but that the *onus* of admission or rejection must devolve upon "the resident and canvassed brethren?" and, according to that which we have seen to be the mode and usual result of the elections, what milder theory can be hazarded, than that "personal canvass," and complete devotedness, must be the main springs to actuate and determine *them?*

With regard to the Oriel Elections for the year 1821, and the particular case introduced, with so much delicacy and discretion, by the Champion, I can but say, that did I conceive the Reviewer to have aimed a blow at any individual, or to have intended personal applications of any sort in *this* passage of his paper, I should consider, if not the half-year's labors of the costive Fellow, at least the snatches of broken and interrupted leisure, which I have been able to bestow on his performance, as absolutely wasted. The writer, whose satire could descend to such game as a couple of probationers, might be a very fit object for the attacks of the Champion, but could never have deserved from me a moment's thought, or from you and me a judicial vindication.

[1] Vide Appendix, p. 69.

*Vindication* I well may call it, as far as we have yet proceeded, since both on the first head we were obliged to coincide with the Reviewer, and on the three "clauses or counts" of this second head also, I fear we must affirm that "the partiality of the electors, the insufficiency of the test, the farce of the examination," instead of being "false," "despicable," and "injurious" accusations, as Oxonian meekness styles them, have been only too well grounded, and too fully proved.

I rejoice, however, to reach at last a part of our enquiry, where we can have the satisfaction of agreeing with the Champion. The violent and indecorous language, by which one paragraph of the Reviewer's invective is disfigured, may have precedent to countenance, but has nothing to excuse it. Without imputing it to "bad feeling," or "studied virulence," or "ill-requited passion" —(on *that* point, by the way, it would as well become Oxford to be silent,)—or any other motive than high spirits and a propensity to jesting, our condemnation must be unhesitating, explicit, and severe. It is no justification, in our eyes, to remember that far worse offences, of the same kind, had been committed by the "distinguished Head," whose works the close Fellow has forgotten to sum up with that elegant and amiable attack upon a living clergyman, which set so pleasant an example to an admiring University of the orthodox mode in conducting literary warfare, or to preceive that the Reviewer's worst delinquencies are mere milk-and-water to the frenzied bitterness of the Champion himself. The Reviewer had no right to forget the mighty master of Athenian mirth and wisdom—

λοιδορεῖσθαι δ' οὐ πρέπει
Ἄνδρας ποιητὰς ὥσπερ ἀρτοπώλιδας,[1]

and that *he* at least must be included in the spirit of a precept, which should govern more than poets in the sport of the intellectual arena. Under such an impression he would have especially avoided a certain foul similitude, by which I fear he was rogue enough to insinuate something else than mental peculiarities in the objects of his satire. Notwithstanding the maxim of Aristotle,[2] and the *great authority* conveyed in the *very appropriate* motto[3] to a pamphlet already noticed, I cannot esteem natural defects a proper theme for ridicule.

But while we thus heartily concur with the Champion in condemning the coarse language of one part of the Review, and only wish that *he too* had practised as he preaches, we must not suffer him to represent a writer upon "Classical Education" as wandering

[1] Aristophanis Ranæ. [2] De Poetica—§ 11. Edit. Tyrwhitt.
[3] *Equo* ne credite, Teucri.

from his subject by adverting to a state of things at Oxford, when treating of the importance of ancient literature, and the best means of promoting the study of it in a different quarter. I grieve to think that any member of a learned Body should state it as his waking opinion, that there is "no one natural connection" between "places and persons" devoted to the same good cause, and mutually interested in each other's welfare. This is not the sentiment of "a man, a real man, just as whole in heart as in understanding," as the Champion modestly designates himself and his brother Collegians. Throughout the great fraternity of literature, every individual has a common stake and interest in the general prosperity. For myself, without one personal motive for being attached to Oxford as an University, I can never cease to rejoice in her improvement and exult in her distinction; and I only do her justice in believing that all her best and brightest sons are inspired with the same feelings towards the seat of science and learning, with which I am now more immediately connected.

Nor can we much commend the prudence of the pamphleteer in starting off, at this point of his tirade, to "restir the ashes" of the former controversy between Oxford and the Edinburgh Review. If he wished to tickle Dr. Copleston, he had better not have revived the memory of a paper-war, which the Doctor can never see or eat *a barn-door fowl*[1] without remembering. If to extol Oxford were his object, he at least should not have appealed to a person educated within the walls of that University for his judgment on the question. Whatever uninstructed lookers-on might have thought of the issue of that debate, you and I are well aware of how much bold misrepresentation and florid coloring was necessary for making out a plausible answer to the home-thrusts of the Review. Nay, even at this day, we know what is the real state of Oxonian Mathematics, and that the fooleries, and far from *harmless* fooleries, of Aldrichian logic, as absurd as "the dictates of Aristotle" when "listened to as infallible decrees," are still gravely played off, as an *indispensable* amusement in the Schools. We know too that, however soon the present examining "Machine" might be devised or set a-going by the "ingenious madmen," (as the Champion, in his sly way, affects to call them;) who had the merit of inventing it, it is only of late that it has come into that full swing and operation, which, in some measure, deserves the praises of the northern critics. In truth, to the spirited strictures of those critics the whole spring and impulse that regenerated Oxford must mainly be attributed. To them she owes a debt of gratitude, which the rising generation can never

[1] See the Edinburgh Review upon the Doctor's eloquence.

sufficiently repay. The deification of her Champion might have decently been spared, but the beneficial correction of her Censors should always be acknowledged with humility and thankfulness.

As to the difference of opinion, between the present Reviewer and his assailant, respecting the literary merits of the Author of "Discourses on Predestination" it is a delicate matter for us to interfere. Except, however, for the remarkable omission, in enumerating the works of Dr. Copleston, of the pamphlet which his friends must wish forgotten, I should be tempted to believe that the difference is only apparent. The chief distinction seems to be, that the attack of the Reviewer is more honest and direct than the implied and lurking satire of the Champion. I am not acquainted with a more unmanly and abominable piece of sarcastic personality than is contained in that apotheosis of the Doctor, which constitutes a part of his *friend's* pretended panegyric. But the Champion has odd notions of the offices of friendship. To take this portly divine,—this new Ζεὺς Oxoniensis,[1]—and perch him on a high joint-stool, with a night-cap of clouds, "*peering*" into the depths of the firmament, is an outrage that violates all rules of fair and civilized hostility. This fighting in a mask is that which *I* should term *cowardice*;—another subject on which the Champion's notions are likewise singularly odd.

For,—will it be believed?—the same unfortunate Reviewer to whom are ascribed "*headstrong rashness*," "*pertinacity of boldness*," and half-a-dozen other qualities, which nothing but Oxford logic could reconcile with personal apprehensions, is charged by the Champion with COWARDICE. To understand and enjoy the full humor of this ingenious imputation, you must call to your recollection that the Reviewer was a single, unsupported writer, giving the fiercest and most forcible expression to opinions, which, he must have been quite sure, would draw down upon him the open or concealed aversion of a whole University. You must remember, that, although obliged, by the nature of the work in which his paper appeared, to print anonymously, he took no pains to shroud himself in secrecy, and even threw out obvious and intelligible signals to the foe, that might guide their forces to the right quarter for attack. You must observe that he gave the most difficult but decisive proof of genuine courage, by braving, in the cause of public good, accusations, certain to be urged, of vanity and malice. And, if all this be not sufficient to shield him from the slanders of an author, whose "great revenge" has dis-

[1] Such was the title given by the ancients to a person that was *great in any particular place*—an ἐνδομάχας ἀλέκτωρ "cock of his own dunghill." Thus Agamemnon was called Ζεὺς at Mycenæ, Trophonius at Lebadea, &c.

played so indiscriminate a "stomach," and who seems to have imagined that "let there be gall enough in his ink, though he wrote with a goose-pen, no matter,"—the Champion himself has armed us with an argument, which, *with him at least*, must be conclusive. His postscript informs me of a magnanimous offer, made by him to the Reviewer, of suppressing the pamphlet, that had cost so many sleepless weeks and neglected meals in its concoction, and that it is to the Reviewer's blind rejection of the proffered grace, that the public stands indebted for its diversion, and I for the soporiferous task of crushing stingless imbecility. Now, whatever you, or I, or the world at large, may think of the quantity of nerve required for this exertion, there is surely *one* person, whose opinion of the battery prepared and threatened must fill him with wonder at the hardihood, that could thus defy and even summon its discharge.

The reasoning, on which the Champion grounds this charge of cowardice, is quite in his own style,—that is, despite of Aldrich, the reverse of syllogistic. It seems that in the later impressions of the article assailed, we shall find the allusion to those "obscene verses in a newspaper, and Discourses on Predestination" which are among the recent literary triumphs of an open College, altered into "learned drivelling, and marrowless inflation," and that we are bound to impute the change to an emotion of *fear*. Was there no other motive which the Champion could have thought of? What would he say to the interposition of some friend, who might be goodnatured enough to think well of the "Discourses?" What to the possibility that the Reviewer might deem the satire too confined, and wish for expressions that would embrace a wider circle? "Od's lifelings, we took him for a coward, but he's the very devil incarnate!"[1]—And, as to the second "exquisite reason," how could any man in his senses venture to advance it? What cognisable difference is there between accusing a man of taking pains "*first* to misrepresent, *and then* revile," and of "misrepresenting *in order to* revile," except that the latter is a neater and more rythmical phrase? If one action, following another, shall necessarily and evidently depend upon it, or, in other words, if one writer cannot revile another without first misrepresenting him, the plain narrative of the facts, in their succession, will point the relation between cause and effect as strongly as the closest and precisest form of words that could be devised. We need only add that it is equally absurd in the Champion to allege a difference of *specification* in the two attacks on Dr. Copleston. He is specified in one as much as in the other, because he is as well, or bet-

[1] Sir Andrew again.

ter known as the antagonist of the Edinburgh Review, than as author of "Discourses upon Predestination."

The third and last division of the subject, or that notion dropped by the Reviewer, which the Champion "had intended to prove ridiculously silly," need not long detain us. Whether the Education Committee, by overhauling the statutes of particular Colleges, animadverting upon flagrant violations of the same, and calling back the Electors to the true spirit of their fundamental laws, would do a lasting service to the University, is a problem, which, as it is not very likely to be solved, does not merit much consideration. There are at least reasons enough to justify a wish for the experiment. But there are four things connected with this paragraph of the Champion's letter, which force themselves upon our observation. *The first* is a fine instance of that peculiar mode of sly detraction, which *he* calls "backing of his friends." He is reasoning on the various methods, in which the members of the Education Committee might be expected to exercise their powers. "Are they to call on the present Fellows, to state why they were preferred; as the jealous madman questioned his child, on its reminiscences of its own conception?"—What can he intend to insinuate by this apposite allusion, but that the elected Fellows are quite as ignorant, and *must be* quite as ignorant of any *good* reasons for their election, as a madman's infant of the manner of its own formation in the womb? Nay, unless we adopt the Reviewer's theory, we must all share in the same ignorance. As the embryo-ideot is begotten, so the probationer-fellow is elected, but the *how* or the *why* will be beyond the reach of our sagacity;—

> We know the things are neither rich nor rare,
> But wonder how the devil they got there!

The remainder of these four things consists of three discoveries, of the highest importance to science and the State, which we must rejoice to see promulgated upon such excellent authority. Of these the first belongs to the departments of Chemistry and Pneumatics, and will of course command the immediate attention of Sir Humphry Davy and Professor Leslie, viz. "That it is *in posse*—a thing possible—to catch, collect, and decypher, *the echoes of long past renderings*, and *the ashes of forgotten themes*."[1]—This *decyphering of echoes* will be very pretty sport, in the winter evenings, for the natural philosophers of Oxford.

The second is of great moment to Geographers, and must produce, when announced, a considerable sensation, viz. "That a MOUTH for the NIGER, though it is not said where, which has so

[1] Vide Letter, &c. p. 57.

long been 'loudly and arrogantly called for' is at length ascertained to be *in esse*."[1]

The third, while it bears, in some degree, upon the interests of the State, will cast, I grieve to add, no small reflection upon the southern Universities, viz. "That the gentlemen of the House of Commons, who form the Education Committee, are, to a man, ignorant of Greek."[2] As far as the distinguished Chairman of that Committee is concerned, I fear I must, upon the best possible authority, contradict the truth of this discovery; but, of course, this need not affect the general credibility of the statement. Now, although it may be quite unnecessary for a Member of the House of Commons to be conversant with particles and metres, no public man would be the worse of a little Homer and Demosthenes, nor do I know how the Tutors of the English Colleges, through whose hands so many of the gentlemen in question must have passed, will answer to their consciences for having neglected to instruct their pupils in the primary elements of a liberal education.

Thus have we considered, one by one, the portentous charges of the Oxford Pamphleteer against the Edinburgh Review. I should be sorry to couch our final judgment in terms at all proportioned to the deserts of the Champion; but since his accusations against the Editor and Writer of the article impeached have been conceived, except for the trifling ingredients truth and justice, very much in the style and spirit of the ingenious Dogberry, I think we may reply to them, in the language of Don Pedro, "First, we ask thee what they have done; thirdly, we ask thee what's their offence; sixth and lastly, why they are committed; and, to conclude, WHAT YOU LAY TO THEIR CHARGE!"

There are still, however, two or three little riders tacked on to the main accusations, which we must consider, in order that none may have to say that we left a single point unexamined. In these, as in more important particulars, it will be our fate, because our duty, to support the assertions made by the Review.

"I understand not," says the Champion, how the University can have taken away from Locke, what it can neither give nor take from any one—a studentship of *Christ Church*." Is the name of the University never applied to the acts of a College? When we say that Locke was at the University of Oxford, do we not mean that he was at the College of Christ Church? Or, if common parlance be too indefinite for the comprehension of this close and critical Fellow, can he not understand that the Reviewer charges the expulsion of Locke, not on a decree of Convocation, or any other public exercise of University power, but upon the *spirit* and

[1] Vide Letter, &c. p. 58. [2] Ibid.

"*feeling*" of the University? And would Christ Church have dared to execute her vengeance on the advocate of liberty, had the general sentiments of the University run as high in favor of liberality and freedom, as they ran in favor of their opposites?

Again, the Champion cannot understand how the *spirit* and *feeling* of the University were concerned in refusing Johnson the degree of M. A., although he quotes the express narrative by Boswell, that Dr. Adams, when applied to, to know whether such a favor could be granted, thought it *too great a favor to be even asked, though Johnson had made so great a figure in the literary world.* If it were not the known and unalterable spirit of the University, that induced Dr. Adams to put this decided negative upon so proper a proposal, to what cause shall we ascribe his conduct? Had he acted as an individual, and not as expressing what he well knew to be the sentiment of the Body to which he belonged, he would deserve to be held in the same estimation as the Champion himself, who declares it as his opinion, that "Dr. Adams acted very wisely," and that the publication of LONDON gave Johnson no "*real*" claim to the honors of the University,—that is, that Johnson did not deserve to be made a *Master* for the production of a poem, which the whole concentrated talent of Oxford, at this day, could not equal, although higher honors are lavished, each Commemoration, upon foreign counts, foolish baronets, and country squires! this was and is too much the spirit of the University of Oxford. It is a part of the same spirit that still maintains those awkward and absurd distinctions—awkward to the young men who must endure, and absurd to all who may contemplate them—that are fopperies so utterly unworthy of an ancient, and venerable, and—long may we have to add—a prospering establishment. Mere title, and mere wealth, have no business with homage and observance in the seats of learning: Momus and Mammon have no right to pedestals in the temple of Apollo.

Upon the subject of Oxford Mathematics we have pronounced already, so that we may hasten to "the last act of this eventful history," or the supposed "*mistakes*" of the Reviewer, that invigorate the final chuckles of his adversary.

"He may, if he pleases," observes the Champion with a sneer, "continue to speak of Aretinus or Chrysoloras and Erigena, as contemporaries, and leave his readers to suspect him of having gleaned his literary chronology from the Fabliaux." That the Reviewer should have talked of Chrysoloras, or his pupil Aretinus, who florished in the opening of the fifteenth century, as actual contemporaries with Erigena, who florished in the ninth, none but the Champion will be ready to believe. To me at least it seems quite evident, that the Reviewer is speaking of *ages*, and

takes into his comprehensive view the whole succession of centuries, through which the intellectual light of Europe was dawning into "intenser day." The Champion, who measures life by Oxford terms, and has no adequate idea of time beyond the compass of a long vacation, may be unable to follow glances so excursive; but no reader, of ordinary sense or powers, would, for a moment, fail to catch and comprehend the meaning of the sentence.

In his next attempt at convicting the Reviewer of error, the close Fellow is still more unfortunate.—"He may persevere," he says of his opponent, "when he speaks of Erigena 'the Scot,' in printing the two last words in capitals, though that philosopher was CERTAINLY not a Scotchman." And he adds in a note, to substantiate this charge, "He (Erigena) was either an Irishman, or, *as Cave rather believes*, a Welchman." Who that reads this assertion about "John of Ayr," as he is expressly called by an authority, which is surely reverenced at Oxford,[1] would not imagine that the Champion had at least Cave upon his side,—some positive averment from his pen that John was not a Caledonian, or some opinion ventured that Wales was the most probable spot of his nativity? And who will not be surprised at finding *that Cave gives neither?* The Champion has probably never seen the *Historia Literaria;* for his sake, therefore, I will translate from the Latin all that Cave says about the birth of Erigena:—"John, called Erigena and the THE SCOT, whom some contend to have been *an English-man* born at Ergene on the confines of Wales, some *a Scotchman* sprung from the town of Ayr, and some to have had *Ireland*, anciently named Eri or Erin, as his birth-place."[2] The chronologer proceeds, without another syllable concerning his country, or once hinting at a Welch extraction, to relate how John went to France, and was in high favor with Charles the Bald,—afterwards taught the liberal sciences, especially geometry and astronomy, at Oxford,—and was finally, having retired to a school at Malmesbury, punched to death with pens and styluses by his own pupils, who took umbrage at his sourness and severity. Cave concludes his notice of this worthy's life with a quotation, that still more strongly verifies his claim to Scotch descent. It is from the letter of Anastasius to Charles the Bald, where, after expressing his astonishment at the powers and attainments of some *barbarian*, that lived far from the society of man, he adds, "I mean [3]JOHN THE NATIVE OF SCOTLAND, of whose sanctity in all things I have heard report."

So much for the Champion's knowledge of Cave. But I could more easily forgive this ignorance, shameful as it is, of a musty

[1] Quarterly Review, No. LI. p. 246. [2] Historia Literaria, p. 548.
[3] Historia Literaria, p. 549.

folio quoted by himself, than his want of acquaintance with the works of the elegant and accurate Harris. The following is *his* account of Erigena, with a story translated from the Annals of Roger de Hoveden, which Harris thinks decisive of the country of learned John:—"*Joannes Erigena*, A NATIVE OF SCOTLAND, and who about the same period, or a little later,—(he is talking of the time of Bede and Alcuin)—lived sometimes in France, and sometimes in England, appears to have understood Greek, a rare accomplishment for those countries, in those days. It is related of him, that when he was once sitting at table over against the Emperor, Charles the Bald, the Emperor asked him—*How far distant* A SCOT *was from* A SOT?—*As far, Sir*, replied he, *as the table's length*."[1]—You, Mr. Elmsley, who are a wag, will probably insinuate, that the distance is somewhat lengthened now-a-days, but far be it from me to throw any such illiberal reflection upon the members of either close or open Colleges at Oxford!

To those "happy accidents," as the Champion terms them, Lords Grenville and Wellesley, we may leave the task of thanking him, if they shall think it worth their while, for the complimentary comparison, with which he has honored them, to Epaminondas and Curius Dentatus. But, for myself, in the last place, to leave no point untouched, I beg leave to assure him that I am not at all "disgusted" at the "plagiarism" upon me, of which, with apparent probability, he accuses the Reviewer. I believe the opinion, in my Prize-Essay, to be founded upon truth, and can, therefore, have no objection to its being disseminated as widely as possible.

And now, Sir, our irksome task is brought to a conclusion. I lay down my pen with the solemn resolution, that no cause shall ever again induce me to engage, as judge or party, in a literary quarrel. Had I any personal interest in the case which has been before us, I might say with justice:————hic VICTOR cestus artemque repono! but nothing has been further from my mind than personal feelings, and I must, therefore, rather regret, that the issue of our examination should have been so unfavorable, in some particulars, to the character of an University, that must remain, "despite her little faults, her giddy factions," the perpetual boast and bulwark of piety and learning.

Our sentence, however, as it stands recorded, must be accounted final and decisive. Upon *most mature* deliberation, the appeal was gravely and pointedly made to my authority, and, in giving language to our mutual sentiments, I have been led into a length and minute-

[1] Philological Inquiries, p. 393.—Harris adds, in a note, "The word SCOTUM plainly decides the country of this learned man, which some seem, WITHOUT REASON, to have doubted."

ness of inquiry, which the gentleman of Oxford had no right to expect, and which the number of my more interesting and important avocations might have easily excused me from undertaking. Our concern with the whole matter is at an end; and, whatever dissatisfaction the judgment pronounced may give to some persons, it would be beneath our dignity to notice it. To other hands let us commit the conduct of such foolish and unprofitable warfare. If an attack proceed from the fellow of one College, let it be replied to by the fellows of another—

——————— when Ralph to Cynthia howls
Making night hideous, answer him ye owls!—

Our interest, our duty, and the just expectations of the world, summon you and me to higher and more valuable labors. While it is your employment to scrutinize the rich materials of antiquity, refine the precious ore, and stamp it with the impress of your name for safe and legal circulation, it is my more active, but as pleasing task, to enlarge the currency, display the treasure, and endow with new and inexhaustible resources the ardent and aspiring minds of a portion of my countrymen. You will not doubt the sincerity of my prayer, that we may both long continue to be useful in our different departments!

I remain,

With genuine respect and esteem,

Your very obedient Servant,

D. K. SANDFORD.

*Edinburgh, May 11th,* 1822.

AN

# ADDRESS

TO THE

# PEOPLE OF ENGLAND

IN THE

## CAUSE OF THE GREEKS,

OCCASIONED BY

## THE LATE INHUMAN MASSACRES

IN THE

## ISLE OF SCIO, &c.

---

BY THE REV. T. S. HUGHES,

AUTHOR OF TRAVELS IN SICILY, GREECE, AND ALBANIA.

---

SECOND EDITION WITH ADDITIONS.

---

LONDON:

1822.

# ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Reader is requested to extend his favorable indulgence to any errors of style, or improprieties of expression, which he may discover in the following Address, inasmuch as it was written on the spur of the moment, under the influence of strong feelings upon the subject, and put to press after the short space of three days, interrupted by various engagements. Its principal object is to promote a subscription among the generous inhabitants of Great Britain, for the succor of the unfortunate Greeks, and if any profits should arise from its sale, they shall be religiously applied to that sacred cause.

*Great Yarmouth, Norfolk,*
*July* 9, 1822.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

# ADDRESS

TO THE

# PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

IN the *Courier Newspaper* of the twenty-ninth ult. I read with feelings that I shall not attempt to describe, the following extract from the Parliamentary Debates :

EXECUTION OF THE SCIO HOSTAGES.

"MR. W. SMITH wished to put a question to the Noble Marquis opposite, on a subject which was of the greatest interest, not only to the British nation, but also to the whole European community. There had that day appeared in the public prints accounts of certain transactions at Constantinople, which could not fail to excite the strongest sensations of horror in the mind

of every man who read them (Hear, hear.) He knew some individuals that took a deeper interest than could possibly be entertained by any British heart. (Hear, hear.) He therefore wished to ask the Noble Marquis, whether he had received any official accounts from our minister at Constantinople, or our diplomatic agents elsewhere, which enabled him to judge of the correctness of the accounts in question.

"The Marquis of LONDONDERRY gave an answer, of which the first part was quite inaudible in the gallery. We afterwards understood him to say, that Government was in possession of the fact, that ten or twelve of the hostages for the people of Scio had been executed at Constantinople, but not of any details regarding it. A calamity had occurred—and he could not describe the transaction alluded to by any other name—a calamity had occurred, which had arisen out of the peculiar acts of barbarity which had been perpetrated on both sides, during the war in the island of Scio. Acts of barbarity, he repeated it, had been committed on both sides.—(Hear.) The Greeks had themselves committed certain cruelties, which, though they did not justify, led to the transactions complained of.—(Hear.)

"MR. W. SMITH said, that he was rather inclined to think that, instead of twelve or fifteen, eighty-five persons had suffered death by the hands of the executioner. He had asked the question, in order to obtain some precise information upon it. Though the public would scarcely believe the fact, he had been told by a person who was in the town at the time of the execution, though he could not bring himself to witness it, that six persons had been impaled alive, who had committed no other crime than that of becoming hostages for their fellow-countrymen at Scio. (Hear.)

"Sir J. MACKINTOSH would put a question to the Noble Lord, which would bring the matter home at once to the honor and the feeling of the British nation. He asked him, whether any dispatches had been received from our ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, from which it could be ascertained whether any of those persons who had been murdered by the barbarous tyrants at Constantinople had been under the protection of the British minister, Lord Strangford, or had surrendered themselves to the Turks under any pledge, promise, or assurance of safety from that nobleman?—(Hear.) He would also take the opportunity of asking the Noble Marquis, whether it was mentioned in any of the recent dispatches he had received, that the markets of Smyrna and Constantinople were filled with amiable Greek ladies and children, offered to the caprices of barbarous Mahomedan voluptuaries? He asked whether ministers could afford the nation any account

of the new slave trade, recently established in the east, for amiable and accomplished Christian females, by a government which was encouraged and supported by the administration of this free and enlightened country. (Hear.)

"The Marquis of LONDONDERRY in reply, stated, that the question of the honorable and learned gentlemen involved an argument as well as a question, and that if he wanted an answer to his argument, he must bring it forward upon another occasion. He believed that eighty or ninety individuals had recently been executed at Constantinople, but several of them were inhabitants of the Morea; and, as he was informed, not more than ten or twelve of them hostages from Scio. Those persons could not be considered in any degree under the protection of the British Government, or in such a situation as to require our interference upon the principle of protection. Upon the principle of good offices, Lord Strangford, much to his own honor, and that of the government he represented, had frequently interposed. That interposition had in general been favorably received; and there had once been reason to hope, that the hostages from Scio were in perfect security. How far the determination of the Turkish government upon that point had been altered by subsequent information, he could not tell; for, as to the hostages from Scio, he had not at present sufficient information."

After the perusal of this dialogue, I was unable to proceed further; every other subject lost its relish, in the absorbing interest of the momentous concerns of a suffering nation—of a classic nation, whose associations twine themselves around the very soul—of a Christian nation, in which I had experienced the rights of hospitality, and whose misfortunes, as well as its antiquities, I had already endeavoured to make familiar to my countrymen. I felt therefore, that, as a traveller and an author, as a man and a Christian, above all, as the minister of a religion which teaches us that we are not born for ourselves alone, silence would in me be criminal. The public has a right, on all topics in which it is interested, to demand the sentiments and opinions of those members of the community, who, from personal observation and experience, are able to afford any information. I have learned that the character of England, which once stood so pre-eminent among all nations for generous sympathy towards the unfortunate and oppressed, has become an object of disgust and detestation to a suffering people, who, in the commencement of their struggle, looked up to us as the natural averters of misery, and patrons of humanity. From public documents, and private information, I plainly perceive the inclination of continental confederates, tending to the support of what is called, "the balance of power," and

"the peace of Europe;" or, in other words, to the protection of an infidel exterminating government, to an alliance with deliberate murderers, barbarians habitually stained with the most abominable vices, and declared enemies of the Christian faith. The reports, and indeed the confident assertions made in almost every letter which arrives from Greece, that stores and ammunition are sent out in English ships to provision Turkish fortresses; that English officers are serving in the Turkish navy and artillery; that confiscations of property and imprisonment of persons are denounced and executed, by our authorities in the Ionian islands, against the friends and relatives of those whom we are pleased to call Grecian rebels; that the rights of hospitality, in the same quarter, have in many instances been refused to the miserable fugitives from Turkish vengeance; all these considerations render an appeal to the English people still more necessary. Under such reflections, I felt that, in remaining silent any longer, I should be a traitor to myself, a traitor to my country, a traitor to humanity, and a traitor to my God.

I appeal not to governments, statesmen, and politicians. I am aware that they are surrounded with difficulties and perplexing considerations; that they are frequently obliged to pursue what appear to be temporary interests, in preference to those which are more remote, and to adopt a line of policy which their consciences cannot help condemning: but, whilst I endeavour to show that the policy of supporting such an empire as that of Turkey, is weak and vain, unless it were possible to effect an entire change in the moral habits and religious principles of its constituents, I would excite that ardor and enthusiasm in the breasts of my countrymen, which may lead them to express openly their sentiments in the cause of humanity. The *vox populi* has been sometimes rather impiously denominated the *vox dei:* in this instance, however, it might deserve the appellation; and if it should fail to influence our rulers in adopting more liberal and generous resolutions, and redeeming the character of Government abroad, upon which the best interests of a nation always depend, let us at least demonstrate by our acts, as individuals, that we are not indifferent to the fate of a Christian nation, struggling for existence, with infidels and barbarians. It is not by steel only that the sinews of war are supplied, or its events decided. The expression of a great and generous people's approbation, the very influence of their encouragement, and, above all, the communication of their resources, might at this time operate most powerfully in restoring a miserable nation to its rights; in vindicating the cause of Christianity through the triumph of the Greeks; and in delivering Europe from the disgraceful presence of a tribe, who, to the vices of the most ef-

feminate, add the cruelties of the most barbarous people; who contribute nothing to the general interests of nations, but render the beautiful country which they oppress the common sepulchre of arts and science.

In appealing then to my countrymen, I am willing to believe, that the spirit of their forefathers is not yet extinct: nor does any necessity exist for reminding them, that the glory of their country consists, not so much in the honor of its high military and naval exploits, in the prodigious extent of its commercial relations, in the lustre which arts and science spread around its shores, and in its mighty names which Genius has inscribed upon the roll of immortality, as in that spirit of benevolence and philanthropy which has hitherto distinguished the British isles. I might, indeed, endeavour to animate their enthusiasm, by recalling to their minds what Greece has been; that land, the fostering nurse of civilisation; where the spirit of antiquity still seems to linger amidst its olive groves, its myrtle bowers, and the precious relics of its splendid edifices; where both sacred and profane history unite in forming the most interesting associations; where Socrates taught the lessons of his incomparable ethics, and a still greater than Socrates disclosed the mysteries of the "unknown God," to those that sat in darkness. I might excite their gratitude and compassion by passing before their view the shades of departed sages, poets, and historians, whose immortal writings still form and delight our minds. I might inflame their ardor by apostrophizing the manes of a Miltiades and a Leonidas, and by dwelling upon the glories of Salamis and Thermopylæ; but I have a much more sacred cause to plead, and an infinitely higher name to invoke: the cause I plead is that of suffering Christians—the name I invoke, is that of Him who died upon the Cross, who, in the frightful torments of his followers, is daily crucified afresh, whilst innumerable multitudes of those followers are urged by fierce relentless persecution, to apostatize from their faith, and to seek the only remedy for their temporal calamities in the perdition of their immortal souls.

It is possible that the people of England may be unacquainted with the superstition of these barbarians, who are so zealously supported by Christian powers! They may not know that it is fiercely and implacably hostile to Christianity—that it was hatched and matured in falsehood, hypocrisy, and blood—that it addresses itself to the sensual appetites and corrupt passions—that it cherishes inordinate pride, fanatic zeal, and is a pander to the most abominable impurities—that it degrades the dignity of human nature, and depreciates the value of human life—that it encourages ignorance by representing all arts, sciences, and literature as unnecessary, or prejudicial to mankind, unless

warranted by the Koran—that it produces mental torpor and apathy, chilling every tendency to speculative exertion or intellectual and moral improvement, by the desolating doctrines of fatality and predestination—finally, that it establishes the horrid principle, that civil and political power shall depend exclusively upon faith in the law of Mahomet, whilst it exposes every Christian to the unrestrained brutality, and irresponsible tyranny of the vilest wretch that wears a turban. If the reader would learn what insults and horrors the very ministers of the gospel are subjected to, in this vile land of abominations, if he has forgotten the cruel public execution of the Patriarch of Constantinople, hung like a dog before the gates of his own cathedral, let him peruse the following history, which I have extracted from the interesting work of my friend, M. Pouqueville, late Consul of France, at the court of Ali Pasha.

After describing an insurrection among the Thessalians, in the year 1809, under the conduct of the patriotic hero, Blachavas, who, after a capitulation, with the promise of life and liberty, was cruelly put to death by the Albanian tyrant, Mr. P. thus proceeds:

"Demetrius, a venerable monk, of the order of Saint Basile, instigated by that evangelical charity which was a characteristic of the apostolic fathers in the time of the persecutions, traversed the whole agitated province, to calm the troubled spirits of its inhabitants, and bring them back to the yoke of obedience. For these pious labors, he was denounced as a rebel, and brought, loaded with irons, into the presence of the Albanian Satrap. Being there commanded to declare his accomplices, in hopes that many Thessalian prelates and ecclesiastics might be involved in an assumed conspiracy, the answers of this pious man, strong in ardent faith, and his appeals to the living God for the truth of his assertions, inflamed to the highest degree the anger of the tyrant, which exhaled itself in the following dialogue, worthy of being transmitted to posterity among the annals of martyrology.

"Ali. You have announced the reign of Jesus Christ, and, in consequence, the overthrow of our altars and the Sultan.

"Demetrius. The God whom I worship has existed, and will exist eternally: I acknowledge and reverence those whom he has placed in authority over us!

"Ali. What is that you carry in your bosom?

"Demetrius. The venerable portrait of his holy Mother!

"Ali. I wish to see it.

"Demetrius. It must not be profaned; order one of my hands to be set at liberty, and I will present it to you.

"ALI. Thus it is you mislead the minds of the people; we then are the profane. In this discourse, I recognize the agent of the Greek bishops, who call in the Russians for our subjection: name your accomplices.

"DEMETRIUS. My accomplices are my conscience and my duty, which oblige me to console my fellow-christians, and render them obedient to your laws!

"ALI. Tell your fellow-christians then, you Christian dog—

"DEMETRIUS. That name is my glory!

"ALI. You bear a portrait of the Virgin, to which it is said the powers of enchantment are attached.

"DEMETRIUS. Say rather miraculous powers. The Mother of my Saviour is our mediator with her immortal Son and the Father: her miracles are every day performed in our behalf, and every day I call upon her!

"ALI. See then if she will preserve you. Executioners, carry him to the torture!

"At these words, pronounced with all the energy of indignation, the executioners seize the victim, and throw him down at the feet of the tyrant, who spits in his face. The holy image is torn from his bosom, and sharp needles are thrust slowly under the nails of his fingers and toes: but in the extremity of his torments, the following words only escape his mouth. 'Lord, have pity on thy servant!—Queen of Heaven, pray for him!' This species of torture being ended, a chain of small bones is applied to the venerable head of the Confessor, and while they draw it tight round his forehead with the utmost violence, they call upon him to accuse himself, and to name his accomplices; but the chain is broken without drawing from him the slightest complaint or expression of pain: the martyr appears affected only by the outrages of impiety committed against his God. The executioners being at length fatigued, demand a suspension of the torture till the following day, and the sufferer is hurled down to the bottom of a damp and miserable dungeon.

"Next morning the punishment was renewed, by order of the Vizier, but without his presence. The victim was suspended with his head downwards over a fire of green wood, until the skin was entirely burned from off the skull: that his life and sufferings might be prolonged, the brazier was then removed, and a board placed over his body, upon which the executioners mounted, and jumped with such force as to crush his limbs. Victorious in this last trial, Demetrius was then built up within a wall, his head alone being left free amidst the masonry, and he was fed daily, that his torments might be lengthened; it was not until the tenth

sun arose that his life and agonies were closed together, whilst the last word that expired upon his tongue was the name of Omnipotent.

"This supernatural courage astonished all Epirus, and Demetrius was regarded as a saint. A Mahometan of Kostoria, who had been witness of his sufferings, demanded baptism, a ceremony which soon afterwards procured for him the crown of martyrdom."

So much for the religion of the Turks, and the treatment which the professors of Christianity receive at their hands. Does the reader wish an example of their want of faith? let him recur to the murder of the innocent hostages in the Parliamentary extract, at the head of this pamphlet, the truth of which is acknowledged by our own ministers: of hypocrisy? let him read the following extract from a manifesto of the Sultan, extracted from the *Austrian Observer* of September 7, 1821:

"It is evident, that all the rules and political dispositions, which, from ancient times, have been observed in my Sublime Empire, are founded upon the noble commandments of that pure law, whose solidity and duration are guaranteed by God, even until the day of resurrection, &c.—The Greek people have been at all times tributary subjects of my Sublime Porte: mercy and clemency have been extended towards them in every particular: their honor, their properties, and their lives have been defended, protected, and secured: they have never experienced any other treatment than favor, and every sort of kindness, even beyond that which had been promised in the treaties with the Rajahs: nevertheless, they have had the audacity to trample under foot the *divine mercies* of which they have been the objects, to pursue the paths of *ingratitude*, and, with their characteristic perfidy, to maintain a perverse and traitorous conduct, opposed at once to their allegiance and good faith."

Does the reader seek for instances of cruelty and ferocity? let him open the journal of any traveller, who has touched upon the subject of Turkish affairs. If he should be at a loss where to turn, I will give him another extract from Mr. Pouqueville's interesting volumes. It is a description of the destruction of Joannina, by Ali Pasha and his opposing enemies, and let it be observed, that, among the principal horrors of this detestable government, one of the greatest is that state of anarchy which exists among its inferior rulers. There is scarcely a province where the Pasha, after he has become rich and powerful by contributions and confiscations, by the sale of offices and of justice, by exactions for imputed crimes, and every other method of spoliation which fraud and violence can plot and execute, does not set himself up as an independent chief: as far as he is himself concerned,

this policy is good, for the laws of Turkey, making the Sultan heir to the property of his officers, there is no want of a rapid succession in all departments of the state; whilst, therefore, a governor can by his resources make head against the power of his sovereign and heir-apparent, so long does he ward off the sabre or the bowstring from his own neck: but the miseries of the poor inhabitants, especially of the innocent and helpless, in these conflicts, where no horror of barbarian warfare is forgotten, are inconceivable. Some faint idea may be formed of them from the following relation:

"As soon as the Turkish army was seen encamped upon the heights of Driscos, the lake was covered with barks full of women and children of the first families, endeavouring to escape. In the mean time, the tyrant having given his Albanian troops permission to plunder a city which he was unable to defend, the houses were immediately filled with a lawless soldiery. One of the first objects of pillage was the cathedral, where the Greeks, and even the Turks themselves, had deposited their most precious effects. Nothing was respected; the very tombs of the archbishops were broke open in search of precious relics, and the sanctuary was polluted by the blood of the robbers themselves, as they disputed with each other for the possession of the sacred vases.—The city offered a most deplorable spectacle on all sides: neither Christians nor Mahometans were respected: the harems of these, and the gyneceons of those, were forced open, and displayed the cruel sight of modesty struggling with violence. Cries, and groans, and the crash of arms resounded on all sides, when a terrible detonation announced the destruction of Joannina. A shower of shot and shells, grenades and Congreve-rockets, spread carnage, fire, and devastation through every quarter of the town, for the space of two hours. Ali, seated on one of the bastions of his fortress, like the exterminating angel, directed the destructive fire, which soon levelled to the ground this once florishing capital, with its public edifices.

Those of the people who could escape from the flames, carrying in their train friends and relatives, half-burned or mutilated by the explosion of the shells; women loaded with their children, and old men enfeebled by age, had scarcely passed the palisade of mount Pactoras, before they were attacked by the advanced guard of the Ottoman army. So far from protecting these unfortunate beings, who had escaped the carnage, these Rumelian hordes fell upon defenceless citizens, plundering them without mercy, and tearing their sons and daughters from their arms: uttering the most piercing cries, the poor wretches dispersed, and endeavoured to escape to the mountains; but they were there met by another

set of plunderers and assassins, in the savage mountaineers, who had assembled to get their share of the booty. Despair at length gave courage and strength to the fugitives: some feeble women succeeded in passing the lofty chain of mount Olitzika into the plains of Thesprotia; others, seized with the pains of premature labor, perished in the forests; many young women, after having disfigured themselves by the most dreadful mutilations, that they might become objects of disgust to the barbarians, like virgin martyrs in the times of persecution, concealed themselves in caverns, where they perished of hunger; all the defiles and paths were strewed with wounded and dying men, or with their corpses; and thus, for the crimes of one villain, a city containing thirty thousand souls was overwhelmed with unutterable calamities."

And now, would the reader know more concerning the internal government of this wretched country? let him take the portrait as I am able to sketch it from personal observation: for I have traversed no small part of these interesting realms, so rich in all the gifts of bountiful nature, and so despoiled by tyrant man: I have seen the pallid countenances and squalid forms of their wretched peasantry, worn to the very bones by labor, want, and oppression —I have seen blows inflicted by wanton authority, and borne with patient submission—I have seen those, who, by commercial or any other fortunate speculations, had amassed wealth, either careful to hide it from their rapacious tyrants under the external garb of misery, or dissipating it in prodigality, in order that they might secure a few moments of happiness, and then live upon the recollection of the past—I have seen rich and amiable families turned out of houses and possessions, at the caprice of a Pasha, who desired them for his favorites—I have seen whole districts so appropriated, after the inhabitants had been exposed to unheard-of persecutions, in order to make them *voluntarily* throw up their territory into the hands of a tyrant—I have ridden over the ruins of large villages, scathed by the flames of destruction, because some reputable family had refused to deliver up a beautiful son or daughter, as the victim of that tyrant's execrable lusts—I have seen part of the Turkish population, in a large city, armed against its Frank inhabitants, cutting and maiming with swords and ataghans every Christian they met with, on account of a private quarrel—I have seen large towns, professing the Mahometan faith, whose inhabitants had all to a man apostatized from that of their forefathers, to escape the inordinate exactions and oppressive cruelties to which as Christians they were subjected—I have seen rich tracts of country turned into deserts, fields languishing without culture, and cities fallen into decay, where misrule and injustice had combined with plague and famine against the constitution of

society; and, as public immorality florishes most and grows up to maturity under the reign of despotism, I have seen apostates, false witnesses, secret poisoners, open assassins, and all the other agents of unlimited tyranny, clothed in the spoils and rioting on the property of their unhappy victims. In short, I have seen a nation humbled, degraded, and abused;—I have seen man, made in his Maker's likeness, reduced below the standard of the brute creation, living without civil or political existence, plundered without remorse, tortured without mercy, and slaughtered without commiseration!

Mr. Walpole, in the first volume, page 22, of his excellent *Memoirs upon European and Asiatic Turkey*, observes, "that the extent of this ill-modelled and ill-balanced empire, prevents any accurate inspection of the conduct of those who are placed over remote parts of it. A large portion of the revenue of the Porte, and the great officers of it, is derived from money paid by Pashas on taking possession of their government, or some occasional remittances made for the purpose of securing a continuance in their appointment. This money is drawn from the labor, industry, and commerce of the inhabitants of the province. If these sums are not paid, as well as those expected from the farmers of the customs, land, and capitation tax, the latter are thrown into prison, and the governors lose their Pashalics. If they are removed in a short time, the provinces are exposed to fresh exactions on the arrival of every succeeding Pasha." One may judge further of the deplorable state of Greece, by the picture which Mr. de Chateaubriand has drawn of Pelopennesus and Attica.

"Le Péloponèse est désert: on ne voit que des villages détruits par le fer et par le feu. Dans les villes, comme à Misitra, des faubourgs entiers sont abandonnés. J'ai fait souvent quinze lieues dans les campagnes sans rencontrer une seule habitation. De criantes avanies, des outrages de toutes les espéces, ne cessent de détruire de toutes parts l'agriculture et la vie. Chasser un paysan de sa cabane, s'emparer de sa femme et de ses enfans, le tuer sous le plus léger prétexte, est un jeu pour le moindre Agà du plus petit village. L'Attique n'offre pas moins de servitude. On diroit que la Grèce elle-même a voulu annoncer par son deuil le malheur de ses enfans. En général le pays est inculte, le sol nu, monotone, sauvage, et d'une couleur jaune et flétrie."

It is now time to discuss the motives which may induce Christian states to patronize a power like that of Turkey, a power, which, without their jealousies and political interference, would long ago have crumbled into dust.

Is it fear of Russia which forces European cabinets into such a measure? Is it in the Empire of the Sultan that they would oppose

a barrier to its aggrandisement? Vain hope! the colossus of clay will be kicked down, whenever it shall please the arctic despot to stretch out his leg. No alliances or treaties can long save such a power: other nations will only compromise their dignity and best interests, by endeavouring to defend a state which is unable to defend itself; which refuses to adopt the arts or policy of more enlightened governments, and whose immutability is sanctioned by the dogmas of its religious faith. Look at the encrochments already made by Russia upon this impotent neighbour, and the provinces rescued from its grasp. Other despots may not have the *magnanimity* of an Alexander, especially when they shall command the improved resources and concentrated power of his mighty empire. Consider also the Greeks themselves: unless they be utterly exterminated, they will never remain quiet under subjection to the Porte: one insurrection will succeed to another, for each will spring from the very elements and principles of human action: it requires not any connexion with the politics of Europe, or with the designs of its restless and ambitious spirits, to excite the Greeks; nor will they be repressed by any recollection of the past, or anticipation of the future. Having constantly in view the irritating picture of their own humiliation, illuminated by the increasing light of civilization, roused by their historical reminiscences and the animating associations connected with every hill and valley of their native land, how can they remain passive under the rod of iron? No! One might as well endeavour to prevent the irruption of the volcanic matter after its combination within the mighty laboratory of nature: ages indeed may be required to prepare the effervescent mass, but a momentary shock is sufficient for its explosion. What then can prevent the Greeks, connected as they are with Russia by a common faith, by great mercantile establishments, by offices and emoluments which the Autocrat of the north so liberally bestows upon them, from inviting his aid and imploring his co-operation whenever they may rise to throw off the yoke? What but the establishment of an independent Grecian empire, having rights worthy of defence, and privileges worthy of enjoyment? This, I venture to assert, would be the firmest barrier against all encroachment, whether Russia should endeavour to seize upon the whole, or should admit other Continental States to a participation of the plunder: and I do not hesitate to affirm, that the atrocities committed by the infidels against their Christian subjects, ought to put them under the ban of the European confederation.

But I have heard it asserted that the Greeks are sacrificed to a mean sordid spirit of mercantile speculation.

It is thought more advantageous to deal with ignorance and

apathy than with enterprising ingenuity: the indolent Turk is easily cajoled, and exclusive privileges are obtained, which would be refused by a more active and enlightened nation: fit sentiments indeed for that most Christian government, by whose partisans they have been openly promulgated—a government, which, after solemn declarations, promises, and treaties, encourages the abominable traffic in human flesh, and, laughing at the simplicity of its neighbours, gains double advantages from their abolition of it. But such opinions are as much beneath the dignity, as they are adverse to the interests, of a country like Great Britain, which, from the spirit of its constitution, the temper of its people, the extent of its resources, and its geographical position, should invite rather than decline commercial competition. In spite of all exclusive privileges, I have learned from the most respectable sources, both at home and abroad, that the profits of our commerce in the Levant, have been declining for many years past: and what else can be expected from a country, through which depopulation and misery walk hand in hand? where the many are sacrificed to the few, who enjoy all the advantages of wealth, without that which ought to be the necessary condition of obtaining it, active industry: it is not from a paralyzed state like this, but rather from one where riches are generally distributed, that commercial advantages are to be sought: it is not with barbarians, destitute of all maritime knowledge or enterprize, attached to Asiatic customs, imbued with invincible prejudices against every useful invention of modern science—barbarians, who have put to death every one of their Sultans, that has attempted to introduce any innovation, however useful, into their ancient ordinances: it is not, I say, with such, that British merchants ought to desire connexion, when the emancipation of the Greeks would open a channel of communication with a spirited, commercial people, whose manners, interests, and religion conform with those of other European nations: that people have already shown what they are capable of attaining to in those insular maritime establishments, where, protected by position, and unmolested by the presence or interference of Ottoman tyranny, they have gradually formed fleets that have spread terror and destruction through the Turkish navy. The whole of Greece, emancipated from barbarian oppression, would become as Hydra, Spezie, and Ipsara: like South America, she would open a capacious mart for European produce: England would be the first country to enjoy the advantages of this commerce, and as Greece has neither external colonies nor the means of acquiring them, she would seek their produce from Great Britain, whilst interest on the one side, and gratitude on the other, would cement the union of the two nations, and guarantee its durability.

But it is useless to say more upon this part of the subject, and the principal topic remains still tobe discussed.

I am afraid that the standard of the Cross, raised against the Crescent, is thought a signal of rebellion; and that the throne of the Sultan is considered as fixed upon the basis of legitimacy. Gracious heaven! that terms should ever be so perverted; or that the epithet legitimate should be attached to tyrannic despotism! What allegiance do the Greeks owe these barbarian lords? If indeed to strip an unfortunate people of their property, to incapacitate them for civil or political appointments, to expose them to insufferable exactions and wanton injury, to leave them without guarantee for liberty or life, and not unfrequently to deliberate upon their utter extirpation; in short, if to attack and conquer them without provocation, and to preserve through four successive centuries the broad indelible mark of slavery between the conquerors and the conquered, if this be to secure the duty of allegiance, then has the Sultan a right to expect support from the confederated Christian states.—But I rather believe that every liberal and unprejudiced man will think with me, that, since history cannot point out one solitary paternal monarch in the blood-stained annals of the Ottoman empire,—that, since the sword of conquest has never yet been deposited in the hands of Justice, and no laws exist for the protection of the Greeks, to no laws are they amenable. Unattached to their conquerors by a single benefit, not acknowledging their odious dominion, unbound by a single oath, unrestrained by any bond but that of terror, and never having renounced the imprescriptible law of national independence, they retain the same right to rise against their ferocious tyrants, as when those savage hordes first crossed the Bosphorus to usurp the throne of the Cæsars: nay more, they have the strongest possible claim to succor and assistance from all Christian Powers; and every philanthropic government would at least leave private speculation free, and furnish them with the provisions of war, instead of prohibiting such supplies, or granting them to their adversaries.—To denounce their patriotic struggles for the recovery of those rights on which alone legitimacy is founded, as the efforts of rebellion, is political blasphemy, is an outrage against the law of nations and the law of nature; and the endeavour to detain them under the iron sceptre of their oppressors is not more unjust than it would be to replace Spain under the dominion of the Moors, the low countries under that of Spain, or the Russians under the yoke of the Mogul Tartars. Away then with flimsy jesuitical pretexts! What Christian nation can, what nation would, plead an alliance offensive and defensive with the Sultan? It is sufficiently disgraceful to have formed any tie or convention with tyrants nurtured in ignorance and hostility

to our faith, slaves to eunuchs and other vile ministers of a seraglio, who commit open outrages and insults upon the very Ambassadors of European States, and consign their prisoners of war to the most inhuman treatment as criminals and slaves.

To say that the Turks may not now be driven out of Europe, which they have so long defiled by their presence, is as much as to declare that the combinations of Potentates ecclesiastical as well as civil to oppose their irruptions were improper and unjust: to say that the present is not a fit time for interference, is the same as giving a temporary licence to barbarians for murder and violence of every kind and degree: to make a boast of the pacific and conciliatory measures which some Christian Ambassadors may have recommended to the Porte, is to insult the common sense of all nations in Europe, which know the character of these barbarians, and how graciously such overtures would be received by an ignorant proud people which yields nothing but to menaces and fear: indeed the daily massacres which have taken place throughout the Empire, and the massacre of Scio in particular, demonstrate very satisfactorily the utility of such measures. But the most atrocious part of all attempted to be played, is the endeavour of some persons to assimilate the Greek character in point of *systematic cruelty*, as they call it, with that of the Turks themselves; and for this purpose they continually report the old story of the barbarities practised at the capture of Tripolizza. Now to compare the acts of vengeance committed by a conquering army at the capture of a city which had made an obstinate resistance, and in which they found all their *hostages* lying murdered in the streets, with the horrid slaughter and evils ten times worse than slaughter inflicted upon thousands of innocent victims wherever the Grecian arms have been crowned with success, is really too much: moreover, if we speak of *systematic* cruelties we must not regard so much the horrors of war, terrible though they be, as those which for four successive centuries have been practised by one party only against their unoffending subjects. Read the account of any traveller in Turkey, and there see what are *systematic* cruelties. In addition to this, I have the best reasons for asserting that the cruelties of the Greeks at Tripolizza have been greatly exaggerated—at any rate they were committed before even a provisional government was established in Greece: since that establishment has taken place the humane conduct of the Greeks towards their enemies is well known, and is acknowleged by all except the dealers in fabricated reports and Austrian Gazettes, and this conduct is the more praiseworthy when we recollect the ages of suffering they have to revenge, and the horrible examples which are daily set them by their implacable foes.

If the facts which have been stated, or the arguments which have been adduced, are not sufficient to excite Englishmen, them-

selves the first-born sons of modern liberty, to patronize the cause of Greece, I should almost despair of moving them by the frequent and appalling massacres in Smyrna, Salonica, Constantinople, and other great Cities of the Empire; massacres, which affix almost as deep disgrace upon the Christian States which have permitted them, as upon the barbarians by whom they have been perpetrated. Still there is one transaction capable of moving every heart which the scorching breath of modern policy has not dried up and withered—I allude to the treatment of unhappy Scio. That beauteous Isle, the favorite residence of the blind immortal bard, has been made almost one general sepulchre of its unfortunate inhabitants, a common slaughter-house, where the blood of every age, and rank, and sex, has flowed in one united stream. Yet why apply the epithet *unfortunate* to those who fell beneath the Turkish scimitar, whose fate it was to close their eyes at once upon their native hills and upon their own calamities? The lot of horror is to others, to the young, the beautiful, the innocent daughters of this once happy Island, dragged from the paternal roof, from the tender care of beloved friends and relatives, from social happiness, from all the refinements of civilized life, and subjected to the pollution of vile barbarians, whose hands were dyed with the blood of all their dearest connexions. The heart sickens at the recital, but it must be made.

Reader, to this happy Isle, adorned by the lavish hand of nature, blessed with peculiar privileges, free from the very presence of Ottoman barbarians, and subject to the mild government of its own elders, the richest and best educated Greek merchants or other proprietors used to retire, that, after having enjoyed in peace the fruits of patient industry, they might sink to rest in the country of their forefathers, and in the bosom of their families. The manners of the Sciot females were considered as elegant, and their souls as soft, as their features were lovely and expressive; the beauty of a Helen and the majesty of an Andromache, might have been observed among them at those festivals, when they were accustomed to realize the enchanting scenes described by ancient poets, when the aged folks lay reclined upon the enamelled turf, or under the shade of the overspreading plane-tree, to see their children, decked in garlands, lead the graceful dance and chase the retreating waves upon the shore, or welcome with their joyful songs the return of spring or the gathering of the purple vintage. Where are ye now, ye fairest flowers of Homer's rock, Isle? plucked up and withered! gone into slavery worse than death, if death could be ten times repeated! sold, after the most horrible pollution, at a price less than cattle in a market to Asiatic barbarians and to African Moors. Gracious God! a tenth part of these atrocities in an unenlightened age,

would have aroused all the gallant spirits of Christendom to avenge their wrongs! and shall we not only sit by tamely, whilst they are perpetrated, but suffer them to be extended, as far as in us lies, to future generations and the most distant ages?

Reader, if you be a brother, a husband, or a father, I call upon you by those sacred ties of nature, I call upon you in the name of *woman*, of her who exalts our joys and soothes our sorrows, of her whose weakness is her greatest power, of her who is the protectress of our infancy, the inspirer of our youth, the companion of our manhood, and the consoler of our age; if you desire your own Island still to remain, as it hitherto has been, a sacred temple, on whose altar Virtue herself offers up the pure incense of congenial souls, I call on you to discard your apathy, to exert your efforts in the sacred cause of liberty and religion, and preserve your fellow-creatures from worse evils than the exterminating sword of ruthless savages.

And you, the advocates of philanthropy in our senate, who have so oft proclaimed the sorrows and vindicated the rights of suffering humanity, who have extended the arm of power to the relief of the captive African, why are ye now silent? I would be the last person to suppress generous feelings for human misery under any shape; but what are the pains of hunger, of captivity, or of death itself, what are the sufferings of the Indian slave, or Irish peasant, compared with those horrors which overwhelm the wretched daughters of unfortunate Greece? Speak out therefore in this cause, or boast no more your philanthropic sentiments! By those virtues that distinguished our brave ancestors—by the blessings of civil and religious liberty, which we ourselves enjoy—by that sacred ensign, the Cross of our Redeemer, which is degraded and despised—by Him who died upon that Cross, and taught us in our prayers to address his Father as our Father—and by that paternal God, who may possibly permit these evils to exist, for this, amongst other inscrutable reasons, that they may excite in us a spirit worthy of our high calling, speak out, that our national honor be not further compromised, and the stain of everlasting disgrace stamped upon our annals. Ye must know the cause which is now at stake—ye know that the struggle is between oppression, tyranny, and injustice, arrayed against humanity, civilization, and Christianity. If the former succeed, the Grecian name will, in all probability, be blotted out from the list of nations, for the implacable infidels have sworn its extirpation: and if Christian Kings and Potentates should resolve that the Greeks ought still to be kept under the iron yoke of their Ottoman lords, I should only follow the Christian precept, of doing for others as I would they should do for me, if I prayed for their extirpation!

# APPENDIX.

THE following heart-rending account of the massacre at Scio, appeared in the STAR, of the sixth instant, just in time for me to give it that circulation, which this pamphlet may afford:

*Copy of a Letter from Leghorn, written by a Gentleman in a Greek House, to a Friend in London.*

*Leghorn, June* 18, 1822.

MY DEAR FRIEND.

In my last, of the fifteenth instant, I informed you of the arrival here, on that day, of our countrymen, Mr. M. Rodocanache and Mr. J. Ziziria, from Scio. They had obtained their passage on board an Austrian ship of war, and had performed their voyage in thirty-seven days from Scio and thirty days from Smyrna. I know the anxiety you must feel respecting the deplorable situation of our unfortunate Island; of that we are able to judge by the keenness of our feelings on the subject; and as these two friends came direct from Scio, and had been witnesses of part of the horrors committed there, I hardly left them for two days, during which time they gave me the following vivid picture of the misery of our dear country.

It was on the eleventh of April that the Capitan Pasha landed several thousand men; but the Turkish fleet had scarcely hove in sight when the commander in the castle began bombarding the town, and from that time till the day of our departure it was one continued scene of murder, conflagration, and plunder, both in country and town; nor were they even satisfied with the ravages the fire made upon the houses—its progress was too slow for their fury, and the hands of men aided and assisted the raging elements. They took to the castle about eight hundred of the gardeners of the principal and most respectable families, whom, by dint of threats of instant death, and promises of liberty, they forced to confess, as far as they knew, where any property had been hid. In almost every garden, at six or eight yards distance, were seen pits dug, for the purpose of grasping the supposed concealed treasure. All

the women were sent into slavery; the men and male children above twelve years of age were massacred; the children of the tenderest age, and the most beautiful from among the young women, they sent on board the ships with great pomp and solemnity, under a salute of guns; they performed an operation on the male children in token of conversion to the Mahometan faith, and then sent off the children of both sexes by land to Constantinople, by way of Smyrna, under an escort of a body of Turkish soldiery. Two regiments of Turks had assembled and shut up in a place in the country about seven hundred persons, chiefly peasants, whom they meant to divide among themselves as slaves; but not being able to agree in the partition, began disputing: an Iman or priest, more humane than the rest, expostulated with them upon their dissentions, and exhorted them to concord, when one of those savage brutes exclaimed, "that the only way to avoid dissention was, to put them all to the sword,"—and to the lasting shame of the human race, in less than half an hour all those innocent men were put to death. Others of these butchers had in their possession four families of distinction; the women and children they sent to the city, and the men they bled to death as sheep, in a slaughter-house, near which they were passing at the time. One of these unfortunate beings, to whom they had not given a mortal stab, was left to linger out his existence, in excruciating agony and pain, for two days. But what will you say of those innocent and young children who have fallen victims to the most horrible death, caused by the brutal conduct of the monsters in whose possession they fell! By all we have been able to gather, it appears that from the very moment the Turkish fleet was destined for Scio, the total destruction of the Island, and annihilation of its inhabitants were resolved upon, without any examination of their culpability or innocence. On the 8th of May, the Pasha ordered thirty-five respectable men that he had on board to be hung up to the masts, which served as a signal to the governor of the castle to do the same with eighty-five hostages, ordering at the same time the eight hundred gardeners who were still in custody to be strangled. From the 10th of May, on which day we left Scio, there has been no cessation to murders, conflagration, and enslaving, with all their accompanying ferocity. Do not be surprised if you hear that there have been nearly sixty thousand Turks on the Island; the report of the numerous and rich spoils of those who first went over, the sight of gold, silver, jewels, shipped off by the captors to places of safety, enticed over a horde of these barbarians thirsting for Christian blood and plunder. The number of the slain amounted on the 10th to twenty-five thousand—of captives to thirty thousand. Those who have saved

themselves by flight are comparatively few; those who already have reached the Continent, and those immediately expected, are the only ones saved; all the others you may reckon among the dead or the captive. Those even who have escaped from the Turks, must soon fall a prey to famine, as they are lurking about the mountains, without food or raiment. How we have escaped we hardly know, it seems like a dream, but the Divine Providence assisted us, having so many dangers to encounter, and being so well known to the Turkish inhabitants of Scio, it was only changing clothes, and being accompanied by the Austrian Consul, that saved us. Together we traversed the city, or rather hell, for the whole of the way was strewed with dead bodies of men and carcases of animals.

The walls of our beautiful houses built with black Trojan marble alone remained, and in them were seen figures of women and children, pale, wan, and emaciated, waiting in morbid despair till they should be transported as slaves on board the Turkish vessels. Methinks their cries, sighs, and lamentations, are still in our ears, as they implored the Consul, for the love of Heaven, to take compassion on them, not to deliver them into the hands of their worst foes, not to leave them in the power of those who would force them to embrace the Mahometan Faith. Oh! how agonising were our feelings then! But, alas! what could be done to save them? It was thus through scenes harrowing to the soul thatweat last reached the ship, that was to convey us to Smyrna: yet, as if our cup of affliction and danger was not yet full, we unexpectedly found on board this vessel thirty-four young women of the heads of families, on their way to Constantinople, by way of Smyrna, sent thither by the Pasha, as presents to the Grand Seignior.—Many of them we were personally known to; the least sign of recognition on their part would have immediately discovered us to their Turkish guard, and our lives would have been forfeited; it was with the greatest difficulty we veiled our features from observation, keeping all the day below decks, and only for a few hours in the night breathing the fresh air on deck; at last we reached Smyrna, were immediately transported on board the Austrian ship, and finally arrived here. But what tongue can utter the perils and dangers of every kind we have been exposed to? 'Tis God, and God alone that can give aid and consolation to this humiliated persecuted race of beings; those that are gone to another life are the most happy; it is the enslaved survivers that claim our pity. These are, my dear friend, the gloomy accounts that the above esteemed friends gave me. I have heard, and now tell you with a bleeding heart and a tear-fraught eye, that my poor father and uncle were among the hostages. Oh! God, what a blow! A vessel has just arrived from Constantino-

ple, giving us the advice of the execution there of ten hostages; will this never have an end! I really can write no more, I feel so sick at heart. Adieu!

---

A Letter in the French papers, from a young Greek at Smyrna, dated the 19th of May, gives some additional particulars respecting this dire event. The writer calculates that forty thousand individuals have either been murdered or sold to slavery. He says:—

Throughout the opulent Scio, only fifteen houses are standing, containing our mothers, our sisters, our daughters, reduced to the most dreadful slavery. There the monsters profane every thing to gratify their rage and their passions; and often the virgins whom they have sullied by their embraces, receive from themselves the death which they wish for. All the chateaus which rendered our Island the most agreeable in the Mediterranean, our Academy, the Library, the superb Edifices of Saint Anaigiroso, Saint Victor, the Apostles, eighty-six Churches, and upwards of forty Villages, have been consumed by the flames.

The ferocious incendiaries then scoured the mountains, and the forests, and they are now at the twenty-fourth Village of Mastic. These tigers, a thousand times more cruel than those of the forest, have vented that hatred upon the dead which they bear to the living. They opened the tombs, and threw into the streets the bones of our fathers, and the corpses of their own victims were dragged by the feet through the brooks. Every day women of the first families in the Island are exposed to sale in the public markets; articles of great value, such as the sacred vases of the Greek and Catholic Churches, and the habiliments of the Priests, are by these wretches sold at a vile price.

A

# LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

## THE REV. T. S. HUGHES,

FELLOW OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

BY EDMUND HENRY BARKER, ESQ.

OF THETFORD, NORFOLK;

OCCASIONED BY THE PERUSAL OF THE

"ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND IN THE CAUSE OF THE GREEKS."

SECOND EDITION WITH ADDITIONS.

"Woods, that wave o'er Delphi's steep,
Isles, that crown th' Ægean deep,
Fields, that cool Ilissus laves,
Or where Mæander's amber-waves
In lingering lab'rinths creep,
How do your tuneful echoes languish,
Mute but to the voice of anguish!
Where each old poetic Mountain
Inspiration breath'd around;
Ev'ry shade and hallow'd Fountain
Murmur'd deep a solemn sound."

1822.

# A LETTER,

*&c. &c.*

DEAR SIR,

I YESTERDAY read in a provincial Newspaper some extracts from your eloquent and powerful "Address to the people of England in the cause of the Greeks," and I have the greatest possible satisfaction in devoting, to a serious consideration of the topics suggested to my mind by the perusal of it, the Sabbath—"A day, which," as Gilpin says, "is truly honorable in our eyes, and marked as a season of sacred delights."

1. I am not in the number of those, who have contemplated with "apathy" the present struggle of the Greeks for national existence and national independence; but I proudly reflect that I have, from its first commencement, felt the deep importance of it, both in a religious and in a political point of view; and, so far as my slender intercourse with the world permits, I have endeavoured to infuse into all, with whom I have conversed, the same ardor, which animates my own bosom in this most interesting and most righteous cause.

2. I perfectly agree with you that the repeated massacres in Smyrna, Salonica, Constantinople, and other great Cities of the Turkish Empire, "affix almost as deep disgrace on the Christian States, which have permitted them, as on the barbarians, by whom they have been perpetrated;" and I feel most strongly that for a Christian Government to leave such crimes "unwhipped of justice" is to make a large, grievous, fearful, portentous addition to the too black catalogue of national sins. To avenge atrocities like these, I should have thought that in the present enlightened age "ten thousand swords would leap from their scabbards."

3. It has been remarked in a Sermon, which was delivered by Bishop Shipley before the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign

Parts, and which a competent judge has pronounced to be the most finished composition in the English language, "that the preaching of the Gospel has been of small efficacy amongst the Indians. The sagacity, for which they are remarkable, seems to be of a partial kind, and to partake more of instinct than of reason. They can employ great art to obtain their ends, to procure what they desire, or to gain a superiority over an enemy; but their passions and habits proceeding always in one narrow track, they have neither relish nor discernment for the clearest truths, to which they have not been accustomed. After showing the greatest address and courage in subduing or surprising an enemy, they cannot comprehend that it would be generous not to torture him, and that it would be wise to give such treatment, as they would wish to receive. They have besides an untameable savage spirit, which has refused to hear the voice of instruction, which has obstinately rejected the arts and improvements of the Europeans, and has hitherto only adopted the most beastly of their vices. For these reasons, though we ought not to remit our endeavours, yet I fear we have little reason to hope for their conversion, till some great change in their manners has made them abandon their savage vagrant life, and prepared them for the discipline of law and religion." (*Bp. Shipley's Works*, vol. ii. p. 297.) Now, dear sir, if with these inauspicious omens, the respectable individuals, who constitute the Bible Society, have at an enormous expense deemed it to be their duty largely to disseminate copies of the sacred volume among the unconverted heathens, will not "their heart burn within them" at the more glorious and "goodly prospect" of rescuing their fellow Christians, the Greeks, from the direst cruelty and oppression, which has ever been endured by afflicted humanity—will they not lavish their treasures and lend every means in their power to promote "a consummation most devoutly to be wished for"—will they not perceive the far weightier obligation of redeeming the Christian slave, than of enlightening the free-born heathen?

4. The Bill for the Admission of Catholic Peers into the House of Lords did not fail to excite the strongest interest in the minds of the Bishops; and shall it be said—will posterity credit the fact—that matters of such little moment, (considering the very small number of the Peers, who would have been benefitted by the passing of that Bill,) could stir up their zeal into vigorous action, but that, when a Christian population of seven million souls are fighting not more for political existence, for the blessings of civil and religious liberty, for national independence, than for life itself on the very soil, which gave birth to them,—"a soil filled with the monuments of freedom, enriched with the blood of its defenders, the sepulchre of their fathers," (Robert Hall's *Sentiments*,

*proper to the present crisis,* p. 71.) the mausoleum of heroism, the sanctuary of genius, the pantheon of glory—not a single voice should have been raised throughout that Right-reverend Bench, to advocate their just rights, and, in the name of our holy religion, to demand from our Government the measures necessary for securing that life, that existence, those blessings, that independence?

"Let us endeavour to wipe away the tears from the poor oppressed natives of India, (Greece,) and suffer them, if possible, to enjoy some taste of the legal security and civil liberty, which render life dear to ourselves; which are blessings hitherto unknown to those climates, but more grateful to the heart of man than all the fruits and odors, which nature has lavished upon them." (*Bp. Shipley's Works,* vol. ii. p. 322.)

5. While memory holds her seat, dear Sir,

*Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus,*

I shall never forget the impression, which was produced on my mind by the perusal of Lord Chatham's Speech on the employment of Indians in the American war; an impression the deeper, because, while the composition delights the taste, the reasoning satisfies the understanding, the principles touch the heart, and the sentiments express the natural feelings of mankind. Now if his Lordship had lived to see this our day, what would have been his language at the policy pursued by the Government of this country in respect to the Greeks? at the silence observed by the Bishops? at the general apathy of Englishmen on this point?

The sentiments are so appropriate to the present occasion, that I may be excused for inserting the Speech intire.

"I cannot, my Lords, I will not join in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace. This, my Lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment—it is not a time for adulation—the smoothness of flattery cannot save us in this rugged and awful crisis. It is now necessary to instruct the throne in the language of truth. We must, if possible, dispel the delusion and darkness, which envelope it; and display in its full danger and genuine colors the ruin, which is brought to our doors. Can ministers still presume to expect support in their infatuation? Can Parliament be so dead to their dignity and duty, as to give their support to measures thus obtruded and forced upon them? Measures, my Lords, which have reduced this late florishing empire to scorn and contempt.

"But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world—now none so poor to do her reverence! The people, whom we at first despised as *rebels,* but whom we now acknowlege as *enemies,* are abetted against you, supplied with every military store, have their interest consulted, and their Ambassadors entertained by your inveterate enemy—and Ministers do not and dare

not interpose with dignity or effect. The desperate state of our Army abroad is in part known. No man more highly esteems and honors the English troops than I do; I know their virtues and their valor; I know they can achieve any thing but impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America is an impossibility. You *cannot*, my Lords, you *cannot* conquer America. What is your present situation there? *We do not know the worst;* but we know that in three Campaigns we have done nothing and suffered much. You may swell every expense, accumulate every assistance, and extend your traffic to the *shambles* of every German despot; your attempts will be for ever vain and impotent—doubly so, indeed, from the mercenary aid, on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your adversaries, to over-run them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—*never, never, never!* But, my Lords, who is the man, that, in addition to the disgraces and mischiefs of the war, has dared to authorise and associate to our arms the *tomahawk* and *scalping-knife* of the savage? to call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman inhabitant of the woods? to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My Lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment. But, my Lords, this barbarous measure has been defended, not only on the principles of policy and necessity, but also on those of morality; 'for it is perfectly allowable,' says Lord Suffolk, 'to use all the means, which God and Nature have put into our hands!' I am astonished, I am shocked to hear such principles confessed, to hear them avowed in this House, or this country. My Lords, I did not intend to encroach so much on your attention; but I cannot repress my indignation—I feel myself *impelled* to speak. My Lords, we are called upon as members of this House, as men, as Christians, to protest against such horrible barbarity—'that God and Nature have put into our hands!' What ideas of 'God and Nature' that Noble Lord may entertain, I know not; but I know that such detestable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the sacred sanction of 'God and Nature' to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife! to the cannibal savage, torturing, murdering, devouring, drinking the blood of his mangled victims! Such notions shock every precept of morality, every feeling of humanity, every sentiment of honor. These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call on that Right Reverend, and this most Learned Bench, to vindicate the religion

of their God, to support the justice of their country. I call on the Bishops to interpose the sanctity of their lawn, upon the Judges to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution. I call upon the honor of your Lordships to reverence the dignity of our ancestors, and to maintain your own. I call on the spirit and humanity of my country to vindicate the national character. I invoke the *Genius of the Constitution.* From the tapestry, that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this Noble Lord frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country. In vain did he defend the liberty, and establish the religion of Britain, against the tyranny of Rome, if these worse than Popish cruelties and Inquisitorial practices are endured among us. To send forth the merciless cannibal, thirsting for blood! against whom? your Protestant brethren? To lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name, by the aid and instrumentality of these horrible *hell-hounds of war!* Spain can no longer boast pre-eminence in barbarity. She armed herself with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of Mexico; we, more ruthless, loose these *dogs of war* against our countrymen in America, endeared to us by every tie, that can sanctify humanity. I solemnly call upon your Lordships, and upon every order of men in the State to stamp upon this infamous procedure the indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. More particularly, I call upon the holy Prelates of our religion to do away this iniquity—let them perform a *lustration* to purify the country from this deep and deadly sin. My Lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor even reposed my head on my pillow, without giving vent to my eternal abhorrence of such enormous and preposterous principles."

6. St. Paul, in the sixth chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians, writes thus:—"And let us not be weary in well-doing; for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not. As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, *especially unto them, who are of the household of faith.*" And, gracious God! does not the obligation of this precept extend alike to the palace and the cottage, to the nation and the individual, to the statesman and the subject? But what Christian power has not violated this injunction by a tame acquiescence in the repeated massacres of Greeks and Franks by ruthless barbarians and accursed infidels?

7. "This righteousness and mercy, which is due to all men, but especially to those, who are under our protection, is the law of nature, the command of religion, and it ought to be the first and leading maxim of civil policy. But it is amazing how slowly in all countries the principles of natural justice, which are so evidently

necessary in private life, have been admitted into the administration of public affairs." (*Bp. Shipley's Works, vol.* ii. *p.* 322.) So well founded is this remark, that even the King of France, who is a perfect devotee in the Christian religion, and a most amiable man in private life, has not made one solitary effort to aid the Greeks in their struggle for political existence, conformably alike to the principles of that pure faith and to the dictates of an enlightened policy.

8. It has been declared from the Bench, and on the authority of Lord Coke, "that Christianity is part and parcel of the common law of the land;" and if that be the case, doubtlessly all conduct both in the statesman and in the individual, which is repugnant to the doctrines of Christianity, is punishable by that law. I have a right then, dear Sir, to expect and to demand through the Parliament from the Ministers of this country their protection of and assistance to the Greeks in a contest, which threatens their very existence.

9. A publican was, if I rightly remember, recently tried for and convicted of the offence of refusing to receive into his house a person, who had fallen into the Thames and had been rescued from a watery grave; and it was, I think, argued in the Court, not so much that his house should have been opened to the reception of the sufferer, because it was licensed for the public accommodation, as that the law of humanity is anterior to all positive law, because it is a part of Christianity, which is part and parcel of the common law of the land. Now if an individual is in such a case and on such grounds liable to punishment for not following the precepts of our holy religion, surely no man will deny the obligation of those, who are intrusted with the administration of the country, to regulate its policy by those precepts—no man will dispute the criminality of those, who have adhered to a different system.

If it be contended that the publican might on such a ground be punished by the State, because he was a subject of the State, but that our Ministers would not be punishable for refusing to assist the Greeks, because they are the subjects of another State, I reply that England has claimed and exercised the right of interfering in the affairs of other States—has it not done so in respect to the abolition of the infamous traffic in human flesh? did it not assist in forcing at the point of the bayonet the present King on the throne of France apparently against the consent of the people? did it not for some time refuse to recognise the Spanish Constitution? and did it not connive at the unprincipled, the Buonapartean, the barbarian conduct of the Holy Alliance in crushing the rising liberties of Naples and Piedmont? I may be justified for using this strong language, when a gentleman connected with the Ministry

had during the last Session the magnanimity and the integrity to declare within the walls of Parliament, that "there was a splendor and a glory about the despotism of Napoleon, as much at least as despotism would admit of; but that the views of the Allies are gloomy, dark, hopeless, and barbarous."

10. The war between the Turks and the Greeks must be regarded as a war of extermination; in the nervous and sententious language of Tacitus, *Utrisque necessitas in loco, spes in virtute, salus ex victoria.* "The cause speaks for itself: it excites feelings, which words are ill able to express; involving every object and motive, which can engage the solicitude, affect the interests, or inflame the heart of man. After a series of provocations and injuries, reciprocally sustained and retaliated, the dispute betwixt them and their enemies is brought to a short issue—it is no longer, which of the two nations shall have the ascendant, but which shall continue a nation—it is a struggle for existence, not for empire." (*Robert Hall's Sentiments proper to the present Crisis*, p. 68.) And with this feeling shall we not deem it to be our plain and paramount duty as Christians to aid the cause of the Christian Greeks? If we hesitate a moment to take a decided part in the struggle—if we in any way whatever lend any support to the base horde of Asiatic infidels, are we not manifestly chargeable with a share in the guilt of all the massacres, which those accursed barbarians may make of the Greeks, who may unfortunately fall into their hands? Does not the innocent blood recently shed in Constantinople and in Scio "rise up in judgment" against us, because by a proper interference we could and must have prevented it? Methinks I see the shade of the venerable Patriarch of Constantinople, murdered by an enthroned ruffian, hovering over the dome of St. Stephen, waving the Standard of the Cross, and in shrill and lugubrious tones demanding from the people of England as fellow Christians—on the faith of the religious principles, which they profess,—vengeance for himself and protection for his oppressed countrymen!

11. But it is argued that the cruelties, which have been charged on the Turks, have been practised in a similar way by the Greeks themselves. If such is the fact, this is the strongest possible reason for assisting the Greeks to realise their national independence, because by making them free you will inspire them with all the generous sentiments of free-born men—"their souls will walk abroad in their own majesty—their bodies will swell beyond the measure of their chains, which will burst from around them, and they will stand redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled by the irresistible Genius of Universal Emancipation." (*Curran's Defence of Rowan.*) But, while I shall not attempt to palliate any barbari-

ties, which the Greeks may have committed on the vanquished Turks, justice requires from me the unhappy declaration that it is not, in the circumstances of the contest, the policy of the Greeks to give any quarter whatever to the Turkish soldiers or sailors; and with respect to the destruction of the Turkish garrison at Tripolizza, it was expressly stated in the account that the immediate cause of the destruction was the PREVIOUS massacre, which that Turkish garrison had made of the 300 eminent Greek hostages confined in the citadel—a fact, with which the besieging Greeks became acquainted only on their first entrance into the place, and which was well calculated to provoke the spirit of revenge, which more or less actuates every human breast in every clime, whether "bond or free," whether Heathen or Christian.

12. Such arguments, founded on the cruelties and the barbarities of the Greeks, even if they rested on facts, would be intitled to no more weight than similar arguments advanced by the advocates of the Slave-Trade. "I trust we shall no longer continue this commerce to the destruction of every improvement on that wide Continent; and shall not consider ourselves as conferring too great a boon in restoring its inhabitants to the rank of human beings. I trust we shall not think ourselves too liberal, if by abolishing the Slave-Trade, we give them the same common chance of civilization with other parts of the world, and that we shall now allow to Africa, (Greece,) the opportunity—the hope—the prospect of attaining to the same blessings, which we ourselves, through the favorable dispensations of Divine Providence, have been permitted at a much more early period to enjoy. If we listen to the voice of reason and duty, and pursue the line of conduct, which they prescribe, some of us may live to see a reverse of that picture, from which we now turn our eyes with shame and regret. We may live to behold the natives of Africa, (Greece,) engaged in the calm occupations of industry, in the pursuits of a just and legitimate commerce. We may behold the beams of science and philosophy breaking in on their land, which, at some happy period in still later times, may blaze with full lustre; and joining their influence to that of pure religion, may illuminate and invigorate the most distant extremities of that immense Continent. Then may we hope that even Africa, though last of all the quarters of the Globe, shall enjoy at length, in the evening of her days, those blessings, which have descended so plentifully upon us in a much earlier period of the world. Then also will Europe, participating in her improvement and prosperity, receive an ample recompence for the *tardy* kindness, (if kindness it can be called,) of no longer hindering that Continent from extricating herself out of the darkness, which, in other more fortunate

regions, has been so much more speedily dispelled." (*Pitt's Speech in* 1792, *on the Slave-Trade.*)

13. The present Ministry avow themselves to be the disciples of William Pitt, and they have now presented to them a glorious opportunity of showing themselves to be his disciples by acting in the spirit, which dictated those remarks.

14. The ground, on which the British Government appears hitherto to have acted in discountenancing the Greek Insurrection, is simply the fear that, if it was crowned with the merited success, Russia would have the intire command of Greece, and the balance of power might be endangered or destroyed. I agree with you, dear Sir, in deeming this to be a mistaken policy. For, if Greece maintains her stand against Turkey, but at the close of the conflict is enfeebled by the prodigious efforts, which she may have made, she will naturally throw herself into the arms of Russia for protection; but, if by our assistance during the struggle she is enabled to quit the field "more than conqueror"—if she establishes on a solid basis a form of Government adapted to the manners, the habits, the opinions, the feelings, and the religion of the natives, the balance of power will be considerably strengthened instead of being weakened; Greece will adhere rather to England, which powerfully aided her exertions, than to Russia, which had for 50 years plentifully fed her with hopes, and in the hour of her need has treacherously and cruelly deserted her; a great counterpoise will be given to the ambitious and unprincipled power of Austria,—a power, on which the rest of Europe, from recent experience, has good reason to look with a more jealous and watchful eye than on the Emperor of all the Russias.

15. I shall not deny, that any writers are at full liberty to denominate the Greeks *Rebels*, when they have answered the questions, whether the Barons at Runnamede were or were not *Rebels*, whether the Reformation was or was not a *Rebellion* against the Church of Rome, whether Jesus Christ, who overturned the religion of the Jews, was or was not a traitor to his country and a *Rebel* against the Roman Empire, whether the Christian Missionaries, who labor to subvert the faith of the Hindoos, are or are not *Rebels* against the established creed of India?

16. Seneca has finely remarked that "a virtuous man, struggling with misfortunes, is such a spectacle, as Gods might look upon with pleasure," (*Spectator*, No. 39.) I, however, think that a nation, sunk in ignorance and vice, but after "the sleep of ages" rising as one man, possessed of "the unconquerable mind," and animated with "Freedom's holy flame," in vigorous and hearty rebellion against the despotism of its rulers, is the most glorious sight, which

humanised, civilised, christianised man can behold—the contemplation of which cannot but be regarded with the most gracious eyes by the Lord of Hosts, because out of the chaos and confusion inseparable from such awful events will be formed, in the due course of time and by his almighty power, a more beautiful system of Government, with greater purity in the religion of the people, —a system, which will afford ample scope for the display of those "great and splendid actions, which are reserved for high and eminent occasions—which are important both from their immediate advantage and their remoter influence—which often save and always illustrate the age and nation, in which they appear—which raise the standard of morals—which arrest the progress of degeneracy—which diffuse a lustre over the path of life: monuments of the greatness of the human soul, they present to the world the august image of virtue in her sublimest form, from which streams of light and glory issue to remote times and ages; while their commemoration, by the pen of historians and poets, awakens in distant bosoms the sparks of kindred excellence." (*R. Hall's Modern Infidelity considered, p.* 26.)

17. "If a man should be unfortunate enough to live under the dominion of a prince, who, like the monarchs of Persia, could murder his subjects at will, he may be unhappy, but cannot complain; for, on Mr. Hey's theory, he never had any rights but what were created by society, and, on Mr. Burke's, he has for ever relinquished them. The claims of *nature* being set aside, and the constitution of the Government despotic from the beginning, his misery involves no injustice, and admits of no remedy. It requires little discernment to see that this theory rivets the chains of despotism, and shuts out from the political world the smallest glimpse of emancipation or improvement. Its language is, He, that is a slave, let him be a slave still." (*R. Hall's Apology for the Freedom of the Press*, p. 59—63. Edit. 7th.)

18. But it is contended on the supposed authority of Scripture that "the Powers, that be, are ordained of God." Yes, but we are to understand this declaration with some qualification. It is God's will that tyranny should exist in certain places for certain ages; but it can never be his pleasure that it should last for ever, because we are assured "that his tender mercies are over all his works," and because the history of the Bible shows that, when a nation is plunged in the grossest depravity and the most abominable ignorance, God permits its entire destruction through the instrumentality of some other nation, as in the cases of Canaan, Sodom and Gomorrha, Nineveh and Babylon. Though "the Powers, that be," may be justly said "to be ordained of God," yet, when the same Scripture says that "the Son of Man is Lord of the

Sabbath," and that "the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath," it is evident that the same Lord will suffer any "Powers, that be," to be destroyed or their governments to be modified according to the circumstances of the people, the complexion of the age, the nature of things, in his own good time, because "the Powers, that be," are established for the benefit of the whole community, not for the gratification of the individual, who may be seated on the throne; and when the people, instead of deriving benefits from those, "who are put in authority" over them, are suffering under the iron-hand of despotism, the doom of the tyrant will be justly sealed, and the blessing of God will sooner or later follow the nation, when the standard of rebellion is raised.

19. "The privilege of censuring, with moderation and decency, the measures of Government, is essential to a free constitution; a privilege, which can never lose its value in the eyes of the public, till it is licentiously abused. The temperate exercise of this privilege is a most useful restraint on those errors and excesses, to which the possession of power supplies a temptation. The free expression of the public voice is capable of overawing those, who have nothing beside to apprehend; and the tribunal of public opinion is one, whose decisions it is not easy for men in the most elevated stations to despise. To this we may add that the unrestrained discussion of national affairs not only *gives weight* to the sentiments, but is eminently adapted to *enlighten the minds* of a people; and consequently, to increase that general fund of talent and information, from which the accomplishments even of statesmen themselves must be ultimately derived. While therefore we maintain this privilege with jealous care, let us be equally careful not to abuse it. There is a respect, in my apprehension, due to civil governors *on account of their office*, which we are not permitted to violate, even when we are under the necessity of blaming their measures. When the Apostle Paul was betrayed into an intemperate expression of anger against the Jewish High Priest, from an ignorance of the station he occupied, he was no sooner informed of this, than he apologized and quoted a precept of the Mosaic Law, which says, *Thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people*. In agreement with which, the New Testament subjoins to the duty of fearing God, that of honoring the King; and frequently and emphatically inculcates submission to civil rulers, not so much from a fear of their power, as from a respect for their office." (*R. Hall's Sentiments proper to the present Crisis.*)

20. It is worth while, dear Sir, to notice one very specious argument, which has been advanced in the Tory-Newspapers with the view of deadening the deep sense, which Englishmen may be

disposed to feel of the wrongs of Greece, and of extinguishing the anxious desire, which for the honor of our beloved country and the sake of our holy religion I still trust that the majority of Englishmen entertain. It is gravely said that there is no call on our nation to throw the mantle of its influence on and to extend the arm of its power to unfortunate Greece, because we may endanger our own security and hazard the peace of Europe. But I ask in what school of morality these writers have been educated? Most assuredly they have neither "sat at the feet of Gamaliel," nor heard the sermon of Jesus Christ from the consecrated Mount. The principles of the Christian religion do not exhibit one code of laws for the palace and another for the cottage; but nations and their rulers are to be actuated by one and the same holy spirit of charity—to engage in one and the same work of love—to practise one and the same goodness—and to commiserate, to mitigate, to remove the evils of mankind to the utmost possible extent. A nation is but a collection of individuals, and the sovereign is but the representative of the people. If an individual is bound by the law of humanity and the law of charity to assist his neighbour in any circumstances of distress, which he may have the power to soften or to relieve—so one nation is bound to assist another, when the assistance is required; and if the principles of Christianity do not allow an individual to sit down coldly to calculate what possible danger may result to himself from lending his assistance, but require him to act from the impulse of the moment and to over-look any personal considerations—so they cannot justify a nation for withholding its protection from a neighbouring people, when it is threatened with total annihilation by ferocious barbarians and sanguinary Mahometans.

21. But it is now time to draw my Letter to a conclusion; and I cannot conclude it better than by suggesting to the advocates of Grecian liberty what is the proper course for them to pursue in the present state of things.

22. After the large collections, which have been made from the people of England for the relief of the Irish peasantry, there is little propect of obtaining any considerable sum in the way of contribution for the purpose of aiding the Greek Insurrection. But it will be very materially aided by procuring a repeal of the Foreign Enlistment-Bill, and with this view Petitions should be forwarded to Parliament.

23. As this is a holy war, the cause of outraged humanity, the cause of offended justice, the cause of violated chastity, the cause of insulted religion, the Ministers of every denomination should be most earnestly invited to appeal to the feelings and the understandings of their respective congregations; and in the present

state of civil and religious liberty, of refined sensibility and generous sentiment, neither the invitation to the one nor the appeal to the other will be made in vain, when I have shown that to support the Greeks is alike to follow the maxims of prudence, to obey the impulses of benevolence, to practise the law of charity, and to vindicate the religion of Christ and "the ways of God to man."

24. Attempts to remove the civil disabilities of the Roman Catholics have but too frequently excited the whole rhetoric of the Pulpit; and shall it be said that, when the lives of 7 millions of men are in imminent jeopardy—when the question is whether 7 millions of people are to live like free men in the full possession of civil liberty, or are to be made "to taste, drop by drop, more than the bitterness of death, in the slow torture," (Burke's eulogium on the King and Queen of France,) to which they may be subjected by Turkish barbarity, in the midst of bodily chains and the absence of every mental enjoyment—when the point at issue is whether 7 millions of our fellow Christians are to be permitted to secure the right of following the faith, which we profess, of serving the Christ, whose precepts we obey, of worshipping the God, whom we ourselves adore, or are to be compelled to abjure the Christian name, and, merciful Heaven! to see the children, which have sprung from their loins, educated in all the impure practices of Mahometan belief—shall it be said that on an occasion like this no Minister of God's holy word, himself enjoying "the liberty, wherewith Christ hath made him free," was found to plead the cause of the insulted, injured, oppressed, and enslaved Greek?

25. Daily engaged as I am in the study of the Poets, Orators, Historians, Philosophers, Philologists, and Critics of ancient Greece, and little habituated as I am to English composition, you must, dear Sir, pardon the inaccuracies and imperfections of my style—"the spirit," which I have imbibed from their immortal works, "has given me utterance," and "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh."

26. "Go then, ye defenders of your country, accompanied with every auspicious omen; advance with alacrity into the field, where God himself musters the hosts to war. Religion is too much interested in your success, not to lend you her aid; she will shed over this enterprise her selectest influence. While you are engaged in the field, many will repair to the closet, many to the Sanctuary; the faithful of every name will employ that prayer, which has power with God; the feeble hands, which are unequal to any other weapon, will grasp the sword of the Spirit; and from myriads of humble, contrite hearts the voice of intercession, supplication, and weeping, will mingle in its ascent to Heaven with the shouts of battle, and the shock of arms. And thou,

sole ruler among the children of men, to whom the shields of the earth belong, *gird on thy sword, thou most mighty!* go forth with their hosts in the day of battle! Impart in addition to their hereditary valor that confidence of success, which springs from thy presence! Pour into their hearts the spirit of departed heroes! Inspire them with thine own; and, while led by thy hand, and fighting under thy banners, open thou their eyes to behold in every valley and in every plain, what the prophet beheld by the same illumination—chariots of fire, and horses of fire! *Then shall the strong man be as tow, and the maker of it as a spark; and they shall both burn together, and none shall quench them.*" (*R. Hall's Sentiments proper to the present Crisis.* p. 78).

With every sentiment of respect and gratitude,

I remain, dear Sir,

Your faithful and obliged Servant,

EDMUND HENRY BARKER.

---

P. S. *August* 13th.—1. Since the above Letter was written, I have been informed that many and some splendid offers of subscription in the behalf of the Greeks have been made in Letters addressed to you in consequence of your interesting Pamphlet; and therefore I do not now see real reason to despair about the success of a general subscription, to which I am ready to contribute my mite. I trust that but few days will be suffered to elapse, before some high-spirited individuals of illustrious rank or known respectability will have the courage to call by public advertisement a general meeting at the London Tavern or some similar place for the purpose of consulting on the best means of aiding the Greek Insurrection. It appears to me that nothing is so well calculated to effect this important object, as a repeal of the Foreign Enlistment-Bill, because, while this Bill is suffered to remain on our Statute-Book, we shall not be allowed to send to the support of the Greeks what would be the most useful things, arms, and ammunition, and disciplined soldiers; nor can we tempt the brave officers, who have earned renown on the field of Waterloo, "to pursue the track of glory" in Greece, when by interfering in the cause they would or might by the loss of their half-pay sacrifice the comforts of existence.

2. At a period, when, *proh Deum hominumque fidem!* we are arraigning the bounty of Providence as the cause of the present agricultural distress, when we are complaining of a redundant

population, when we consider that too much land has been brought into tillage, when the English laborer is in vain supplicating for employment, and when the Irish peasant is in a state of absolute destitution, is it not extreme impolicy—is it not perfect cruelty not to afford every facility to such individuals, as desire to procure a subsistence or to try their fortunes on a foreign soil? and thousands of heroic spirits might at once earn bread and acquire fame in the Morea, if they were encouraged to lend their assistance to the Greek Cause.

3. Nothing can be more happily conceived than the epithet *barbarous*, which a connexion of the present Ministry has justly applied to the views and the conduct of the *Holy Alliance*. For what can be more worthy of a native barbarian than to kidnap the person of the Neapolitan King, to persuade that veteran imbecile to a shameless violation of the solemn oath, which he took to preserve the Constitution, which had been gravely formed by the representatives of the nation in Parliament assembled, and to support him on his tottering throne, to aid him in annihilating the rising liberties of his country, and in decapitating and proscribing their founders, by the presence of those armies, which the Holy Alliance have been proud to deem the *liberators of Europe*, because they had crushed the tyrannous power of Buonaparte? What can be more barbarous than for Monarchs, who glory in the name of *Christian*, to retard the progress of civil and religious liberty, to block up the avenues to political knowledge, and to extinguish the moral lights of heaven? Posterity will hear, with an astonishment equal to its disgust, that the magnanimous Alexander, who had the courage not to sink before Buonaparte, when he invaded Russia, shuns the sight and prohibits the importation of certain English Newspapers, because they come from a land of liberty, and tell of its sweets. What can be more barbarous than not to perceive that "nothing in reality renders *legitimate* government so insecure as extreme ignorance in the people? It is this, which yields them an easy prey to seduction, makes them the victims of prejudice and false alarms, and so ferocious withal, that their interference in a time of public commotion, is more to be dreaded than the eruption of a volcano. The true prop of good government is opinion, the perception, on the part of the subject, of benefits resulting from it, a settled conviction, in other words, of its being a public good. Now nothing can produce or maintain that opinion but knowledge, since opinion is a form of knowledge. Of tyrannical and unlawful governments, indeed, the support is fear, to which ignorance is as congenial as it is abhorrent from the genius of a free people. Look at the popular insurrections and massacres in France: of what description of persons were those ruffians com-

posed, who, breaking forth like a torrent, overwhelmed the mounds of lawful authority? Who were the cannibals, that sported with the mangled carcases and palpitating limbs of their murdered victims, and dragged them about with their teeth in the gardens of the Tuileries? Were they refined and elaborated into these barbarities by the efforts of a too polished education? No: they were the very scum of the populace, destitute of all moral culture, whose atrocity was only equalled by their ignorance, as might well be expected, when the one was the legitimate parent of the other. Who are the persons, who in every country are most disposed to outrage and violence, but the most ignorant and uneducated of the poor? to which class also chiefly belong those unhappy beings, who are doomed to expiate their crimes at the fatal tree; few of whom, it has recently been ascertained, on accurate enquiry, are able to read, and the greater part utterly destitute of all moral or religious principle." (*R. Hall's Advantages of Knowledge to the lower Classes*, p. 8).

4. I shall conclude my Postscript, dear Sir, with the following words of the same excellent writer and admirable man, which I could wish to see engraven on the heart of the Holy Alliance:—

"These are not the times, in which it is safe for a nation to repose on the lap of ignorance. If there ever were a season, when public tranquillity was ensured by the absence of knowledge, that season is past. The convulsed state of the world will not permit unthinking stupidity to sleep, without being appalled by phantoms, and shaken by terrors, to which reason, which defines her objects and limits her apprehensions by the reality of things, is a stranger. Every thing in the condition of mankind announces the approach of some great crisis, for which nothing can prepare us but the diffusion of knowledge, probity, and the fear of the Lord. While the world is impelled with such violence in opposite directions; while a spirit of giddiness and revolt is shed upon the nations, and the seeds of mutation are so thickly sown, the improvement of the mass of the people will be our grand security, in the neglect of which the politeness, the refinement, and the knowledge accumulated in the higher orders, weak and unprotected, will be exposed to imminent danger, and perish like a garland in the grasp of popular fury. '*Wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times, and strength of salvation; the fear of the Lord is his treasure.*'" (*R. Hall's Advantages of Ignorance to the lower Classes*, p. 24.)

# CONSIDERATIONS

OF

# THE POLICE REPORT,

OF THE YEAR OF OUR LORD,

1816,

WITH A PLAN

FOR

EFFECTUALLY SUPPRESSING THE TRADE OF THIEVING.

WITH

A FEW WORDS INDUCING TOWARDS THE DISCOVERY OF PERPETUAL MOTION, PERHAPS THE ACTUAL DISCOVERY THEREOF.

LONDON:

1822.

# CONSIDERATIONS

OF

# THE POLICE REPORT,

&c. &c.

JUVENILE THIEVES—ADULT THIEVES—PROSTITUTES—BROTHELS—REWARDS—PLAN.

Note—the figures within parenthesis refer to the pages of the *Police Report.*

*London*, 1822.

UPWARDS of five years have elapsed since the promulgation of evidence taken before a Committee of the House of Commons, on the state of the Police of the Metropolis, and nothing has yet been completed to counteract the many evils prevailing throughout the whole town, from its centre to each extremity.

The newspapers daily give fresh accounts of crimes and criminals; imprisonment, transportation, and death dance through their columns with all the gaiety of amusing intelligence, to the detestable disgrace of those whose duty binds them to produce a remedy, those who live on the industry of laborious members of society, favored with the means of life, without the pains of procuring them.

To frame laws to stem the torrent of an impending danger, to assure the free enjoyment of every social blessing, and charitably to aid the helpless, are the bounden duties of such favored beings; they are the price of their luxuries, the best reason for their existence. Having said this little to stimulate those who need the goad, I shall proceed to examine the evidence: and, First, With regard to *Juvenile Depredators*, children born and bred in iniquity, who never had a sense of virtue, or of shame; taught to thieve, almost as soon as they can crawl, and beaten only when they least deserve the punishment; (see Clement's official edition of the Police

Report, 220 and 342) where there is stated, "that children are sent out begging, and if they do not bring home money, they (their parents) flog them; and that some of the young thieves are quite children, and can scarcely crawl." These are statements made on oath by credible witnesses, persons who frequently have had opportunities which enable them to vouch the truth of their assertions; it is also severally stated (in 43, 84, 153, 196, and 256) "that they have increased to an alarming number," &c. &c. &c. The cause of the increase of juvenile delinquency (as stated in the Report, 49 and 61) is attributed "to the leaving destitute orphans, infants of both sexes, the progeny of indigent and profligate parents;" and, to "a laxity of morals among those, whose duty it is to instruct and look after them." Another cause assigned is, the systematical mode in which experienced thieves employ children to commit theft; and they go to work so cleverly, that they generally evade detection; and, when they are caught, the child must be prosecuted to conviction, before the employer becomes amenable to the laws (84); and in (85) it is stated, "that prisons increase the depravity of children, rather than better their habits, which often induces magistrates to hint to the complainants to relinquish prosecution." (197) It is stated, that there are brothels devoted solely to the use of children, where grown up people cannot gain admittance. (217) It is stated, that there are bawds who make it their business to go about the town in search of pretty girls, of whom they take possession, and they actually seduce the boys before they think of the perpetration of crime. At (345) four boys had been in custody at Newgate, together, upwards of 70 times: two of them, as the head of a gang of boys, had travelled to Portsmouth to attend the fair. In (346) it is stated, that they all keep their girls, whom they term flash girls—a boy, only nine years old, had his flash girl. In (197) there is a proposal for sending 500 of these little depredators to America, the Cape of Good Hope, or the West Indies: a proposal to banish little children for crimes which, in many instances, they have been compelled to commit. Banish their fathers, their mothers, their instigators, who are more guilty than the actual perpetrators. Instigators are guilty of all the crimes committed by persons under their influence, whereas the perpetrator is guilty of such crimes only as he actually commits: upon this principle, all receivers of stolen goods are instigators, and should be visited with the utmost rigor of the law. If these destitute children were possessed of property they would immediately become wards in Chancery, their bodies taken care of, their minds enlightened, under the direction of masters specially appointed; they would be subject to the usual restraints of a public school, discretionarily flogged when deserving punishment, to rear them in

the path of virtue; but because they are poor, forlorn, "destitute," and on that account alone, more fitly the objects to be protected by an equitable judge, they are left to rot in the dens of thieves, their hearts corrupted, their souls endangered, their sorry being breathing pestilence in society.

Oh, ye philanthropic! ye Bible associators! ye vice destroyers! if the seeds of pity can find nourishment in your breasts, let them spring forth to rescue from destruction, children that have done no wrong because they knew not rectitude; children to be punished for the crimes of others, acting as agents through fear of punishment more dreadful, and more certain, than that by law affixed to the crime imputed; when even, if they knew the law, obedience would be folly. An idiot has no will, and his instigator commits the crime of which he was the instrument. A wife, acting with her husband, in some cases, is considered as having no will; yet the child of them both, (acting under their influence) is said to use his free will and discretion, though every natural feeling belies the law. (63) It is stated, as calculated in the Report of the Committee of Mendicity, there are "6000 children mendicants in the metropolis." As begging and thieving are nearly synonymous, we may fairly imagine one-third of that amount to be thieves; and to know that 2000 children, in London, are daily on the watch to perpetrate crime, must stamp some portion of infamy even on those who suffer by their depredations.

## II.—ADULT THIEVES.

This class of offenders is the main-spring of the former, and should be visited with the strictest opposition, watched day and night, and molested in every haunt, until driven of necessity to pursue the honest course of life; but so long as there exists an interest in their guilt, independent of their own, and that interest vested almost wholly in persons whose duty it is to suppress such guilt; it is absurd to suppose a total suppression on their part, having a vital interest in upholding a system of iniquity, depravity, debauchery, vice. (208) "For as I observed to Lord Loughborough, on a question by Sir William Garrow—Ah! Townsend, you have been very lucky, who gave you information? and I laughed at the question—it would not do for us to answer those questions." Certainly not; (264) the informer may sometimes be a poor half-starved thief, held in terror, whose neck is in jeopardy, and, on that account, as dangerous as the active thief, and perhaps more dangerous in some cases. The policy of encouraging a distinct class of informers, is rotten at the core, it is foreign to the spirit of England;

it tends to make every man look at his neighbour with suspicion; it abrogates from the heart that warmth of friendship, which is congenial to the well-being of every manly nation, and substitutes a civil formality, which is both cold and selfish. Without doubt there are many cases wherein the informer is so interested, that he would rather nurse the criminal than check the crime; and though his employer will not degrade himself by malpractices, yet he knows nothing of the matter, but, through the medium of this informer, which informer may employ a being still more grovelling than himself, who perhaps would not hesitate to instigate his victim; and if this victim is taken, tried, condemned and executed, the country gains nothing by his death; but it sustains a loss greater than the public example will commensurate. When a thief is sent out of the country or out of the world, there is always another ready to succeed him in his particular branch of the trade, and fresh recruits are brought in to fill up the rear. (334.) "The town is divided into walks amongst the pickpockets;" it is also stated (264) "that the thieves, of all the large towns, have a regular correspondence with each other, which facts clearly prove, that they carry on their trade with as much regularity as the members of a creditable business.

In (51) it is stated, "that there exist 8000 places in the metropolis, notoriously open for the reception of stolen goods. Now supposing, on an average, that each place makes 100*l.* in the year by nefarious traffic, the sum total is 800,000*l.* As there is no statement, in the Police Report, of the number of brothels, I place them also at 8000, that, at an average, they make 200*l.* in the year, their income will be 1,600,000*l.*, which, added to the 800,000*l.*, makes a total of 2,400,000*l.*: the tithe of which sum of money is not to be despised in the eyes of those who have it in their power to foster such seminaries of vice.

In (71) there is evidence of the existence of "flash houses," licensed public-houses, where notorious thieves assemble, with whom officers of the police mingle, not expressly for the purpose of suppressing crime, but to enable them to catch criminals. If these places are not traps for the unwary, they are most certainly dens of iniquity which should not exist; they must tend to the increase of criminals, as surely as brothels tend to the increase of prostitutes.

## III.—PROSTITUTES.

(Police Report, page 33.)

"Has any plan ever struck you as feasible, by which that dis-

grace to London, to its police, and its morals, the crowds of women, some in a state of intoxication, infesting the streets and annoying the passengers during the best part of the night, could be prevented?" "It would be ten times worse if the police officers and watchmen did not take them up, or drive them away, as they do at present—that might be done certainly more universally than it is, but the gaols would be filled without hope of reforming them, to a degree that would not be expedient. The punishment by law is long imprisonment (for corporal punishment of another kind, with women, is out of the question), and the instant they come out they must be committed again, for this degraded condition has no resource, even to friends or employment." Also (341) "You have stated in your evidence, that you have seen the watchmen abuse the women of the town, and beat them for not giving them money?" "Yes."—"Do you not think that this conduct of the watchmen, in levying a tax upon those unfortunate persons, and of course tolerating and winking at their riotous and disorderly conduct in the streets, is a public nuisance?" "No doubt of it. I think many prostitutes upon the town are servant girls, who have been driven there through the caprice of their masters or mistresses, who frequently discharge them, and refuse to give them any character. I have had many complaints from female servants personally to me upon that subject, I may say two or three hundred."—"Are many of the lower servants, in the metropolis, to be considered as belonging to that class?" "No—not while they are servants; but I am afraid there are many servants driven to that course of life by the reason I have stated."

Here are causes assigned for the increase of prostitutes in the streets—the interested encouragement of watchmen—and the caprice of master or mistress who refuse to give a character, which compels the servant to resort to the streets for subsistence. If a master or mistress was compellable once to appear before a magistrate, and there give on oath the character of the discharged servant, each party would be benefited, and perhaps no action for false character could be brought.

A plan is demanded to prevent prostitutes infesting the streets. Can it be supposed, unless harsh measures are resorted to, that they will be prevented while houses are open for their reception; houses notoriously open for the express purpose of fornication, the doors of which bear the features of identity, as conspicuously as the entrance to a cathedral or a parish church? It is cruelty in the extreme to punish these poor creatures for crime which is unequivocally tolerated. It is as harsh and uncharitable, as to chastise a starving individual for eating the food you have placed in his hand. If the brothel was suppressed, women would not then find it to be their interest to infest the streets.

In a much approved treatise on Police, corporal punishment is recommended on proof of an overt act to commit fornication: this would look like something beyond human jurisprudence. The crime itself, abstractedly considered, without reference to future consequence, is an offence properly cognizable only at the tribunal of God; and for earthly courts to arrogate to themselves a celestial jurisdiction, is presumption which but few dare venture to defend. An inferior court in England is not allowed to trespass on the jurisdiction of its superior, then why should this superior presume to sit in judgment with God, whose superiority is far above comparison?

When a woman brings into the world a bastard, she is amenable to the laws on bastardy, which tend principally to exonerate the parish from the expense of maintaining such a child, on the just principle, that every father should provide for his own offspring; but the law does not warrant an action for damages on the behalf of these unfavored infants, against their reputed parents, "For, that they gave me life, deprived of the just rights of other good subjects of our Lord the King, and therefore I pray damages for the injuries I sustain." No—such law is not legalised; therefore, in justice, how can that be punished criminally, which is not allowed to be a civil injury as against those who have most reason to complain? criminal punishment, I believe, in all cases, implies a civil injury.

## IV.—BROTHELS.

(Police Report, pp. 72, 73, &c.)

Evidence appears, which need not have been on oath, to convince almost the most incredulous, of the existence of brothels throughout the metropolis; they are so notorious as not to be unknown, even amongst the modest, and calling God to witness the truth of such a fact gives to the oath a semblance of blasphemy.

(61) There is evidence of licensing a notorious brothel, which, in the words in evidence is "a very respectable house, in point of appearance, but nobody can doubt for what purpose the house is kept," &c. In England there are laws made purposely for the suppression of brothels; and yet, it is told, on the oath of the chief clerk of a magistrate, that a place of this description is licensed in his district: a monopoly is granted by law for the express purpose of preventing such places from trafficking in spirituous liquors; and here is an instance coming to the knowledge of magistrates, which directly tends to the subversion of that law, and the only extenuation pleaded is, that it hath a respectable appearance—Extenuation!

Rather aggravation—giving to the Devil a fair countenance—making that appear tolerable, which, in itself, is infernal. Gentlemen, you that are of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, why does such a place exist? Does it exist for your own convenience, for the convenience of your wives, your children, or your servants? The existence of such a place cannot be denied, then why does it exist? Its existence is open and notorious, then why does it exist? There are laws made for its suppression, then why does it exist? Almost every body can assert, that such a place is used for such certain purposes, and many can swear to the truth of that assertion; yet, ye vice-destroying gentlemen cannot find the means for its destruction. Perhaps some of you can say, that to destroy these houses might subvert the liberty of the subject; on the contrary it would expand that liberty, give freedom, which these houses shackle and depress. Women of fair fame hardly dare venture in the streets alone, fearful to encounter the slander of malicious foes, or the insults of rude men. (34)

There is another description of brothel, of which the bare knowledge of their existence should make the blood of fathers curdle in their veins. (217) "But the way in which girls are brought into this sort of mischief is by old bawds going about the town and laying their hands on every girl who has a pretty face." Here is evidence that girls are led into iniquity; perhaps they are clothed and supported, so long as their charms will fascinate the gay and giddy, and then suffered to depart, likely not without a promise to pay for the clothes they have upon their backs. Is there a man, in this great town, who can imagine that it will be his lot to have a child thus snatched from his bosom, to be ruined and disgraced for ever, and not feel acutely, stings of horror that such destiny is replete? And, to show that none are exempt in these matters, I quote evidence which may be relied on implicitly. (209) "Certainly the flash-house can do the officer no harm, if he does not make harm of it; if an officer goes there and acts foolishly, and does any thing improper, the same as for me to go to-night to all the brothels (I believe I know all of them); but was there ever any one who would say that I went and asked to have a glass of wine, and so on, there, and that no money should be asked, what sort of a servant should I be? I ought to be turned out, and never employed in the department of the Police again. Who has been more in confidence than I have been with the younger part of society of the highest rank? How often have I gone to brothels, there to talk over a little accident that might happen to A.'s son or B.'s son, or my Lord this or the other's son? But the consequence was, not a morsel of liberty, or how would Townsend act upon these functions of authority, and get what the parties asked me to do; no, he

must go there full of power, with great distance towards the keeper of the brothel; and, as to the poor wretches, *in many cases*, I have been employed to bring daughters home to their parents, *persons of great respect and consequence*: we have not found them at one place, but at another; we have taken them home, and there, there has been an end to it. The respectable young men, however liberally educated, are often very great fools, for they often subject themselves to vast inconveniences through their own misconduct, by committing themselves ridiculously and absurdly, going to brothels and getting into scrapes; and what has been the consequence? The consequence is—Townsend, what is to be done?—sometimes with the father, and sometimes with the party himself; but how would this thing be executed, if I were to attempt any thing like what I stated before?—*No, I will take upon myself to say, I never drank a glass of wine with these sort of characters, because it would not do.* In order to execute my duty properly, I must keep them at a proper distance; and it is only a foolish man that would attempt it." This evidence implies something beyond the bare signification of its words; it expressly states, that the children of persons of great consequence are often brought into infamy and disgrace; and, by implication, I deduce the existence of some kind of system that upholds brothels in their impunity. The deponent strenuously asserts, that he never in his life took a glass of wine in such places, that would enable the keepers to take liberties: and this he asserts without being asked the question. I fully credit the assertion, and it evidently proves the existence of such practices, or why need "Townsend" think it necessary to exculpate himself (not from a direct charge, but) from the mere possibility of a chance that such an idea might have been entertained in the minds of some of the committee? If the existence of such practices can be deduced, it may be imagined that wine is not always wanted; and that an equivalent will prove acceptable, and through the medium of an agent, sub-agent, and deputy sub-agent, a system is interwoven which even law cannot unravel, upholding brothels' keepers in the unmolested enjoyment of a very lucrative business. If the magistrates were determined to suppress these houses, as brothels, they could not long exist; but so long as public opinion tolerates their existence, no executive power will interfere without a direct application.

## V.—REWARDS.

(Police Report, page 204.)

EVIDENCE is thus:—"I have very great doubt whether there is

an officer on the establishment who has ever made 30*l.* a year by rewards. There are *eight* sessions in the year; taking it for granted that the officer should convict two capital felons, for a burglary or a highway robbery, each sessions, which I am certain they do not; because, in many cases, the jury will take off the burglary, and the officer is left in the lurch; therefore it is a robbery, not burglariously breaking and entering, but stealing only; then the officers apply to the judge for what they term their expenses, which they are allowed, which is somewhere about 4*s.* a day for their time; therefore, I am perfectly satisfied they cannot get 30*l.* a year, hardly ever 20*l.* perhaps. I should think not one of them." (211) "How many criminals were convicted?" I have known 220 tried at one sessions; I have convicted myself from 13 to 25, for returning from transportation, at one sessions."

By act of parliament there is 20*l.* reward on conviction of every offender returning from transportation; therefore there must be a very great error in this conflicting evidence, or rewards must be very illiberally distributed, as the annual average of the above convictions would entitle the prosecutor to 3000*l.*; and this is only one of the offences to which rewards are attached, and is less, by one-half, than those on convictions for robbing on the highway, house-breaking, and clipping the coin of the realm.

(7) There is evidence relative to the practice of offering large rewards by private individuals, and (14) thus—"You would be guided in giving the assistance of a Bow-street officer, a good deal, by the power of the party to pay the expenses of the officer?" "By the disposition of the parties to pay the expenses; but, to the poor, or in cases purely of a public nature, no charge is ever countenanced by the magistrates;" "purely of a public nature:" are not all robberies purely of a public nature? "But to the poor:" can it be said that there is one law for the poor and another for the rich?—this idea is subversive of liberty, tending to oppress the rich and enslave the poor, and if countenanced in one instance, why not always? Officers should be rewarded for diligent services, but let not the premium emanate immediately from the person robbed, lest extortion be the consequence.

## VI.—PLAN.

THE mainspring of the proposed Plan for suppressing the trade of thieving, is the mode to be adopted for remunerating all persons connected in the Police Establishment, either as magistrates, officers, constables, &c. They should have a fixed salary, and an averaged salary, the latter of which will act as the reward for the

faithful discharge of their duty; for instance, a certain sum of money should be raised to defray all expenses of police; from this sum should be drawn the fixed salaries of all the servants connected therewith, and all other expenses whatsoever relating thereto, with a proportion, if not the whole loss sustained by any individual robbed, when the thief is not taken, nor the property restored, and the surplus should be divided amongst the servants in proportion to their fixed salaries. This is the substance and sum total of the plan proposed, and now I shall examine it, and I hope to the satisfaction of the reader.

The first thing to be considered is the sum to defray the expense, which should be, in the first instance, fixed to a certainty, decreasing in proportion to the enormity of crime committed.

Secondly, the fixed salaries to be drawn therefrom will point out the exact interest each servant has in the surplus, forming the average salary.

Thirdly, all rewards given by act of parliament, &c.; this will suppress that horrid idea encompassed in the term "blood money," as every body connected with the police will strictly watch the conduct of him who shall receive a reward, as it will proportionably lessen the incomes of every one connected with the police.

Fourthly, all expenses of witnesses, &c. at the sessions, &c.; this will prevent the committing for trial without strong probable cause of suspicion, and perhaps the ignominy of a public trial attaching to an innocent individual.

Fifthly, a proportion, or the whole, of the loss sustained by any person, when the thief is not taken, nor the property restored; this will act as a stimulus, on the principle that the fear of losing something in possession, is at least as stimulative as the hope of gaining something that never was in possession; for the moment the sum certain is fixed; all persons connected with the police have a vested interest in the whole, subject to future contingencies. Thus every body attached to the police will be on the alert to prevent crime, as it will be evidently the interest not to let a criminal go unpunished *in the first instance*, lest by increasing the number of criminals it may tend to diminish the annual income to no more than the fixed salary; so, by rendering conviction *certain*, crime will be prevented.

The amount of the sum should be annually determined by parliament, so that it may correspond with the probable expenditure, which will, it is hoped, annually decrease.

This is the plan proposed, which can be applied immediately (with but little alteration of existing laws) to stem the evils which are increasing, perhaps to the downfall of the country.

# A FEW WORDS

## INDUCING TOWARDS THE DISCOVERY

OF

# PERPETUAL MOTION,

### PERHAPS THE ACTUAL DISCOVERY THEREOF.

*London, March,* 1822.

WHAT is meant by the term "Perpetual Motion?"—is it supposed that there is an undiscovered substance in the world, that will of itself perpetually move, with as little apparent cause as that which actuates the needle in becoming motionless in one particular position? Or, is it to be found in the combined re-action of mechanical powers?

The first idea is stamped with a degree of probability, by the mystery of the needle; yet I imagine the latter is relied on with the greater confidence of mankind, and is the pith of the following few words.

It is well known that the weight of a pendulum will almost regain the level from which it descended, losing a little space at every vibration, until it becomes motionless; if of itself it could exceed or even regain the level, doubtless it would become a Perpetual Motion.

To find a power that will aid the motion of the pendulum, and in conjunction renew its strength, is what is wanted to create Perpetual Motion.

What I shall endeavor to explain will at least induce towards the discovery of this power.

The principal parts of the machinery about to be shown, are in number three.

A Vibrating Pendulum,
A Revolving Pendulum, and
A Tubular Lever.

A vibrating pendulum in motion describes a segment of a circle, and returns on the same segment, and at every vibration its described segment decreases.

A revolving pendulum is composed of two or more pendulums, united at their lighter extremities, there revolving on an axis, the heavier extremities being placed at equal distances in the outer

circle; this I believe is what is termed a fly wheel when affixed to hand mills, &c.

The tubular lever, is the chief instigator of the whole, and must contain a weight apportioned to the weights of the two pendulums.

Fix the lever on a cross axis, thus, on an axis within a circle, the circle on an axis at opposite angles, thereby is given to each extremity of the lever a revolving power of motion; attach one extremity of the lever to the outer circle of a revolving pendulum, the other extremity confine within the bar of the vibrating pendulum, thus combined, the effect to be produced when put in motion will be this—

The two pendulums will guide the motion of the lever, which then partakes of the power of a pendulum, giving fresh impulse at every vibration of the pendulum, and every half revolution of the revolving pendulum; for as each extremity of the lever rises, the weight within falls to the opposite extremity, and gives fresh impulse to the whole: thus (if my idea is correct) will be produced motion perpetual, that is to say perpetual so long as the materials of which it is made will hold together.

I have given this short description merely by way of example, as I believe there are several ways of combining these three powers, so as to produce perpetual motion, if my idea on the subject is correct.

The lever may contain mercury or a solid orb of heavy substance, and if the tube be exhausted of air the weight will pass more freely, and certainly increase the power of the lever.

# CORRECTED REPORT

OF

# THE SPEECH

OF THE

## RIGHT HONORABLE GEORGE CANNING,

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

25th APRIL, 1822,

ON

## LORD JOHN RUSSELL's MOTION

FOR

## A REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

---

1822.

# MR. CANNING'S SPEECH.

In obeying the call which the House has done me the honor to make upon me, I should be unwilling to occupy their attention for any length of time, upon a subject with respect to which my opinions are sufficiently notorious, were it not for the pointed manner in which I have been alluded to by the Noble Lord[1] who has lately addressed them. That Noble Lord has challenged me either to support my old opinions by new arguments, or to abandon them. He describes himself as having been converted by my former arguments against Parliamentary Reform, to an opinion in favor of it; and in his own conversion to a creed which he had before rejected, he fancies himself entitled to carry me with him, and to make me a proselyte against myself. Those arguments of mine which have produced this unfortunate and unforeseen effect upon the Noble Lord's understanding, have been long before the public; and I have no disposition to complain that the Noble Lord has referred to them as pointedly and particularly as if they had been uttered in the Debate of this night. It was natural too, perhaps, that the Noble Lord, with the ardor of a convert, should flatter himself that his new-born zeal would extend to all around him: but I must beg leave to say, that the Noble Lord has carried his expectations a little too far, when he desires me to read my own speeches backwards; and to avow myself, if not a confirmed democrat, at least a friend to moderate reform. With the permission of the House, I will state, in as few words as possible, the grounds on which I continue to hold the same opinions which I have heretofore professed; and to draw from them the same conclusion.

Never, Sir, could those opinions be advanced under more favorable auspices—never could a conviction of their truth and justness be expressed with better assurance of a favorable reception than

[1] Lord Folkstone.

on the present occasion; when we have just been informed by the Noble Marquis [1] in presenting a petition for Parliamentary Reform, that the whole body of the nobility, of the gentry, of the clergy, of the magistracy, of the leading and opulent commercial classes—in short, that the great mass of the property and intelligence of the Country is arrayed against that question. To this singular and valuable admission of the Noble Marquis (singular as to the opportunity chosen for declaring it, and the more valuable for that singularity) have been added others not less striking, on the part of the Noble proposer of the motion. That Noble Lord,[2] while contending for a change which he declares to be necessary for the salvation of the State, but which he admits to be a change serious and extensive in its nature, has acknowledged, that under the existing system the Country has grown in power, in wealth, in knowledge, and in general prosperity. He has detailed accurately and laboriously the particulars of this gradual and sensible improvement; and he has farther acknowledged, that in proportion to the progress of that improvement a silent moral change has been operated upon the conduct of this House—which is now, he allows, greatly more susceptible of the influence of popular feeling and of the impressions of public opinion, than it was a century ago. Nay, he has gone farther still. He has in anticipation of an argument which I perhaps might have used, if the Noble Lord had not suggested it, but which I am glad to take at his hands—expressed a doubt, or at least has shown it to be very doubtful, whether a more implicit obsequiousness to popular opinion on the part of the House of Commons, would produce unqualified good; —avowing his own belief that if the composition of the House had been altered at the Revolution, the purposes of the Revolution would not have been accomplished—the House of Hanover would never have been seated upon the throne. The composition of the House of Commons is now precisely what it was at the time of the Revolution. Whatever change there may be in its temper, is, by the Noble Lord's acknowledgment, towards a more ready obedience to the public opinion. But if the House of Commons had, at the time of the Revolution, been implicitly obedient to the people; in other words, if the House had been then entirely composed of Members popularly elected—that great event, to which I am as willing as the Noble Lord to attribute the establishment of our liberties, would, according to the Noble Lord's declared belief, have been in all probability defeated.

Surely these admissions of the Noble Lord are in no small degree at variance with his motion. Surely such admissions, if not

[1] Marquis of Tavistock. [2] Lord John Russell.

ample enough of themselves to overbalance the direct arguments which the Noble Lord has, in the subsequent part of his speech, brought forward in the support of that motion, do at least relieve me from much of the difficulty and odium which might otherwise have belonged to an opposition to Parliamentary Reform. If I contend in behalf of the constitution of the House of Commons such as it is, I contend at least for no untried, no discredited, no confessedly pernicious establishment. I contend for a House of Commons, the spirit of which, whatever be its frame, has, without any forcible alteration, gradually, but faithfully, accommodated itself to the progressive spirit of the Country; and in the frame of which, if an alteration such as the Noble Lord now proposes, had been made a hundred and thirty years ago, the House of Commons of that day would, by his own confession, have been disabled from accomplishing the glorious Revolution, and securing the fruits of it to their posterity.

Thus fortified, I have the less difficulty in meeting the Noble Lord's motion in front—in giving, at once, a plain and direct negative to the general Resolution, which is the basis of his whole plan. I do not acknowledge the existence of the necessity, which by that Resolution is declared to exist, for taking into consideration, with a view to alteration and amendment, the present state of the representation of the people in the House of Commons. Knowing as I do, that what is in the contemplation of many persons who are calling for Reform, could not be adopted; and not knowing what may be the ideas and designs of others;—feeling an equal repugnance, both from what I know and what I do not know upon this subject, to a doubtful and equivocal proposition, which would have the effect of binding this House to enter into the consideration of an endless succession of schemes for purposes altogether indefinite; I object in the very outset to the Noble Lord's general Resolution, independently of any objection which I may feel to his particular plan.

Not, however, that the plan itself is not abundantly fertile of objections. So far as I understand it, that plan is little more than to make an addition of one hundred members to this House, to be returned by the counties and larger towns; and to open the way for this augmentation, by depriving each of the smaller boroughs of one half of the elective franchise which they now enjoy. This plan the Noble Lord has introduced and recommended with an enumeration of names whose authority he assumes to be in favor of it. Amongst those names is that of Mr. Pitt. But the House must surely be aware that the plan brought forward by Mr. Pitt differed widely, not only in detail, but in principle, from that propounded on this occasion by the Noble Lord. True it is

that the object of Mr. Pitt's plan was, like that of the Noble Lord's, to add one hundred Members to this House: but this object was to be attained without the forcible abolition of any existing right of election. Mr. Pitt proposed to establish a fund of 1,000,000*l.* to be applied to the *purchase* of franchises from such decayed boroughs as should be *willing* to sell them. This fund was to accumulate at compound interest, till an adequate inducement was provided for the voluntary surrender, by the proprietors, of such elective franchises as it might be thought expedient to abolish. There was throughout the whole of Mr. Pitt's plan a studious avoidance of coercion; a careful preservation of vested interests; and a fixed determination not to violate existing rights in accomplishing its object. It was hoped that by these means every sense of injury or danger would be excluded, and that the change in view would be brought about by a gradual process, resembling the silent and insensible operation of time. Here then, I repeat it, is a difference of the most essential kind between the two propositions of Mr. Pitt and of the Noble Lord; a difference, not superficial, but fundamental; as complete indeed as the difference between concession and force, or between respect for property and spoliation. I am not, however, bound nor at all prepared to contend for the intrinsic or absolute excellence of Mr. Pitt's plan; and still less to engage my own support to such a plan, if it were to be brought forward at the present time. But placing it in fair comparison with the Noble Lord's, I must entreat the House to bear in mind that Mr. Pitt never lost sight of the obligation to preserve as well as to amend; that he proposed not to enforce any reluctant surrender; nor to sacrifice any other than voluntary victims on the altar of practical improvement.

The Noble Lord has cited other grave authorities in favor of his projected Reform. Now, I hold in my hand an extract from a work which probably will be recognised, as I read it, but the title of which I will not disclose in the first instance. Hear the opinion of an eminent writer on the right of Parliament to interfere with the elective franchise.—"As to cutting away the rotten boroughs, I am as much offended as any man, at seeing so many of them under the direct influence of the Crown, or at the disposal of private persons. Yet I own I have both doubts and apprehensions in regard to the remedy you propose. I shall be charged, perhaps, with an unusual want of political intrepidity, when I honestly confess to you, that I am startled at the idea of so extensive an amputation. In the first place, I question the power *de jure* of the Legislature, to disfranchise a number of boroughs, upon the general ground of improving the Constitution."—"I consider it as equivalent to robbing the parties concerned of their freehold,

of their birth-right. I say, that although this birth-right may be forfeited, or the exercise of it suspended in particular cases, it cannot be taken away by a general law, for any real or pretended purpose of improving the Constitution."—Is it from Sir Robert Filmer,—is it from the works of some blind, servile, bigotted, Tory writer, that I quote the passage which I have now read? No; it is from an author whose name, indeed, I am not enabled to declare, but the shadow of whose name is inseparably connected, in our minds, with an ardent if not intemperate zeal in the cause of political freedom. It is Junius, who thus expresses his fears on the subject of interfering with the existing franchises of election, even for the purpose of effecting what he deems, with the Noble Lord, a beneficial change in the construction of the House of Commons.

The plan devised by Mr. Pitt, and the sentiments of this celebrated writer, equally furnish a contrast to the proposition of the Noble Lord: which is in effect forcibly to take away the elective franchise from one body of the people for the purpose of giving it to another; and to inflict forfeiture without guilt and without compensation.

But, even if I, and others who think like me, could be won over to this plan, by its vaunted moderation,—by the circumstance of its going only half the length of the more sweeping reform deprecated by Junius,—it does much surprise me that the Noble Lord should imagine that such half measures would appear satisfactory to reformers. Surely, surely that class of persons upon whom the Noble Lord reckons for support, and whom he considers as having of late so greatly increased in numbers, look for a very different measure of alteration, from that which seems to bound the Noble Lord's present intentions. How happens it, for instance, that the Noble Lord, notwithstanding the accuracy of research with which he has apparently studied the subject in all its parts, has omitted any mention of Burgage Tenures? He cannot but know that it is against that species of election that the popular clamour has been most loudly directed. Yet, amidst all the Noble Lord's enumeration of rights and modes of election, of freehold and copyhold, of large towns, and small towns, and counties, and villages, the words "Burgage Tenure," have never once escaped his lips! Does the Noble Lord mean to take away *burgage tenure*, or does he not? If he does not, I will so far most cordially join with him: but let not the Noble Lord, in that case, expect the support of those reformers with whom he has recently allied himself. If he intends to pursue a double or a doubtful course; if he proposes to mitigate his violation of franchise in the hands of the present holders by taking only half away, and hopes by giving only

half, to propitiate the new acquirers,—it may be very presumptuous in me to pronounce an opinion upon a scheme which the Noble Lord must no doubt have turned and viewed in every light before he made up his mind to adopt it,—but I do venture to opine, that in thus endeavouring to keep terms with both parties, he will in the end satisfy neither. The one will be as little contented with what is granted to them, as the other will be reconciled to what they lose. Needs there any further argument to show that whatever may be the feasibility of other plans of reform, this of the Noble Lord is one which cannot possibly be useful to any purpose, because it cannot be palatable to any party?

It being plain then to demonstration that the Noble Lord's plan cannot succeed, the House must prepare itself, if his first Resolution should be carried, to enter immediately upon the discussion of a variety of schemes;—upon a concurrence of opinions in favor of any one of which, it would be vain to speculate. Plan will follow plan; all unlike each other in every respect, except in their tendency to destroy the present frame of the Constitution. It is affirmed, indeed, that a great change has lately taken place in the public mind; that the sentiment in favor of reform is diffused more widely, while the violence and exaggeration of that sentiment in particular minds is much abated; that more people wish for a reform; but that there is a greater disposition to be satisfied with a moderate one;—that in proportion as a practical alteration has become more generally desired, the wild and visionary theories heretofore prevailing, have been relinquished and discountenanced. This may possibly be so: but on what ground am I to rest my belief of it? I have seen nothing in the course of the last two years, during which the Noble Lord [1] on the floor, has been meditating on my Speech at Liverpool, to lead me to think that those who two years ago entertained wild and visionary notions of reform have since relinquished them. If my speech was, as the Noble Lord declares, calculated only to make proselytes to the persuasion that the present House of Commons is inadequate to the discharge of its functions, and if such be in consequence the views which that Noble Lord has adopted, how can he entertain the notion that the small alterations proposed by the Noble mover will satisfy genuine reformers?—Let him be assured that he must go far deeper into democracy before he can hope to satisfy the cravings of reform; nay without the hope of satisfying them,—though the constitution may be sacrificed in the experiment.

Sir, if the House looks only to the various plans of reform which have at different times been laid upon its table, not by visionary specu-

[1] Lord Folkstone.

latists, but by able and enlightened men, some of the ornaments of this and the other House of Parliament, how faint and flat is the Noble Lord's[1] present plan in comparison with them? Let us take for example that one of the plans which had the greatest concurrence of opinions, and the greatest weight of authority in its favor. A petition was presented to this House in 1793, which may perhaps be considered as the most advised and authentic exposition of the principles of Parliamentary reform, that ever has been submitted to the consideration of this House or of the public. Those principles are developed by the petitioners, with singular clearness and force, and expressed in admirable language. It was presented by a Noble Person, now one of the chief lights of the other House of Parliament, as the petition of the "Friends of the people, associated for the purpose of obtaining a reform in Parliament." In that petition, certain distinct propositions are laid down as the basis of a reform, which, to my recollection, have never yet been disclaimed, either on the part of the petitioners, or of those who have succeeded them in the same pursuit. The petitioners complain, in the first place, that there is *not an uniform right of voting*;—secondly, that *the right of voting is in too small bodies*;—thirdly, that *many great bodies are excluded from voting*;—and, fourthly, they complain of *the protracted duration of Parliaments.*[2] Does the Noble Lord believe that all these notions are forgotten? that no persons still cherish them as the only means of effecting the salvation of the country?—or, does the Noble Lord subscribe to them all,—although he may not think this the time for pressing them upon the House?

For my part, Sir, I value the system of Parliamentary representation, for that very want of uniformity which is complained of in this petition; for the variety of rights of election. I conceive, that to establish one uniform right would inevitably be to exclude some important interests from the advantage of being represented

[1] Lord John Russell.

[2] Extract of the petition of the 'Friends of the People,' presented to the House of Commons, May 6, 1793:—

"Your Petitioners complain, that the *number* of representatives assigned to the different counties, is grossly *disproportioned* to their comparative extent, population, and trade.

"Your Petitioners complain, that the Elective Franchise is *partially and unequally distributed*, and is, in many instances, committed to bodies of men of such very limited numbers, that the majority of your honorable house is elected by less than fifteen thousand Electors, which, even if the male adults in the Kingdom be estimated at so low a number as three millions, is not more than the two-hundredth part of the people to be represented.

"Your Petitioners complain, that the right of voting is regulated by no *uniform* or rational principle.

in this House. At all events the Noble Lord's plan does not cure this objection. The rights of voting would remain as various after the adoption of his plan, as before;—and a new variety would be added to them. Even of burgage tenures, the most obnoxious right of all, and the most indignantly reprobated by the petition of 1793, the Noble Lord would carefully preserve the principle,—only curtailing, by one half, its operation.

It must be admitted that this alleged defect of variety in rights of voting, was much more directly dealt with by the Hon. Member for Durham,[1] in the last Session; when he brought forward, with great ability, and with the utmost temper and moderation, his specific plan of reform. That hon. gentleman proposed to treat the constitution of the House of Commons as a *rasa tabula*, and to reconstruct the system of representation altogether upon an uniform plan,—abating without scruple every right and interest that stood in his way. His plan differed as materially from that of the Noble Lord, as the Noble Lord's differs from that of Mr. Pitt, and from the project of 1793. I do not mean to say (I shall not be so misunderstood, I trust) that I approved therefore of the hon. member for Durham's plan; or thought it either practicable or tolerable. Certainly, no conqueror of an invaded country ever parcelled out with a more unsparing hand, the franchises and properties of individuals and communities. But that plan had at least one merit which the Noble Lord's has not; it cured the alleged evil of diversified rights, and tended to produce the desired *uniformity* of representaion.

Then, Sir, as to the duration of Parliament. Triennial Parliaments, it is averred by the petitioners of 1793, would be greatly preferable to Septennial. The House would become a more express image of its Constituents, by being more frequently sent back to them for election; deriving, like the giant of old, fresh vigour from every fresh contact with its parent earth. But the Noble Lord, if I understand him rightly, admits that this particular reform would be rather an aggravation of inconveniences,—other defects in the constitution remaining unchanged. Nothing indeed can be more clear than this proposition. One of the main objections to close representation, at present, is the advantage which

"Your Petitioners complain, that the exercise of the Elective Franchise is only renewed *once in seven years*.

"Is it fitting that Yorkshire and Rutland should have an equal rank in the scale of County Representation?

"Your Petitioners affirm, that seventy of your honorable members, are returned by thirty-five places, where the right of voting is vested in *burgage* and other *tenures* of a similar description."—*Parl. History*, vol. xxx. p. 789.

[1] Mr. Lambton.

the member for a close borough has over one chosen by a popular election. The dissolution of Parliament sends the popular representative back to a real and formidable trial at the bar of his constituents. For the representative of a close borough there is no trial at all; he sits still, and is returned without any struggle or inquiry. It is obvious that the proportion of this comparative disadvantage must be aggravated by every repetition of a general election.

But further. What is the original sin of Septennial Parliaments?—Why, that the Septennial Bill was a violent measure. Granted: it was so. But this allegation, however just, applies only to one enactment of the act, not to its general policy. The violence of the Septennial Act did not consist in the prolongation of the duration of Parliaments *in time to come*: for to do *that*, the supreme authority of the state was undoubtedly as competent, as it was to shorten the duration of Parliaments by the Triennial Act, some twenty years before. The violence consisted in prolonging the duration of the *then existing* Parliament,—in extending to seven years, a trust confided but for three. This, and this alone, is the questionable part of that act,—questionable, I mean, as to right. I will not now inquire how far the political necessities of the time justified so strong an act of power. It is quite enough, for any practical purpose, that the evil, whatever it was, is irremediable; that its effect is gone by; that the repeal of the septennial act now cannot undo it; and that, therefore, how grave soever the charge against the framers of the act might be, for the arbitrary injustice of its immediate operation (a question, into the discussion of which I have said I will not enter), the repeal of it would have no tendency to cure the vice of that enactment which has given the septennial act its ill name; but would only get rid of that part of it which is blameless at least, if not (as I confess I think it) beneficial in its operation. But however much the duration of Parliaments may be entitled to a separate discussion, it is not to that point that the Noble Lord has called our attention to-night. A change in the constitution of the House of Commons, is the object of the Noble Lord's Motion.

That such a change is necessary, the Noble Lord asserts,—and I deny. I deny altogether the existence of any such practical defect in the present constitution of this house, as requires the adoption of so fearful an experiment. The Noble Lord has attempted to show the necessity of such a change by enumerating certain questions on which this house has, on sundry occasions, decided against the Noble Mover's opinion, and against the politics and interests of that party in the state, of which the Noble Mover is so conspicuous an ornament. But if such considerations

be sufficient to unsettle an ancient and established form of political constitution, how could any constitution—any free constitution—exist for six months? While human nature continues the same,—the like divisions will arise in every free state; the like conflict of interests and opinions; the like rivalry for office; the like contention for power. A popular assembly always has been and always will be exposed to the operation of a party-feeling, arraying its elements and influencing its decisions;—in modern as in ancient times; in Great Britain, in this our day, as heretofore in Athens or in Rome. No imaginable alteration in the mode of election can eradicate this vice—if it be a vice;—or can extinguish that feeling, be it good or bad, which mixes itself largely in every debate upon the public affairs of a nation,—the feeling of affection or disfavor towards the persons in whose hands is the conduct of those affairs. I am not saying that this is a proper and laudable feeling: I am not contending that partiality ought to influence judgment; still less that when judgment and partiality are at variance, the latter ought, in strict duty, to preponderate. I am not affirming that in the discussion of the question—"What has been done?"—the question—"Who did it?"—ought silently to dictate, or even to modify, the answer;—that the case should be nothing, and the men every thing. I say no such thing. But I do say that while men are men, popular assemblies, get them together how you will, will be liable to such influence. I say that in discussing in a popular assembly the particular acts of a government, the consideration of the general character of that government, and the conflicting partialities which lead some men to favor it, and others to aim at its subversion, will, sometimes openly and avowedly, at other times insensibly even to the disputants themselves, control opinions and votes, and correct, or pervert (as it may be) the specific decision. I say that, for instance, in the discussion upon the Walcheren Expedition, which has been more than once selected as an example of undue influence and partiality, there was notoriously another point at issue beside the specific merits of the case; and that point was—whether the then administration should or should not be dismissed from the service of their country? Never, perhaps, was the struggle pushed farther than on that occasion; and that vote substantially decided the question "in what hands should be placed the administration of affairs."—I am not saying that this was right in the particular instance I am not saying that it is right in principle. But right or wrong, such a mode of thinking and acting is, I am afraid, essentially in the very nature of all popular governments; and most particularly so in that of the most free.

The Noble Lord has himself stated that in the instance of the

Revolution the Parliament did wisely in setting at nought the immediate feelings of its Constituents. There cannot indeed be the slightest doubt that had the nation been polled in 1688, the majority would have been found adverse to the change that was then effected in the government: but Parliament, acting in its higher and larger capacity, decided for the people's interests against their prejudices.—It is not true, therefore, that the House of Commons is necessarily defective, because it may not instantly respond to every impression of the people.

In the year 1811, I myself divided in a minority of about forty against an overwhelming majority, on the question relating to the depreciation of the currency. It would be idle to deny that the majority, which sturdily denied the fact of that depreciation, then spoke the sentiments of the country at large; they certainly did so; but who will now affirm that it would have been a misfortune if the then prevailing sense of the country had been less faithfully represented in the votes of this house?—What a world of error and inconvenience should we have avoided, by a salutary discrepancy, at that time, between the constituent and the representative! Eight years afterwards, but unluckily after eight years' additional growth of embarrassment,—in 1819, the principles which had found but about forty supporters in 1811, were adopted unanimously, first by a committee of this house, and then by this house itself. But the country was much slower in coming back from the erroneous opinions which the decision of this house in 1811 had adopted and confirmed. In 1819, as in 1811, if London and the other principal towns of the kingdom had been canvassed for an opinion, the prevailing opinion would still have been found nearly what it was in 1811. Yet is it necessary to argue that the decision of the house in 1819 against the opinion of the country, was a sounder and wiser decision than that of 1811 in conformity to it? Never then can I consider it as a true proposition that the state of the representation is deficient, because it does not *immediately* speak the apparent sense of the people,—because it sometimes contradicts, and sometimes goes before it. The house, as well as the people, are liable to err; but that the house may happen to differ in opinion from the people, is no infallible mark of error. And it would, in my opinion, be a base and cowardly House of Commons, unworthy of the large and liberal confidence without which it must be incompetent to the discharge of its high functions, which having, after due deliberation, adopted a great public measure, should be frightened back into an acquiescence with the temporary excitement which might exist upon that measure out of doors.

Upon another great question which I have much at heart, I mean the Roman Catholic Question, I have not the slightest doubt

that the House has run before the sense of the country; which is now, however, gradually coming up to us. I have no doubt that in all our early votes on this most important question, we had not the country with us; but I am equally confident that the period is rapidly advancing, when the country will be convinced that the House of Commons has acted as they ought to have done. If on such questions as these—questions before which almost all others sink into insignificance—the House of Commons have been either against, or before, the opinions of the country, the proposition that the representative system is necessarily imperfect because it does not give an *immediate* echo to the sentiments of the people, is surely not to be received without abundant qualification. On this ground therefore there is no foundation for the Noble Lord's Motion; unless the free expression of an honest and conscientious opinion, when it may happen to differ from that of its constituents, be inconsistent with the duty and derogatory to the character of a Representative Assembly.

To return to the other Noble Lord,[1] who has no sooner renounced his former faith and adopted a new one, than he seats himself in the Confessional Chair, and calls upon me for my recantation:—that Noble Lord has desired me to explain and defend the proposition which I have heretofore laid down, that those who wish to reform the House of Commons must intend to reform it upon one of two principles:—either to construct it anew, or to bring it back to the state at which it existed at some former period. Before I consent to be thus catechised by the Noble Lord, I might reasonably ask him in what third sense the word Reform can be understood,—except that in which it is sometimes applied to a military corps; which means to disband and cashier it altogether? Short of that mode of disposing of the House of Commons (for which I presume the Noble Lord is not yet altogether prepared) there is, so far as I know, or can conceive (until the Noble Lord shall further enlighten me), no other way in which a Reform can take place, than those which I have specified. Between those two modes then, I must still desire the Noble Lord to make his choice. If his choice be another construction—a totally new scheme of House of Commons,—is it unreasonable in me that, before I pin my faith upon that of the noble Convert, I desire to behold that *beau idéal*,—that imaged perfection of political good by which his reason is fascinated, and which his inventive fancy has pictured to him as the standard of Parliamentary purity? If the second of my proposed alternatives, be that which the Noble Lord prefers, the inquiry that I have then to make of him is merely his-

[1] Lord Folkstone.

torical; and surely he can be at no loss for an immediate answer to it—What is the golden era at which the House of Commons was precisely what you would have it?

Simple, however, as this latter question is, I have never yet met with the Reformer, who did not endeavour to evade it. I must endeavour therefore to collect the best answers that I can, from such partial indications of opinion as are scattered up and down among the general arguments for Reform. Some theorists are fond of tracing back the Constitution to the twilight times of History, where all that can be clearly discovered is, that when a Parliament met, it usually sat about a fortnight, granted a subsidy or two, and was forthwith dissolved. It is not to this infancy of our institutions that any one will soberly refer, for the likeness of such a House of Commons as would be competent, in the present age, to transact the business of the country and to maintain its due importance in the Constitution. But the House gradually attained a more matured existence; it has grown into a co-ordinate, and is now the preponderant, element of the Constitution. If the House has thus increased in power, is it therefore necessary that it should also become more popular in its formation? I should say,—just the reverse. If it were to add to its real active governing influence, such an exclusively popular character and tone of action as would arise from the consciousness that it was the immediately deputed agent for the whole people, and the exclusive organ of their will,—the House of Commons, instead of enjoying one-third part of the power of the State, would, in a little time, absorb the whole. How could the House of Lords, a mere assembly of individuals however privileged, and representing only themselves, presume to counteract the decisions of the delegates of the people? How could the Crown itself, holding its power, as *I* should say, *for* the people, but deriving it altogether as others would contend, *from* the people,—presume to counteract, or hesitate implicitly to obey, the supreme authority of the Nation assembled within these walls?—I fear the Noble Lord[1] is not prepared to answer these questions. I do not presume to say that they are unanswerable; but I affirm that, since they were propounded in my obnoxious Speech at Liverpool, they have yet received no answer here or elsewhere. In truth they admit of no other answer than one which I happen to have fallen upon within these few days, in the Report of a Debate on Parliamentary Reform which took place about thirty years ago; and for which, in the absence of any answer of his own, the Noble Lord will undoubtedly be very thankful. It is in these words: —"It has been said that a House of Commons, so chosen as

[1] Lord Folkstone.

to be a complete representative of the people, would be too powerful for the House of Lords, and even for the King: they would abolish the one, and dismiss the other. *If* the King and the House of Lords are unnecessary and useless branches of the Constitution, *let them* be dismissed and abolished: for the people were not made for them, but they for the people. *If*, on the contrary, the King and the House of Lords are felt and believed by the people to be not only useful but essential parts of the Constitution, a House of Commons freely chosen by and speaking the sentiments of the people, would *cherish and protect* both, within the bounds which the Constitution had assigned to them."[1] These are reported to have been the words of a man, the lustre of whose reputation will survive through distant ages, and of whom I can never intend to speak but with feelings of respect and admiration: they are the words of Mr. Fox. That the Report is accurate to a letter, I am not entitled to contend; but the substance of an argument so strikingly important, cannot have been essentially misapprehended. I quote these words with the freedom of history; not with the design of imputing blame to the speaker of them, but because they contain a frank solution (according with the frankness of his character) of the difficulty with which, in these days, I have not found any one hardy enough to grapple. So then —a House of Commons freely chosen by the people, would, it seems, "cherish and protect" the House of Lords and the Crown, so long as they respectively kept within the bounds allotted to them by the Constitution. Indeed! cherish and protect!—but cherish and protect, *if* so and so:—and how, *if not* so and so?—How, if the House of Commons in its reformed character, should happen to entertain a different opinion with respect to the "bounds" to be allotted to the Crown and to the Lords, under the new Constitution? What would then be substituted for cherishment and protection?—A fearful question! but a question which must be answered, and much more satisfactorily than I can anticipate, before I can consent to exchange that equality and co-ordination of powers among the three branches of our present Constitution, in which its beauty, its strength, its stability, and the happiness of those who live under it consist,—for a Constitution in which two of those powers should confessedly depend for their separate existence on the disposition of the third to "cherish and protect" them. This new constitution might be very admirable: but it is not the Constitution under which I live: it is not the Constitution to which I owe allegiance; it is not the Constitution which I would wish to introduce; and in order not to introduce a Constitution of this nature, I must not consent to the Reform of the House of Commons.

[1] Parliamentary History, vol. xxx. p. 921. (May 6, 1793.)

If this house is adequate to the functions which really belong to it,—which functions are, not to exercise an undivided, supreme dominion in the name of the people, over the crown and the other branch of the legislature,—but, checking the one and balancing the other, to watch over the people's rights and to provide especially for the people's interests: if, I say, the house is adequate to the performance of these its legitimate functions, the mode of its composition appears to me a consideration of secondary importance. I am aware, that by stating this opinion so plainly, I run the risk of exciting a cry against myself; but it is my deliberate opinion, and I am not afraid to declare it. Persons may look with a critical and microscopic eye into bodies physical or moral, until doubts arise whether it is possible for them to perform their assigned functions. Man himself is said by inspired authority to be "fearfully" as well as "wonderfully made." The study of anatomy, while it leads to the most beneficial discoveries for the detection and cure of physical disease, has yet a tendency, in some minds, rather to degrade than to exalt the opinion of human nature. It appears surprising to the contemplator of a skeleton of the human form, that the eyeless skull, the sapless bones, the assemblage of sinews and cartilages in which intellect and volition have ceased to reside,—that this piece of mechanism should constitute a creature so noble in reason, so infinite in faculties, in apprehension so like a God; a creature formed after the image of the divinity,—to whom Providence

> "Os—sublime dedit: cœlumque tueri
> Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus."

So, in considering too curiously the composition of this house, and the different processes through which it is composed,—not those processes alone which are emphatically considered as pollution and corruption, but those also which rank among the noblest exercises of personal freedom,—the canvasses, the conflicts, the controversies, and (what is inseparable from these) the vituperations, and excesses of popular election,—a dissector of political constitutions might well be surprised to behold the product of such elements in an assembly—of which, whatever may be its other characteristics, no man will seriously deny that it comprehends as much of intellectual ability and of moral integrity as was ever brought together in the civilized world. Nay, to an unlearned spectator, undertaking for the first time an anatomical examination of the House of Commons, those parts of it which, according to theory, are its beauties, must appear most particularly its stains. For while the Members returned for burgage-tenure seats, or through other obscure and noiseless modes of election, pass into the House of Commons unnoticed and uncriticised, their talents unquestioned, and their reputations unassail-

ed;—the successful candidate of a popular election often comes there loaded with the imputation of every vice and crime that could unfit a man not only for representing any class of persons, but for mixing with them as a member of society. The first effect of a reform which should convert all elections into popular ones, would probably be to ensure a congregation of individuals, against every one of whom a respectable minority of his constituents would have pronounced sentence of condemnation. And if it be so very hard that there are now a great number of persons who do not directly exercise the elective franchise, and who are therefore represented by persons whom others have chosen for them;—would this matter be much mended when two-fifths of the people of England should be represented not only without their choice, but against their will; not only by individuals whom they had not selected, but by those whom they had declared utterly unworthy of their confidence?

Again;—should we have no cause to lament the disfranchisement of those boroughs which are not open to popular influence? How many of the Gentlemen who sit opposite to me, the rarest talents of their party, owe their seats to the existence of such boroughs? When I consider the eminent qualities which distinguish, for instance, the representatives of Knaresborough, Winchelsea, Wareham, Higham-Ferrers, I never can consent to join in the reprobation cast upon a system which fructifies in produce of so admirable a kind. No, Sir, if this house is not all that theory could wish it, I would rather rest satisfied with its present state, than by endeavouring to remedy some small defects, run the hazard of losing so much that is excellent. Old Sarum and other boroughs at which the finger of scorn is pointed, are not more under private patronage now than at the periods the most glorious in our history. Some of them are still in the possession of the descendants of the same patrons who held them at the period of the Revolution. Yet in spite of Old Sarum the Revolution was accomplished, and the House of Hanover seated on the Throne. In spite of Old Sarum did I say? No: rather by the aid of Old Sarum and similar boroughs; for the house has heard it admitted by the Noble Mover himself, that if the House of Commons of that day had been a reformed House of Commons, the benefits of the Revolution would never have been obtained.

The Noble Lord, in his opening Speech, made some allusion to the constitutional history of ancient Rome, and called upon my Hon. Friend[1] opposite, as the most recent historian of that Repub-

[1] Mr. Bankes.

lic, to vouch for his facts, and for the application of them. Let me follow the Noble Lord into his Roman History, to ask him a single question. How was the Senate of Rome composed?—I doubt whether even my Hon. Friend opposite can inform us. All that is certainly known on the subject is, that one and by far the most usual way of gaining admission to the Senate,—(this has not a very reforming sound,)—was through office. Yet that Senate dictated to the world, and adequately represented the majesty of the Roman people. History blazons its deeds; while antiquarianism is poring into its pedigree.

But have the defects imputed to the composition and constitution of the House of Commons increased with time? are they grown more numerous or more unsightly? I believe the contrary. I believe, Sir, that in whatever period of our history the composition and constitution of the House of Commons are examined, not only will the same alleged abuses as are now complained of, be found to have prevailed; but I will venture to say, prevailed in a degree which could not be now avowed in debate without a violation of our orders. There is great difficulty in speaking on this delicate part of the subject. It has been made an article of reproach by the reformers, that the enemies of reform treat these matters with shameless indifference; that we now speak with levity of transactions the bare mention of which, according to the *dictum* of once the highest authority in this House, was calculated to make our ancestors perform certain evolutions in their graves. Now it is very hard that the want of shame should be imputed to those who are upon the defensive side of the argument. They who attack, scruple not to advance charges of gross corruption in the grossest terms; and they who defend are reduced to the alternative either of affecting to be ignorant of the nature of those charges, or of admitting notorious facts, and accounting for or extenuating them; and if they take the latter course, they are accused of shamelessness. Be that as it may, however, it may be curious and perhaps consolatory to show to the moralists who are so sensitive upon these subjects, that corruption—as they call it,—that (in plain words) influence in the return of Members to Parliament, if it be a sin, is not one for which their own generation is exclusively responsible. The taint, if it be one, is not newly acquired, but inherited through a long line of ancestors. The purge or the cautery may be applied to the present generation; but I can shew that the original malady is at least as old as the reign of Henry VI.—a period beyond which the most retrospective antiquary will not require of us to go back in search of purity of election.

Sir, in the reign of Henry VI. the Duchess of Norfolk thus in-

structed her agent as to the election of Members for the County of Norfolk:

[1] "Right Trusty and well beloved, we greet you heartily well; and forasmuch as it is thought right necessary for diverse causes, that *My Lord have* at this time *in the Parliament* such persons as *belong unto him*, and be of his *menial Servants*,—we heartily desire and pray you, that at the contemplation of these our Letters, ye will give and apply your voice unto our right well beloved Cousin and Servants John Howard, and Sir Roger Chamberlayn to be *Knights of the Shire*. Framlingham Castle, 8 June, 1455."

What follows probably related to the same election; it is addressed (by Lord Oxenford) to the same individual as the preceding extract.

[2] "My Lord of Norfolk met with my Lord of York at Bury on Thursday, and there [they] were together till Friday, nine of the clock, and then they departed; and there a Gentleman of my Lord of York took unto a Yeoman of mine, John Deye, a token and a Sedell (Schedule) of my Lord's intent, *whom he would have Knights of the Shire*, and I send you a Sedell inclosed of their names in this Letter; wherefore methinketh it [were] well done to *perform my Lord's intent*."

The next Extract which I shall read to the House is of seventeen years later date than the preceding ones. It is from a letter addressed by one of the Duchess of Norfolk's Household, to the Bailiff of the Borough of Maldon; and is dated in the year 1472, the 11th of Edward IV.

[3] "It were necessary for *my Lady* and you all (her Servants and Tenants) *to have in this Parliament* as for *one of the Burgesses* of the town of Maldon, such a man of worship and of wit as *were towards my said Lady*; and also such one as is in favor of the King and of the Lords of his Council nigh about his person; certifying you, that my Lady for her part, and such as be of her Council, be most agreeable that all such as be her farmers and tenants and well-willers, should give your voice to a worshipful Knight and one of my Lady's Council, Sir John Paston, which stands greatly in favor with my Lord Chamberlain; and what my said Lord Chamberlain may do with the King, and with all the Lords of England, I trow it be not unknown to you."

It appears from the following Letter that the said Member-elect for the Borough of Maldon, Sir John Paston (to whom it is ad-

[1] Paston Correspondence, 4to. Vol. I. p. 97.
[2] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 99.
[3] Paston Correspondence, Vol. II. p. 99.

dressed) had expected to be nominated a Knight of the Shire; but that his patrons had ordered it otherwise:—[1] "My Lord of Norfolk and my Lord of Suffolk *were agreed*, more than a fortnight ago, *to have* Sir Robert Wyngfield, and Sir Richard Harcourt; and that knew I not till Friday last past. I had sent, ere I went to Framlingham, to warn as many of your friends to be at Norwich as this Monday, to serve your interest, as I could; but when I came to Framlingham, and *knew the appointment that was taken* for the two Knights, I sent warning again to as many as I might, to tarry at home; and yet there came to Norwich this day as many as their costs drew to 9*s*. 1½*d*. paid and reckoned by Peacock and Capron, and yet they did but break their fasts and departed." —"If ye miss to be Burgess of Maldon, and my Lord Chamberlain will, ye may be in another place; there be a dozen Towns in England, that choose no Burgess, which ought to do it,"—(this will surely propitiate the Reformers):—"ye may be set in for one of these towns, an if ye be friended."—Such was Reform in those days!

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the era to which, habitually and almost instinctively, the mind of Englishmen recurs for every thing that is glorious, I could show the House that the Earl of Essex, her mighty favorite, dictated without scruple or reserve the returns to Parliament, not only for the County of Stafford, but for every borough in the County. Unluckily I have not the documents at hand; but I can aver it on the most unquestionable authority.[2]

[1] Paston Correspondence, Vol. II. p. 103.

[2] Among the documents alluded to in this passage are the following Letters from Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, to Richard Bagot, Esq. High Sheriff of the County of Stafford; of which the originals are in the possession of Lord Bagot.

1.—*Robert Devereux Earl of Essex, to Richard Bagot, Esq.*

"After my verie Hartie Comendacions; I cannot write severall Letters to all those that have interest in the choyse of the Knights of the Shere, to be apoynted for the Parliament intended to be held verie shortlie. To which place I do exceedingly desire that my verie good friend, Sir Christofer Blount may be elected.—I do therefore commend the matter to your friendlie sollicitacōns; praying you to move the Gentlemen, my good friends, and yours in that Countie; *particularly in my name*, that they will give their voice with him *for my sake;* assuring them, that as they shall do it for one whome I hold deare, and whose sufficiencie for the place is well known to them; So, I will most thankfullie deserve towards them and yourselves any travell, favour, or kindeness, that shall be showed therein. Thus I commit you to God's good protection. From Hampton Court, the 2d of January, 1592."

"ESSEX."

Passing over the reign of James I. and his unfortunate successor, —and not dwelling upon the cavalier treatment which Cromwell bestowed upon his own purified and reformed House of Commons, I come to the reign of Charles II; where I find, not amid

"I persuade myself that my creditt is so good with my Countrymen, *as the using my name, in so small a matter, will be enough to affect it:* But I pray you use me so kindlie in that as I have no repulse."

---

2.—*From the same to the same.*

"After my verie Hartie Commendacions. As I have by my late letters comended unto you Sir Christofer Blount to be elected *one of the Knights of that Shire* for the Parliament to be holden verie shortlie, by your friendlie mediacion; So I do with no less earnestness intreate your like favoure towards my very good friend Sir Thomas Sherrard, *for the other place;* praying you that you will employe your creditte, and *use my name* to all my good frends and yours, there, that they will stand faste to me in this requeste, and that my desire may be effected for them. They cannot give me better testimonie of their love and affection, because they are both such as I hold deare, and you may assure all such as shall join with you in election that I will most thankfullie requite their readines, and furtherance them by any good office I can. So I comitte you to God's best protection; From Hampton Court, the 9th of January, 1592.

"Your assured Friend,

"ESSEX."

"I should think my credite little in my owne Countrie, if it should not afford *so small a matter as this.* Esspessalie the men being so fitt. Therefore I commend you all (*as I have interest in your labours*) effectuallie in it."

---

3.—*From the same to the same.*

"After my verie Hartie Commendacions. I have written several Letters to Lichfield, Stafford, Tamworth, and Newcastle, for the *nomination and election* of certen Burgesses of the Parliament to be held verie shortlie. *I have named unto them,* For Lichfield, Sir John Wyngfield and Mr. Boughton. For Stafford, *my Kinsman* Henrie Bourgcher *and my Servant* Edward Reynolds. For Tamworth *my Servant* Thomas Smith. For Newcastle Dr James. Whome because I do greatlie desire to be preferred to the said places, I do earnestlie pray your furtherance, by the creditt which you have in those towns. Assuring them of my thankfulness if they shall, *for my sake,* gratifie those whom I have commended; and yourself that I will not be unmyndful of your curtesie therein. So I commit you to God's good protection. From Hampton Court, the last of December, 1592.

"Your assured Friend,

"ESSEX."

"I send unto you the several Letters, which I praye you cause to be delivered according to their directions."

scarce manuscripts and treasures of ancient lore, but published in a hundred popular books, in sketches of biography and lessons for youth, the famous Letter of that most famous woman Anne Countess of Pembroke; who, amongst her other great titles and possessions, was undoubted patroness of the then, I presume, free and independent borough of Appleby. This great lady writes thus to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State to Charles II, in answer to his suggestion of a Member for the Borough of Appleby. "I have been bullied by an Usurper; I have been ill treated by a Court; but I won't be dictated to by a Subject; your Man sha'n't stand.—Anne Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery."

Now, Sir, I should be curious to know *which* generation of our ancestors it is that the exercise of political influence in the elections of the present day, so lamentably disquiets in their graves.—Is it the cotemporaries of the Duchess of Norfolk, and of the worthy Electors of Maldon, who were to be careful to choose Members so properly, "towards" my Lady?—or those who tasted the sweets of uninfluenced election under Queen Elizabeth?—or those who contemplated with equal admiration the Countess of Pembroke's defence of her Castles against the forces of the Usurper, and of her good borough of Appleby against Secretary Williamson's nominee? Pity it is that the Noble Lord,[1] the convert to Reform, did not live in the days of one or other of these heroines!—Their example could hardly have failed to reconvert him to his original, native sentiments upon the subject of influence in elections and the fit constitution of a House of Commons.

But I have not yet done with my list of patronesses: nor has interference in elections, and female interference too, been coupled with no great name in the unquestioned good times of the Constitution.—The Noble Lord who made this Motion will pardon me for referring him to the published letters of his great Ancestress the Lady Russell; in which he will find the Lord Steward (the Duke of Shrewsbury,) and Lord Keeper Somers,—tendering to her, for her son Lord Tavistock, then a minor, the Representation of the County of Middlesex, upon the single condition that Lord Tavistock would consent but to show himself to the Electors for one day under the name of Lord Russell.[2] The offer was not accepted on account, so far as appears, of Lord Tavistock's minority; though instances are adduced by the makers of

[1] Lord Folkstone.

[2] "At the General Election which took place in October 1695, it was proposed to her in the most flattering manner, by order of the Duke of Shrewsbury, then Lord Steward, and the Lord Keeper Somers, to bring her son into Parliament as Member for the County of Middlesex."——*Life of Lady Russell, Third Edit.* 8vo. p. 120.

the proposition to convince her Ladyship that *that* need not be an objection. But what would be said now-a-days,—and what would be the agitation of our buried ancestors,—if a Lord Chancellor and a Lord Steward were to concur in offering a seat in Parliament for a County to some young nobleman yet under age?[1]

Now here let me guard myself against misrepresentation. It must not be imputed to me that I am saying that all this was *right*: I am only saying that all this was *so*. I have been dealing (be it observed) with the second of my two questions:—not with the question, whether the House of Commons should be reconstructed?—but with the question whether it should be recalled to some state in which it formerly stood? I have been endeavoring to dispel the idle superstition that there once existed in this country a House of Commons, in the construction of which the faults that are attributed to the present House of Commons, and attributed to it as a motive for inflicting upon itself its own destruction, did not equally exist: and not only exist equally, but exist in wider extent and more undisguised enormity. I have been showing that if the present House of Commons is to be destroyed for these faults, it has earned that fate not by degeneracy, but by imitation; that it would in such case expiate the misdeeds of its predecessors, instead of suffering for any that are peculiarly its own. I have been endeavoring to prove, that of the two options,—"do you mean to restore?—or to construct anew?"—no Reformer who has carefully examined the subject, can in sincerity answer otherwise than "to construct anew:"—for that to *restore* the times of purity of election,—that is, of election free from the influence, and a preponderating influence too, of property, rank, station, and power, natural or acquired,—would be, to restore a state of things of which we can find no prototype, and to revert to times which in truth have never been.

That the proposition "to construct anew" is the much more formidable proposition of the two, is tacitly admitted by the very unwillingness which is shown on all occasions to acknowledge it as the object of any Motion for Reform. Yet to *that* must the Reformers come. To that, I venture to tell the Noble Lord,—he,

[1] "It is to be remarked that in those early days of our renovated Constitution, the objection of Lord Tavistock's age was considered merely in relation to himself, and as no obstacle to the success of his Election. Mr. Montague, in his letter to the Duke of Bedford, to obviate any scruple in the Duke's mind, mentions that Lord Godolphin's son was to be chosen in Cornwall, and Lord Leicester's in Kent, who were neither of them older than Lord Tavistock: and Mr. Owen, in a letter to Lady Russell, tells her the Duke of Albemarle's son had been allowed to sit in Parliament under age."—*Life of Lady Russell, Third Edit.* 8vo. p. 123.

with all his caution and all his desire to avoid extravagance and exaggeration, must come; if he consents to reform *on principle*. By reforming "on principle," I mean, reforming with a view not simply to the redress of any partial, practical grievance, but generally to theoretical improvement. I may add that even "on principle" his endeavors to reform will be utterly vain, if he insists upon the exclusion of influence, as an indispensable quality of his reformed constitution. Not in this country only, but in every country in which a popular elective Assembly has formed part of the Government, to exclude such influence from the elections, has been a task either not attempted, or attempted to no purpose. While we dam up one source of influence a dozen others will open; in proportion as the progress of civilisation, the extension of commerce, and a hundred other circumstances better understood than defined, contribute to shift and change, in their relative proportions, the prevailing interests of society. Whether the House of Commons in its present shape does not practically though silently accommodate itself to such changes, with a pliancy almost as faithful as the nicest artifice could contrive, is, in my opinion, I confess, a much more important consideration, than whether the component parts of the House might be arranged with neater symmetry, or distributed in more scientific proportions.

But am I therefore hostile to the reformation of any proved cases of abuse, or to the punishment of mal-practices by which the existing rights of election are occasionally violated? No such thing. When any such cases are pointed out and proved, far be it from me to wish that they should be passed over with impunity. When the Noble Lord[1] himself brought forward, two years ago, a Bill for transferring to other constituents the right of election of a borough in which gross corruption had been practised, he began, as I thought and think, in the right course. When he proposed the disfranchisement of Grampound, I gave him my support; and if other cases of the same description occurred, I should be ready to do so again. That, Sir, is the true way of reforming the House of Commons: by adding strength to the representation where we can do so certainly and definitely, and without incurring a risk of evils greater than those we cure. In the principle of that proposition of the Noble Lord I concurred: and if I concurred with those who suggested the substitution of the County of York for the town of Leeds, as the recipient of the franchise to be detached from Grampound,—I did so, not because I was apprehensive that Leeds would abuse the privilege; but because for the last forty years the want of a greater number of Members for the County of York

[1] Lord John Russell.

had been the standing grievance complained of in every Petition for Reform. "Shall the great County of York have no more Members than the little County of Rutland?"—is the language of the Petition of 1793. "Shall so great, and populous, and manufacturing a County, be no more numerously represented in the House of Commons than the Borough of Shoreham, or Cricklade, or Midhurst, or finally than Old Sarum?"—are the apostrophes which have added zest to every debate, and a sting to every Petition, from the year 1780 to the present day. Well! Here was an opportunity of meeting this master-argument, and quieting for ever the perturbed solicitude for Yorkshire representation. I thought, therefore, that it would be a pity to lose such an opportunity;—the House fortunately was of the same opinion;—and lo! the grievance of grievances, the subject of forty years' clamor, is redressed. But, to be quite ingenuous, I will own that I was not without expectation that when the Reformers had gained this point, they would find out that they had not gotten *exactly* what they wanted. So indeed it has happened. Since the bill passed, I have heard of no congratulations on the event; but I have heard of much regret, and of many fears lest great inconvenience should result from the measure to the County of York itself. This to be sure would be exceedingly to be deplored: and to remedy so unlucky a result of the first effort at Reform, I understand that it is now in contemplation to bring in a bill for the purpose of dividing the County into two parts; assigning to one the old and to the other the new representation.—We shall see how this expedient will be relished. For my own part, I apprehend that every true Yorkshireman will object to it as a sort of converse of the judgment of Solomon; and that the two old Members especially, will rush forward and implore that their ancient parent may be permitted to survive whole and unmutilated. In that case, I shall unquestionably join them in the vote for keeping Yorkshire in undivided magnitude, with its augmented representation; affording, as it will do in that state, a conclusive reply to near half a century of remonstrances and lamentations.

I do not recollect in the Speech of the Noble Mover any other topic on which I feel it necessary to remark; having already I think touched upon all the main principles, if not upon all the details and illustrations of his motion; and having, I am well aware, trespassed largely upon the indulgence of the House.

A few words more upon the more general topics, which belong to this debate, and I have done. It is asked over and over again whether the House of Commons ought not to sympathise with the People? I answer, Undoubtedly yes; and so the House of Commons at present does, finally and in the result. But I also main-

tain that this House does not betray its trust, if on points of gravity and difficulty, of deep and of lasting importance, it exercises a wary and independent discretion;—even though a momentary misunderstanding between the People and the House should be created by such difference in opinion with the People. I do not believe that the change proposed by the Noble Lord would infuse into the House of Commons a more wholesome spirit. I do not believe that to increase the power of the People, or rather to bring that power into more direct, immediate, and incessant operation upon the House,—(whether such effect should be produced by rendering elections more popular, or by shortening the duration of Parliaments, or by both,)—I do not believe, I say, that this change would enable the House to discharge its functions more usefully than it discharges them at present. With respect to the plan of Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments, it seems to be pretty generally agreed, that it would deprive the government of all consistence and stability. Most of the advocates for Reform disclaim these doctrines and resent the imputation of them. I am glad of it. But I confess myself at a loss to understand how *any* extension of suffrage *on principle*, how *any* shortening of Parliaments *on principle*, can be adopted without opening the whole scope of that plan: and I confess myself not provided with any argument satisfactory to my own mind, by which, after conceding these alterations *in principle*, I could hope to control them *in degree*. I am still more at a loss to conceive in what way such partial concession could tend either to reconcile to the frame of the House of Commons those who are discontented with it as it at present stands, or to enable Parliament to watch more effectually over the freedom, the happiness, and the political importance of the country.

Dreading therefore the danger of total, and seeing the difficulties as well as the unprofitableness of partial alteration, I object to this first step towards a change in the constitution of the House of Commons. There are wild theories abroad. I am not disposed to impute an ill motive to any man who entertains them. I will believe such a man to be as sincere in his conviction of the possibility of realising his notions of change without risking the tranquillity of the Country, as I am sincere in my belief of their impracticability, and of the tremendous danger of attempting to carry them into effect. But for the sake of the world as well as for our own safety, let us be cautious and firm. Other nations, excited by the example of the liberty which this Country has long possessed, have attempted to copy our Constitution; and some of them have shot beyond it in the fierceness of their pursuit. I grudge not to other nations that share of liberty which they may acquire: in the name of God, let them enjoy it! But let us warn them that they lose not the object

of their desire by the very eagerness with which they attempt to grasp it. Inheritors and conservators of rational freedom, let us, while others are seeking it in restlessness and trouble, be a steady and shining light to guide their course, not a wandering meteor to bewilder and mislead them.

Let it not be thought that this is an unfriendly or disheartening counsel to those who are either struggling under the pressure of harsh government, or exulting in the novelty of sudden emancipation. It is addressed much rather to those who, though cradled and educated amidst the sober blessings of the British Constitution, pant for other schemes of liberty than those which that Constitution sanctions,—other than are compatible with a just equality of civil rights, or with the necessary restraints of social obligation;—of some of whom it may be said, in the language which Dryden puts into the mouth of one of the most extravagant of his heroes, that,

> "They would be free as Nature first made man,
> Ere the base laws of servitude began,
> When wild in woods the noble savage ran."

Noble and swelling sentiments!—but such as cannot be reduced into practice. Grand ideas!—but which must be qualified and adjusted by a compromise between the aspirings of individuals, and a due concern for the general tranquillity;—must be subdued and chastened by reason and experience, before they can be directed to any useful end! A search after abstract perfection in government, may produce, in generous minds, an enterprise and enthusiasm to be recorded by the historian and to be celebrated by the poet: but such perfection is not an object of reasonable pursuit, because it is not one of possible attainment: and never yet did a passionate struggle after an absolutely unattainable object fail to be productive of misery to an individual, of madness and confusion to a people. As the inhabitants of those burning climates, which lie beneath a tropical sun, sigh for the coolness of the mountain and the grove; so (all history instructs us) do nations which have basked for a time in the torrent blaze of an unmitigated liberty, too often call upon the shades of despotism,—even of military despotism,—to cover them—

> ——"o quis me gelidis in vallibus Hæmi
> Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra!"

a protection which blights while it shelters; which dwarfs the intellect, and stunts the energies of man, but to which a wearied nation willingly resorts from intolerable heats and from perpetual danger of convulsion.

Our lot is happily cast in the temperate zone of freedom: the

clime best suited to the developement of the moral qualities of the human race; to the cultivation of their faculties, and to the security as well as the improvement of their virtues:—a clime not exempt indeed from variations of the elements,—but variations which purify while they agitate the atmosphere that we breathe. Let us be sensible of the advantages which it is our happiness to enjoy. Let us guard with pious gratitude the flame of genuine liberty,—that fire from heaven, of which our Constitution is the holy depository;—and let us not, for the chance of rendering it more intense and more radiant, impair its purity or hazard its extinction!

The Noble Lord is entitled to the acknowledgments of the House, for the candid, able, and ingenuous manner in which he has brought forward his Motion. If in the remarks which I have made upon it, there has been any thing which has borne the appearance of disrespect to him, I hope he will acquit me of having so intended it. That the Noble Lord will carry his Motion this evening, I have no fear; but with the talents which he has shown himself to possess, and with (I sincerely hope) a long and brilliant career of parliamentary distinction before him, he will, no doubt, renew his efforts hereafter. Although I presume not to expect that he will give any weight to observations or warnings of mine, yet on this, probably the last, opportunity which I shall have, of raising my voice on the Question of Parliamentary Reform, while I conjure the House to pause before it consents to adopt the proposition of the Noble Lord,—I cannot help conjuring the Noble Lord himself to pause before he again presses it upon the country. If, however, he shall persevere,—and if his perseverance shall be successful,—and if the results of that success shall be such as I cannot help apprehending;—his be the triumph to have precipitated those results,—be mine the consolation that to the utmost, and the latest of my power, I have opposed them.

THE

# SPEECH

OF

## JOHN GEORGE LAMBTON, ESQ.

IN

## THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ON MOVING FOR

## A COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER THE STATE

OF

## THE REPRESENTATION:

WITH

## A BILL

FOR

## A REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

LONDON:

1822.

# SPEECH,

&c.

Mr. Speaker,

In pursuance of the notice which I gave, I rise to bring under the consideration of The House, the state of the Representation of the People in Parliament.

If at all times, and upon all subjects, I must be most unwilling to trespass on the attention of this House, on no occasion can I be more reluctant than on the present; and I can assure you, that nothing but a deep sense of public duty, and an anxious desire to put an end to that spirit of discontent, now so generally prevailing, could have induced me to take up a question, the great and important interests of which I feel that I am not competent adequately to protect. In the first place, I know that I have to contend against that disinclination which has invariably been shown by this House towards its discussion; a disinclination founded possibly on that dislike which is inherent in all men, and bodies of men, to hear accusations against themselves, and statements of faults and corruptions openly laid to their charge. If I wanted any evidence in support of this assertion, this well-known truth, I should undoubtedly find it in the present state of the benches opposite to me. Perhaps indeed I should be justified in taking advantage of it, and at once submitting my Motion to the vote; as the result of that division clearly would be its adoption: for it requires no great discernment to perceive that at this moment the majority is greatly on the side of the Friends to Reform.

But, Sir, I shall not be tempted into this irregularity, as it would prevent that ample discussion, that calm and deliberate consideration, to which this important subject is justly entitled,

and without which it would be a mere mockery to propose it. If this scantiness of attendance is meant as an insult to myself, I treat it with contempt; if it is pointed at the question, I then repel it with feelings of deep indignation, and can only hope that it will not be lost on the people of England, who will not, cannot be insensible to the manner in which a subject, so interesting to them, has been treated by His Majesty's Ministers. Indeed of all the placemen who usually crowd the opposite benches, at this moment I only perceive those Right Honourable Twins, so lovingly united in affection, in principle, and in the representation of the oyster-dredgers of Harwich.[1]

In addition to this studied neglect, I have also to lament the disadvantage of following those eminent and illustrious characters, who have at different times advocated this question, and who by their virtues and their abilities have conferred as much lustre on the cause, as they received from the sacred and patriotic nature of the trust confided to them. I know, likewise, that I shall have to contend against the weight of the overwhelming eloquence of a Right Honorable Gentleman opposite,[2] who has ever placed himself first and foremost in the ranks of those who oppose any alteration in the state of the Representation, and whose hostility is never directed with more zeal, energy, or ability, than against that extended principle of amelioration, which it is my duty this night to press on the consideration of this House. Under these great and manifold disadvantages, therefore, and a deep sense of my own inadequacy to overcome them, I can only hope that the House will extend to me that indulgence, which at no time was more necessary, and that they will believe me when I assert, that my motives for undertaking this arduous office are founded solely on an ardent desire to serve my country, and to conciliate large classes of the community, loudly, but steadily complaining of their deprivation of the greatest privilege of our Constitution,—and attributing, and justly in my opinion, the distress under which they are at present laboring, to a long system of misrule and mismanagement, which never could have existed, much less continued, if it had not been caused and protected by a gross and notorious system of corruption in the Representation of the People.

Sir, I have heard much said lately of the dangerous state of the times—and I think with justice, for they are awful and portentous; sad from the recollection of past, and gloomy from the prospect of future events, before the fulfilment of which, the importance of

[1] The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Bragge Bathurst, who were then seated side by side, and were the only members on the Treasury Bench.

[2] Mr. Canning.

both past and present difficulties fades into nothing. There is, I am aware, a spirit of discontent daily increasing, which cannot now be lulled or removed by those excuses which formerly passed current—by those promises which a long succession of years has seen as readily and unblushingly broken, as they were cheaply made in compliance with each temporary cry from the People for reformation and amendment. The increase of national education, and the consequent expansion of the intellects of the middle and lower orders of society, renders it now quite impossible to conceal any longer the causes of our national misfortunes—and this doctrine I find unexpectedly supported by an authority, and in a quarter, from whence I least expected any assistance. Since I came into the House this night, an extract has been placed in my hands from an Address to the Grand Jury of Lancaster, by Mr. Justice Best, which fully confirms the assertion I have just made. The learned Judge there says,—"The general diffusion of reading among the lower classes of society, requires the adoption of other measures than were necessary during the prevalence of ignorance; it would be as absurd to adhere to the old custom of acting, under the new circumstances, as it would be to treat animated beings in the same manner as things inanimate."

I lately, Sir, had an opportunity of ascertaining the habits and opinions of a large portion of those classes in the north of England: and I must confess, that I was astonished at their improved intelligence—at their vigilant attention to political subjects. There was hardly a village, however secluded from the world, however remote from large cities, however seemingly cut off by difficulties of access from communication with society, in which I did not observe the most vigilant attention to all the great points of our national policy, and the most scrutinising observation, not only of measures, but of men. Were these symptoms to be discovered even twenty years ago? I think no man will assert that they were, or will deny, that the lower and middle orders were then more remarkable for apathy, and a subserviency to the will of their superiors in rank, than for that independent and intelligent spirit which now animates them, and which only requires the concurrence of a fit opportunity to prove its existence in all parts of the empire.

In further proof of this feeling, I may also instance the numerous petitions that have been presented this night, and at former periods, all containing complaints against the present system, and insisting on the necessity of Reform. Is it not therefore a matter of absolute necessity that we, who call ourselves the Representatives of the People, should at length undertake that just and salutary work of amelioration and concession, without which we

cannot hope they ever will be satisfied? I say, without it they never can be satisfied; because we cannot, when we consider the state of the country, deny that their complaints are just. In what a situation are we now! We have a national debt of more than 850,000,000*l.*—an annual expenditure of 53,000,000*l.* a taxation the most burdensome and oppressive in the known world, and yearly decreasing in productiveness, in the same proportion that it increases in severity—a Sinking Fund, which is the veriest delusion that ever was attempted to be practised on a country—our commerce in a state of the greatest depression—an agricultural interest petitioning from all quarters, and declaring its inability to exist without a protection which, if afforded, would irritate, perhaps greatly injure, a manufacturing interest already exposed to the greatest difficulties in its higher quarters, and whose working classes are nearly reduced to starvation.

We have, besides, a standing army of more than 80,000 men, an object always of the most constitutional jealousy to our ancestors, although it seems of none to us; the existence of which was even assigned as one of the reasons for deposing James the Second. —We have a system of corruption in the greatest activity, by which seats in this assembly are publicly advertised for sale, and as publicly and notoriously bought and sold—and, to complete our domestic picture, we are repeatedly alarmed by accounts of treasons and conspiracies; nay, it was but last night that we were told by a Noble Lord, the Secretary at War,[1] that we were only in the first year of domestic peace! Our gaols are overflowing; and our eyes are shocked, and the better sympathies of our nature disgusted, by the most barbarous and unnecessary executions—the effect of the impolitic severity of our criminal laws.

If we turn our eyes outwards, we find no accession of national honor or character to make up for our bankrupt and miserable state at home. Repeated violations of public faith and solemn pledges, recorded to our eternal disgrace, in the transfer of Norway,—the base abandonment of Genoa,—the partition of Saxony, —the surrender of Parga—a steady and undeviating support of all those feudal abuses and despotisms, which it is the object of the Holy Alliance to bolster up if possible: evinced, I say, most unequivocally, by our repeated adoption of an act the most repugnant to the free principles, although not to the present practice, of the British constitution, I mean the Alien Bill—an utter indifference to the struggles of a people contending for constitutional liberty; when a firm remonstrance, breathing the genuine spirit of English freedom, might have arrested the invading arms of

[1] Lord Palmerston.

Austrian barbarism, and prevented a war which has too unhappily succeeded, for the moment, in its sacrilegious aim, the repression of freedom, and the riveting again of chains which an effort of just and noble resistance had peacefully broken—All these, and many other characteristics of our foreign policy, which I need not now mention, have degraded us in the eyes of the people of the Continent, and rendered us with them objects of distrust, suspicion, and hatred.

Under these circumstances, is it not natural that every mind capable of reflecting should be earnestly employed in endeavouring to ascertain the causes of this consummate degradation of national character? Nor have the people of England, unfortunately, far to look—the origin of all their misfortunes is to be found in the abuses prevailing in that branch of the legislature which was originally designed for their protection—

Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam, populumque fluxit.

Sir, for a long period of time the people of this country had to contend against the tyrannical encroachments of their Kings, and the undue exercise of the prerogative; nor did they succeed in establishing their rights for a time, until after the severest struggles, and the effusion of the best and noblest blood in the nation. At length the system of attack was altered; it was discovered to be far more easy to govern by means of a majority in the House of Commons: and infinitely more effectual to employ the arms of corruption, than those of oppression, or of violence. Since that fatal discovery was made, our liberties have been at the mercy of all Ministers, to whatever party they may belong; and if we now possess any, we owe it to their forbearance, and not to their being destitute of the power to destroy them entirely.

Let us only look at the means placed at the disposal of the Minister of the day:—The management of our enormous revenue and expenditure, in all its minute and innumerable branches—the possession of the force and influence of the Crown, exhibited in legions of tax-gatherers, clerks, and officers of all descriptions in the different boards of Customs, Stamps, and Excise—the distribution of 4,000,000*l.* and upwards amongst those civil troops, amounting as they do to 10,000; the nomination of which is always vested in the Ministerial Member, in the town or county which he represents in Parliament—the patronage of the Army,—the Navy,—the Church—and the India Board:—All these weapons, steadily and invariably directed towards one object, the strengthening the influence of Government in this House, form a weight of power which the People, as at present represented, cannot resist. The consequences have been fatal to our happiness and prosperity.

That check which the people are constitutionally supposed to have on the power of the crown, by holding the reins of taxation in their own hands, and having the power of withholding the supplies, has been rendered null and void, in consequence of the great majority of their Representatives being returned by improper influence—by the Crown in some instances, by Peers in others,—in many cases the member returning himself—but all possessing interests distinct from those of the people.

Ought it therefore to be a matter of surprise, that the national debt was increased ONE THOUSAND MILLIONS during the late reign? or can we expect the people to be satisfied with a system, through which they have been plundered of these millions, to provide for the most wild and extravagant wars—the termination of which has always left them in a worse situation than they were in at the commencement? I contend, therefore, that it is the paramount duty of every true lover of his country to endeavour to restrain and diminish the influence of the Crown, and prevent it from destroying those constitutional defences of the rights of the people, which are to be found in a state of representation directly and purely emanating from themselves. The theory of the constitution, according to the best authorities, is, that all the parts of it form mutual checks on each other. I think it is Blackstone who has said, that in the legislature the people are a check on the nobility, the nobility upon the crown, and the crown upon both. But the practice, according to modern innovations and corruptions, is widely different from this theory. In the enumeration of those checks, we must entirely omit that of the people: for they are not represented in the legislature. When I say this, I mean, that although there may be some few members returned according to the purest spirit of the constitution, yet that the great majority are returned by the most improper means, without even the remotest shadow of popular delegation. In proof of this, I am now ready to adduce in evidence at the bar of this House, that 180 individuals return, by nomination or otherwise, 350 members.

Now, Sir, does any man who hears me, imagine that those members do not, in the first instance, consult the wishes and political attachments of those to whom they are indebted for their seats? How often do we hear it said, "Why has Mr. A. taken the Chiltern Hundreds?" The answer constantly is—"Because he cannot conscientiously vote with Lord B. or Mr. C. who returns him, and therefore he deems it a point of honor to resign his seat"—a point of honor, by the way, which I never hear of, as being acted upon towards the people, however it may towards the patron. But all these facts are too well known, for me even to trouble the House by the mention of them—individually they know them to be true—

collectively they know it—for they have often been brought under the consideration of Parliament; and one noble Lord,[1] in particular, has no reason, I think, to be delighted by any accession which thereby has accrued to his constitutional fame. The result however, shortly, is this: By direct nomination—by the existence of Boroughs, where some 20, 50, or 100 Voters are septennially bought and sold, like cattle in a fair—by the influence of Government, which, owing to the small number of Electors, as compared with the population of the empire, can but rarely and partially, and then most expensively be resisted—a majority is always to be procured for the administration of the day—a majority forming a body, the most convenient, the most pliable, the most manageable, that the wit of man could invent: sanctioning measures solely on the principle of ministerial recommendation, without any reference to the expressed wishes of the people. Instances of this I need not enumerate, for they are now matters of history, and their records are accessible to all: as a sample of the commodity, I may however mention, that a majority of a House of Commons sanctioned and approved the infamous expedition to Walcheren—as for its pliability, I myself have seen the same members voting for that very question which they had negatived only one hour before: but I will not weary the House by the detail of the long and black catalogue of offence committed by its predecessors, for of the present House I am prevented from speaking, as I should wish, by the existence of forms which I do not intend to violate.

Now, Sir, to prevent the further continuance of this state of things, the recurrence of such proceedings as I have thus generally described, is the object of my motion. In order that the people may be fairly and adequately represented in the legislature, and the balance of the constitution thus restored, it is necessary, in my opinion, that there should be an extension of the elective franchise to the unrepresented classes contributing directly to taxation—Copyholders, Leaseholders, and Householders; that all venal, corrupt, and decayed Boroughs should be disfranchised; and that there should be a recurrence to Triennial Parliaments, accompanied by such restrictions on the expenses of elections, as could easily be accomplished under a reformed system, but which now it is quite impossible to effect, and useless to attempt.

It would indeed be presumptuous in me to attempt to enter into a detailed history of the origin and constitution of the House of Commons. It has been so often and so ably discussed within these walls, that nothing new, in fact, can be adduced on the sub-

[1] Lord Castlereagh, now Marquis of Londonderry, accused by Mr. Maddocks of having bartered a place for a seat.

ject: a short allusion however to its composition, will, perhaps, be permitted me; and I trnst the House will not be wearied by a short review of the statutes which have been passed at various times, affecting either its duration or constitution. In the reign of Edward III. an Act was passed by which Parliaments were to be held annually, in consequence of a disinclination both on the part of the Sovereign to summon them, and of the Representative to attend: arising on the one hand from a too great tendency to arbitrary power, and on the other from a lamentable deficiency in spirit and zeal in the people—the most fatal and ruinous symptom which can exist in a national character: nay, to such a height was this feeling carried, that it was found necessary to pass a law fining Members for non-attendance, and fixing the rate of their wages, as a greater inducement. Still, however, Parliaments were not held or called either according to the letter or spirit of this enactment, the ill effects of which are apparent in every page of our history. At length, in the 16th of Charles II. c. 1. it was ordained that Parliaments should be assembled every three years: and in the 6th of Wm. and Mary, c. 2. the Triennial Act was passed, which recites, "that by the ancient laws and statutes of the kingdom, frequent parliaments ought to be held, and that frequent and new parliaments tended very much to the happy union and good agreement of the king and people, and enacts that a new parliament should be called once in three years at the least."

The last Act relating to this subject, and under which the present duration of Parliaments exists, is the stat. 1 Geo. I. s. 2. c. 38. It recites, that "it had been found by experience that the clause in the Act of William and Mary, limiting the duration of parliaments to three years, had been found grievous and burdensome, by occasioning greater expenses at elections, and more violent and lasting heats and animosities, than ever were before known; and there being a restless and Popish faction in the kingdom, designing and endeavouring to renew rebellion and an invasion from abroad, and that if continued it might prove destructive to the peace and security of the Government;" and therefore it ordains, "that all future parliaments shall continue seven years, unless sooner dissolved by the sovereign authority."

This Act, commonly called the Septennial Act, was not passed without earnest discussion and resistance, as every one conversant in the history of the Country well knows; and I find in a Protest in the House of Lords, on that occasion, arguments so cogent, and so applicable to the view I entertain of this question, that I hope the House will excuse me if I read a short extract from it. After claiming frequent Parliaments, as agreeable to the Constitution, and the practice of ages, and denying the right of a House of

Commons elected for three years, to extend its duration to seven, the protesting Lords go on in these words:

"We conceive that this Bill is so far from preventing expenses and corruptions, that it will rather increase them; for the longer a Parliament is to last, the more valuable to be purchased is a station in it, and the greater also is the danger of corrupting the Members of it; for if ever there should be a Ministry who shall want a Parliament to screen them from the just resentment of the people, or from a discovery of their ill practices to the King, who cannot otherwise, or so truly be informed of them, as by a free Parliament, it is so much the interest of such a Ministry to influence the elections, (which by their authority, and the disposal of the public money, they, of all others, have the best means of doing,) that it is to be feared they will be tempted, and not fail to make use of them; and even when the Members are chosen, they have a greater opportunity of inducing very many to comply with them, than they could have, if not only the Sessions of Parliament, but Parliament itself, were reduced to the ancient and primitive constitution and practice of frequent and new Parliaments: for as a good Ministry will neither practise nor need corruption, so it cannot be any Lord's intention to provide for the security of a bad one."

This measure, which I cannot but characterise as a most daring and unconstitutional exercise of Parliamentary authority, was undoubtedly founded on circumstances of temporary necessity, to be justified only by the fact, that if an election had then taken place, it would have been matter of great uncertainty, whether a majority would not have been returned adverse to the Brunswick family, and to the existence of those civil and religious liberties, for the maintenance of which they had been elected and summoned to the throne. Upon this subject, I know historians have widely differed; my own opinion is, that however much posterity may feel grateful for the result which attended that measure, as far as regarded the eternal expulsion of the Stewart family, they must always reprobate the means by which it was obtained, as having established a most dangerous precedent, and opened a source of parliamentary corruption, which it was the most earnest endeavour of our ancestors at the Revolution to eradicate.

I should not therefore consider any alteration beneficial which did not include a recurrence to Triennial Parliaments, affording, as they would, the very best security for that frequent communication between the Representative and his Constituents, the absence of which is but too apt to render him entirely independent of them, and regardless of any interests but his own.

The next point to which I shall call the attention of the House, regards the electors and elected. After the best research which I

can make into the subject, and the maturest deliberation, I remain convinced, that until the reign of Henry VI. all English freemen were entitled to vote for Representatives. Without going into the remote ages of our Saxon ancestors, I find this doctrine acknowledged by declarations from Sovereigns in various forms, and by a special Act of Parliament. Edward I. in his first writ of summons to the Sheriffs, requires the return of two knights, who are to be chosen by the *commonalty of each county*, and two Citizens and Burgesses by the commonalty of each city or borough: and gives as his reason, what he justly calls a most equitable one—namely, "that what concerns all, should be approved by all; and that dangers common to all should be obviated by remedies provided by all." In the same spirit was it, I apprehend, that Edward III. said, in reply to a petition from the House of Commons in favor of annually holding Parliaments, and the restriction of voting to what they called the better people in counties—"as to a Parliament every year, there are statutes and ordinances made; let them be duly kept and observed; as to the choice of Knights, the King wills that they be chosen by the *common assent of the whole county*." At last, in the 7th of Hen. IV. this important principle was solemnly recognized in the Statute Book. The Act runs in this form: "Our Lord the King, at the grievous complaint of his Commons, of the undue elections of Knights for counties for the Parliament, which be sometime made by affection of the Sheriffs, and otherwise against the form of the writs directed to the Sheriff and the great slander of the counties, and *hindrance of the business of the commonalty* in the said county," &c. &c. It provides, therefore, "as a *remedy*, that at the next county court after the delivery of the writ, *all they who be there present*, as well suitors duly summoned for the same cause, *as others*, shall attend to the election of their Knights, and then in the full county shall proceed to the election freely and indifferently." Now, if the word "suitor," was not sufficiently comprehensive, the term "and others" clearly proves that all freemen were intended to participate in the election; and in those days nearly every freemen was possessed of some degree of property from which he contributed to the support of the State. This act was still farther recognised in the 11th of Hen. IV. and the 1st of Hen. V., but the latter makes residence a necessary qualification both for electors and elected.

At length, one hundred and thirty-four years after this right had been exercised by the people of England—namely, from the time of Edw. I. to Hen. VI.—the disqualifying statute was passed in the 8th year of the reign of the latter King. It recites, "that elections of Knights in many counties had of late been made by great, outrageous, and excessive numbers of people, *dwelling within the*

*same counties*, of which the most part was people of small substance and no value, *whereof every of them pretended a voice* equivalent with the most worthy Knights, whereby riots, batteries, and so on, among the gentlemen and other people"—(The House will naturally suppose the sentence conluded with "unhappily *have* occurred:" on the contrary all we find is)—"*shall very likely rise and be*—and therefore provides that Knights of the shire shall be chosen by people dwelling and residing in the same counties, whereof every one of them shall have free land or tenement to the value of 40*s*. by the year at least above all charges, and that they which shall be so chosen shall be dwelling and resident within the same counties."

From this period is to be dated the transfer of the elective franchise from all freeholders and all freemen, to freeholders of the amount of 40*s*. a year: a period marked also by another most glaring invasion of the liberties of the people—the adoption of an act compelling laborers and artificers to work for low wages, under severe fines and penalties. As, therefore, all persons denominated liberi-tenentes, and all freemen *possessing property, however small its value, from which they contributed to taxation*, enjoyed the right of voting, until they were most treacherously and tyrannically, disqualified by this act of Hen. VI.—so, I say, now, all Englishmen, possessing the same qualifications, ought to resume those rights which were shamefully wrested from their ancestors under the most false pretences; for the preamble of the Bill, which I have just read, fully exposes the weakness and absurdity of the reasons alleged; and effected also under circumstances, and accompanied by other measures, bearing no other stamp than that of the most arbitrary power.

The Stat. 23 Hen. VI. c. 14. recognises in its recital an Act passed in the 1st Hen. V. respecting what sort of persons shall be choosers, and who shall be chosen Knights and Burgesses; and declares that Knights of the shire shall not be chosen unless they are *resident* within the shire, and the choosers also *resident*, and the same with regard to cities and boroughs. These laws, as to residence, were not repealed until the 14th Geo. III. c. 58; and the reasons assigned in the preamble to that Act are most ludicrous—that the provisions in them had been found by long usage to be unnecessary, and had become obsolete. The fact was, that the qualifications there insisted on as to residence, had long been purposely evaded, or manifestly disregarded, from the most corrupt motives, although the statutes were positive and unrepealed. In these enactments, the principle of a fair and just representation is to be recognised; namely, that no county, city, or borough, should be represented but by persons resident in, or free of them, and con-

sequently acquainted with their various interests and necessities. But is this principle, just as it is, at all applicable to the present state of the Borough system? Many of these boroughs, formerly populous and florishing, and therefore represented, are now decayed and depopulated; consisting, in many instances, only of posts or stones, denoting merely the site of former dwellings. Is it according to the spirit of the Constitution? Is it according to the tenor of the statutes I have just cited, that these substances should return Members to Parliament? And how are they represented? By burgesses "resident in or free of" these boroughs? By no means. I think, if I were to appeal for confirmation to this House, and I were honored with an answer, (which is certainly not very likely,) I should be surrounded by Members, starting up on all sides, declaring that they had never been blessed with the sight of their inanimate, and, fortunately, insensible constituents; or, if they had seen them, it was when, after travelling post-haste to the Land's-end, to undergo the forms and insulting mockery of an election, they had carefully taken them out of their trunks, into which they had recently been transferred from the dignified retirement and security of their Solicitor's Office.

I say, therefore, that the right of sending Members to Parliament, which is now vested in these rotten Boroughs, ought to be abolished; because those places need no separate and distinct representation for themselves; and may be, nay notoriously are, the means of introducing a corrupt influence into this House. As to whether the owners of this borough property ought to receive any compensation or not, as suggested by Mr. Pitt, and I believe lately by a noble Lord near me,[1] I should say, decidedly not, and for this reason—if this right, this white slave-trading right, was taken away from them, they still would remain in possession of their legal and constitutional property, their lands and their houses, the only property the existence of which they dare openly avow to the world. It would not be depriving them of anything they ought to have, it would be depriving them only of the corrupt and unconstitutional practicability of selling seats in Parliament, or bartering them for places, pensions, sinecures, and other appointments in the gift of the Minister.

Here, Sir, I may observe, that down to the reign of Henry VIII., possibly later, Members of Parliament received wages from their constituents, as I have stated before, which were assessed and levied by a public rate. The practice is undoubtedly in one sense discontinued; for the constituents in many places are now paid themselves for performing their functions, and the Members in

[1] Lord John Russell

return claim and receive their wages in other quarters. This payment, when effected by constituents, operated as a bond of union, and attached their representatives to them as their employers. The principle of payment still, I believe, prevails: but the employers are changed, and, I fear, the people of England do not consider the change as having operated beneficially for their interests.

But, setting aside the delicate question of payment, both as regards the Member and his constituents, surely it cannot be, as Locke has well observed, upon a fair principle of representation, that the Members for boroughs possessing no population, or at most only a few burgage-houses, should have an equal right with the Representatives of the largest counties in England, to vote away the money of the inhabitants of those counties, with whom they have not the remotest connexion; a right forming the most important privilege of the Constitution, and which was vested in it solely for the benefit and protection of the People. I am aware that it is difficult to obtain an exact equality of representation, both as to numbers and property; but I consider it an object which ought to be attended to as much as possible. Property of some degree, no matter how low the value, must be the best basis on which to found the elective franchise. It is that, from which those resources are drawn, which support the State, and whose application its possessor has a right to regulate and control through his representative. It affords the best pledge for his conduct, and renders him independent of that commanding and overbearing influence or temptation, which, if exerted against a poor and dependent man, would prevent the possibility of his bestowing a free and unbiassed suffrage.

I contend also, that owing to various circumstances, the lapse of time, the increase of population in some places, the decrease in others, and the enormous extension of the influence of the Crown, our system of Representation has fallen into a degree of decay and imperfection, which imperiously calls for reformation and amendment. The nature and extent of that alteration, I own it to be difficult to determine. I am not presumptuous enough to imagine, that the course I recommend is the only one befitting us to adopt; but I think it fair in introducing this question, for which I contend on the ground both of justice and expediency, to state at once and openly, how far I think a change beneficial, and likely to be effectual in removing those evils of which we complain.

The principle of a change in our representative system is not new, and has been acted on at different times, as may be seen by a reference to various acts of Parliament. The 27th of Hen. VIII. c. 26. regulates the representation of Wales. The 35th of Hen. VIII. c. 11. settles the wages of Knights and Burgesses in Wales, and

declares who shall be the choosers of Burgesses. The 34th of Hen. VIII. c. 13. recites, that "the County Palatine of Chester had hitherto been excluded from sending Members to Parliament, by reason whereof the inhabitants had sustained many *losses and damages* as well in their lands and goods and bodies, as in the *civil and politic maintenance and governance* of the commonwealth of the county; and as a *remedy to restore quietness, rest, and peace*—It is enacted, that the County shall send two Knights of the shire, and the City of Chester two Burgesses, to Parliament." The next and last statute to which I shall refer, is one in which, I confess, I am peculiarly interested, as without its adoption, I should not have had the honor of now addressing this House. In the 25th of Charles II. c. 9. I find it asserted, "that the inhabitants of the County of Durham are *liable to all payments, rates, and subsidies*, granted by Parliament, equally with the inhabitants of other counties, and are therefore *equally concerned with them* to have their Knights and Burgesses to represent the condition of their County, and they are accordingly authorised to send two Knights for the County and two Burgesses for the City." After citing this last Act, I, above all others, may be permitted, in the language adopted in reference to the County I represent, to say on behalf of the unrepresented classes of England, that they are "liable to taxation equally" with other subjects, and therefore ought to be represented in Parliament. Those unrepresented classes, thus contributing to taxation, are Copyholders, Leaseholders, and Householders. On these principles, therefore, and in the words of the Chester Act, "as a remedy to restore quietness, rest, and peace," I should propose that they should be admitted to the enjoyment of that privilege.

In order to effect this, I have prepared a Bill, with the assistance of a learned friend of mine, whose valuable and efficient co-operation I beg leave now gratefully to acknowlege; and if the House will allow me, I shall, as shortly as possible, detail its provisions and objects. It is divided into three parts. The 1st part relating to Householders, and the division of the County into Districts, each returning one Representative. The 2d, adding Copyholders and Leaseholders to the County Representation. And the 3d, repealing the Septennial Act, and limiting the duration of Parliament to three years.

As to the first part—The necessity of dividing the County into districts must be apparent, in order to give effect to the proposition for enabling *all* Householders to vote, as without such an arrangement no Householder could vote, unless he resided in a town to which the right of Representation was annexed. The effect of a division into districts, would be to give a Representative to every 25,000 inhabitants,—of whom, reckoning one in ten to be a House-

holder, paying rates and taxes, 2,500 would be electors. This calculation is made on the assumption that the population of England and Wales amounts to ten millions and a half, to be represented by 417 Members; the number remaining, after deducting the County Members, and those for the two Universities, whose representation I do not propose to alter. In 1817 it was calculated that the population of London amounted to 1,140,000, the number of houses to 161,882. It would thus appear that one in seven and a half was a householder; and if this scale were to be applied generally, it would give 3,750 constituents to each Member: but considering that great allowance must be made for the number of householders who are not rated, and do not pay taxes, as owners of small cottages, and persons receiving parochial relief, I think the fairest and truest estimate will be, that which reduces the calculation to one in ten.

The right of voting I propose should be given in these districts, to all inhabitant Householders, *bona fide* rated to church or poor, or assessed to, or paying direct taxes for six months previous to the first day of election, not having received parochial relief; every such person, except persons now disqualified otherwise than as Catholics, to be entitled to vote.

The next provision I was anxious to make, was for the fitness and impartiality of the returning officer for those districts, on the correct and fair discharge of whose duty so much necessarily depends. I propose, that he should be an acting Magistrate within the district, and be chosen annually by the overseers and churchwardens; no Magistrate to be eligible two years running, or to be bound to act within three years. His being elected by those who derive their appointment chiefly from the Electors of the district, will inspire greater confidence than if the office were held either permanently, or independently of the inhabitants. I propose also to authorise him to appoint a Deputy to attend to the minor details of the duty, which can frequently be better performed by a professional person, whose residence on the spot is always fixed and certain; but that the principal should be bound always to attend at the election. For the purpose of still farther providing for the impartiality of the returning officer, I have inserted a clause, rendering him liable to imprisonment, if he acts corruptly, as is provided in Ireland by the Stat. 57 Geo. III. c. 131. The Magistrate, however, may decline acting as returning officer, on payment of a fine of 200*l.* to the poor of the district. This provision I have thought necessary, as it is possible that a Magistrate might be elected, who had intentions of offering himself as a candidate for the representation of the district.

The election I should propose to take place in the chief town

in the district, to commence before twelve o'clock on the first day. If a poll is demanded, to be opened on the same day, or the next at farthest; and to be kept open on all days, except the day of demanding it, for eight hours at least; not to last longer than six days, including the first day of election; to be closed at three o'clock on the last day, and the return to be made immediately, unless a scrutiny be demanded. The returning officer will be obliged to provide a sufficient number of polling booths, separate, and with good access; the votes to be taken in them alphabetically; the letters, for which each booth is designed, to be affixed on the outside. In districts consisting of more than one parish, where the voters reside more than five miles from the chief place of election, votes may be tendered to the overseers of the parish where those voters reside. The poll there taken to last three days; to be kept open five hours each day: only three days are given, exclusive of the first day, in order that the parish-poll may be received the evening before the sixth and final day of the district poll, and thus enable the gross poll to be declared immediately on its close. The object of this arrangement is to prevent the great expense of the conveyance of voters, by enabling all those who cannot, or will not, proceed at their own expense to the chief town, to tender their votes at a moderate distance from their places of abode: whilst at the same time it leaves unaltered and untouched that spirit, energy, and interest, which always characterise the proceedings of an election held in a populous town, where the candidate appears personally before large bodies of his countrymen, to answer openly for his past conduct, and give such pledges for his future actions as may publicly be required of him.

I wish also to provide for ample public notices of the election being generally circulated throughout the district: at present, such notices are generally given either by proclamation, or by that much calumniated individual, the bellman, whose announcement of the Suffolk Reform Petition has been so much objected to in the early part of this evening, by the Honorable Member for that county.[1] I propose that the Sheriff should issue his precept within three days of the receipt of the writ, to the returning officer of each district within his jurisdiction; the returning officer to give public notice, within 36 hours, of the time and place of election, and to proceed to the election on the Monday next, after two days from the time of giving that notice. Now, by the Stat. 7 & 8 Will. 3. the Sheriff is to deliver the precept within three days, and the election must be held within eight days; four days' notice at least being given. This new arrangement would make little difference in the time of holding the election, after the returning officer received the

[1] Mr. Gooch.

precept, but would secure the election not breaking into two weeks. Every returning officer, on the receipt of the precept, to affix notices on the doors of the churches, and on the market places, of the time and place of election. The overseers to be obliged to make and send alphabetical lists of all persons rated, to the returning officer, within a fortnight after the publication of the rate, as also the collectors of the taxes, after the receipt of their warrants of collection. By this means, the returning officer will be always sure to have the proper rate ready in case of vacancies; as, if it was to be delivered only yearly, it might never be a correct guide. The confusion which arises in taking a poll, would be thereby much diminished, and the opportunities for taking objections lessened.

I propose that all persons now entitled to vote for any borough, or town, or place, now represented in Parliament, should be empowered to vote for life, (or as long as the right, in respect of which they claim, remains,) at all elections in that district within which the place is situated.

All the expenses of these District Elections, that are authorised by the Bill—namely, those relating to polling-places, clerks, messengers, and other necessary charges—will be paid out of the poor-rates of the several parishes in each district, by warrant from the returning officer and one other Magistrate. This power of issuing a warrant is sanctioned by other instances, somewhat similar. The stat. 27 Eliz. c. 13. s. 5. making the hundred liable for a moiety of the damages received, enacts, that two Justices shall rate the different parishes to an equal contribution. The stat. 1 Geo. I. c. 5. s. 6. adopts the same course for recovery of the sums, referring to the 27th Eliz. These statutes are amended by the 8th Geo. II. c. 26. and the 22d Geo. 2. c. 46: all of which authorise the assessment to be made by two Justices; and, lastly, the 57th Geo. III. c. 19. adopts the same course, taking as a precedent the 1st Geo. I. c. 5.

And now, as to County Elections—I do not propose to alter the mode in which they now exist, further than by adding, as Electors, Copyholders and Leaseholders, and making the same regulations as to the prevention of expense in the conveyance of voters from distant parts, as I have detailed before in that part of the Bill which relates to Districts. I conceive copyhold property, whatever it might have been in feudal times, to be now as good as freehold, because the possessor of it cannot be deprived of it, as formerly, at the will of the lord. I propose also, to grant the elective franchise to Leaseholders for terms of years renewable at the will of the lessee, and for terms of which 21 years are unexpired. (I should here observe, that even now a lease for life is a freehold, and gives a right to vote.) This will enable proprietors under college or

other ecclesiastical leases, or under long leases for small and nominal rents, such as building leases, to vote at County Elections; in which privilege I would also join freeholders of 40s. in towns which are counties within themselves, in order to avoid the anomaly which now exists, of there being freeholders in some places who have no right to vote, either for the county or town in which their property is situated.

The polling for Counties I propose to be on the same principle as in District Elections, for the reasons I have before stated; the votes to be tendered in hundreds or wards to the high constable; but the election to take place in the county-town, as now; the duration of the County Poll to be 10 days, that of the Hundred Poll 5 days; the high constable, his deputies and messengers, to receive a certain remuneration. There is no provision of this kind intended for the overseers in districts, because they are numerous, and will not have to go out of their parish. But the office of high constable is generally executed by an individual, who will have some distance to go from home. The Sheriff to have the power of appointing as many booths as may be deemed necessary to facilitate the taking the poll. Under the present law, 18 Geo. 2. c. 18. s. 7, he can only appoint as many booths as there are hundreds, from which much inconvenience frequently results. There is no one who has witnessed a contested County Election, but must be aware, that it often happens that one booth, for the most populous hundred, is crowded from the first to the last day of the election, to the great hindrance and inconvenience of the voters, whilst others are constantly empty, and the clerks unoccupied.

I propose that the same oaths should be taken by the Electors, under this Bill, as at present, with the exception of the Catholic oaths and declarations (provided by the 30th Chas. II., and 1st Geo. I.) Those Acts, which are now mere instruments of illiberal and impolitic intolerance, of course I shall not embody in a measure of enfranchisement. In addition, however, to the present oaths, are added some to be taken by copyholders, leaseholders, and householders; as also an oath to be taken by every Candidate, before his return, and on his taking his seat, that he has not, and will not give or offer any bribe of any description to any voter, or any person in trust for him. This oath to be administered by the returning officer, under a penalty of 500*l.* for omission; and all laws now in force against bribery are to be applied to those convicted, on the evidence of two witnesses, of having offered any inducement to an Elector to give his vote.

Finally, all Ambassadors, and persons accepting offices under His Majesty, the duties of which are to be executed abroad, will be deemed ineligible; and, if previously elected, their seats will be vacated on such acceptance; as, under those circum-

stances, it would be morally impossible for them properly to discharge their duties to their constituents. I have not made any provision disabling other Placemen or Pensioners from sitting in Parliament; because, however much such a measure may be desirable and necessary in an unreformed, I do not think it required in a reformed House of Commons. An individual accepting a place or pension, will be immediately amenable to the judgment of his constituents; who, if they disapprove of his conduct, will have the opportunity of expressing that opinion in the most efficacious mode, by ceasing to return him as their Representative. On the other hand, if, after mature deliberation, they do not consider his acceptance of such situations or appointments incompatible with the due performance of his duties to them, it would be hard to deprive them of the benefit of those services which they desire and are willing to accept, with the full knowlege of the circumstances under which he again presents himself to their notice. I know that this principle is supposed to be acted on, even now—but the effect produced is materially and essentially different. Under the present system, the placeman or pensioner who vacates, appeals, in nine cases out of ten, to the judgment of nominal or mock constituents. Under the operation of this Bill, the elective body will be so numerous, and so independent, that their decision will always be formed on a consideration of what is most conducive to the general interests of the country; without any reference to those selfish and corrupt views, which now unhappily influence the proceedings of those select bodies, in whose hands the borough Representation is vested.

I have not extended the provisions of this Act beyond England and Wales, because a noble friend of mine[1] has already given notice of a motion on the subject of the Representation of Scotland, which he wished should be kept separate; and it would be easy, if the Bill were carried, to include in it both that country and Ireland.

I have now gone through the principal and most important details of this Bill. It is not my intention now to move for leave to bring it in. I shall pursue the course adopted by the learned Member for the University of Dublin, with regard to the Catholic claims, and shall conclude this day, by moving that this House will resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the state of the Representation. If that Committee is granted me, I shall move in it resolutions embodying the principle on which this Bill is founded, recommending its introduction, and asserting the expediency of thus far extending the Elective Fran-

[1] Lord A. Hamilton.

chise, as founded on a recurrence to the first principles of the Constitution, which declare, according to Lord Chatham, that to be taxed without being represented, is contrary to the maxims of law and reason, and strengthened by the evident tendency of many acts of the legislature, which prove that defects in our Representative System have been amended when the exigencies of the State required.

It will be but fair here to state, that I consider no one, who votes for going into the Committee, as at all pledged to the principle of the Bill: I consider such a vote as merely sanctioning the assertion that the state of the Representative System is such as to require consideration in this House, with a view to its amendment.

I well know, that in advocating the propriety of an extended change, I shall be opposed by the misrepresentations of some, the sophistries of others, and the fears of many—fears which it has been the object of a certain class of politicians to excite on all occasions, and through them to carry on the Government of this country—a system which has never been considered as auspicious to the existence of liberty in any country, or at any period. It was first commenced at the French Revolution, by Mr. Pitt, to cover his abandonment of his early principles, and his adoption of that very system under which he had declared no minister *could* act honestly. This mode has been carried on to the present day, and our minds, it seems, are still to be alarmed by visions of anarchy and confusion, to be realised whenever the people are put in possession of those Elective privileges which their ancestors once peaceably enjoyed. I should have thought that a participation in acknowleged rights and benefits, was not the surest incentive to treason and disaffection—but rather a security for submission and tranquillity. It was on the latter principle, I imagine, that our ancestors acted, when they granted the solicitations of the inhabitants of Wales, Chester, and Durham, and recorded in the most solemn manner on the Statute Book, their conviction that affording large classes of the community an interest in the Constitution, was the best, and wisest, and safest mode of providing for its well-being and permaneney.

The system pursued by the gentlemen opposite is widely different. They obstinately exclude the petitioners of the present day; heap on them every term of reproach which the ingenuity of wit, or the bitterness of sarcasm, as administered by the Right Hon. Member for Liverpool,[1] can supply, and then express astonishment and alarm at the feelings which they hear repeated and re-

[1] Mr. Canning.

echoed on all sides. To repress these, innumerable acts of restraint and coercion have been proposed by them, and of course adopted by Parliament. The right of publicly meeting to discuss public affairs has been fatally abridged, and the result of this is an awful—sullen silence; still they are not satisfied: nor can it be a matter of surprise—the debate of last night[1] sufficiently shows that they do not forget the insecurity of power founded on force, and force alone. Hence is to be traced the course of all their proceedings, tending manifestly to one object—the repression of that voice of public complaint; which, I will tell them, may yield to conciliation, but never will to severity.

Yet, in the midst of all their alterations of the laws in order to smother these complaints, they at the same time talk loudly of the dangers of innovation! Who, I should be glad to ask, are the greatest innovators? They who seek to restore the purity of the Constitution? or they who suspend the Habeas Corpus Act—pass indemnity Bills—suspend the right of publicly meeting—who attack the liberty of the press by taxation and banishment?—These, and many other atrocities have been perpetrated by the ministers opposite, and yet they have the effrontery to charge others with that very crime, of which they, above all men, are most guilty. On my part, I deny the charge of innovation: I ask no privileges, which have not already been enjoyed by our ancestors, and to which I do not consider their posterity as entitled on every ground both of justice and expediency.

Before I conclude, I must notice two arguments which have greatly been insisted on as fatal to Reform. The one is, that the present System, however faulty in theory, works well in practice; the other, that were it not for rotten boroughs, men of talent, without property, would be excluded from seats in this House. That this System works well in practice for the honorable gentlemen opposite, their friends, their relations, and their families, I cannot deny: the fact is unquestionably proved by a reference to the place lists and pension lists; but that it works ill for the country, is as surely demonstrated by a view of its present state and condition. If any man will prove to me that the country is rich, florishing and contented—happy at home, and respected abroad—I will then own to him that the System works as well for the people, as it evidently does for the gentlemen opposite. As for the other assertion,—I deny that the effect of a Reform would be to exclude men of talent, without property, from the House of Commons. History has always proved, that characters of such a description have much sooner found their level under a free and con-

[1] On Yeomanry Corps, in the Army Estimates.

stitutionally Representative Government, than under a corrupt or a despotic one. But even if that were the case, I hold it to be no argument against Reform. For, was this House originally intended as a theatre for the display of talents and abilities? Or was it provided as an institution, forming a check on the power of the Crown? in which honesty and independence would be infinitely more valuable, especially in the exercise of its most important function, the management of the public revenue, than all the rhetorical exhibitions which could be held up to popular admiration. If this latter be the correct view of the question, then I submit that I am entitled to make the talents of the members secondary to the purity of the House. To take the case into private life, I must confess, that in my own establishment, I would much rather be served by a man of plain, downright, even stupid honesty, than by the most eminently gifted rascal that ever wore a livery.

I fear that I have detained the House too long; but the question is so extensive and complicated, that even now I feel conscious that I must have omitted many arguments and statements which bear strongly on the case. All I beg is, that its merits may not be affected by my demerits; and that the House will consider its real and serious claims on their attention, without any reference to its advocate. This is not a time at which PUBLIC OPINION can be trifled with; it is making rapid and mighty progress throughout the world. Wherever it is resisted, as in Italy, the results are deplorable, and all tend to some great convulsion. Where its power and justice are acknowleged, as in Spain, the prospect is most cheering. We see disaffection instantaneously quelled—venerable and rotten abuses reformed—superstition eradicated—and the Monarch and the people united under a Constitution, which alike secures the privileges of the one, and the liberties of the other. May I not then consistently hail the rising of this star, in what was once the most gloomy portion of the European horizon, as a light to show us the way through all our dangers and difficulties—as a splendid memorial of the all-conquering power of PUBLIC OPINION? If there be any, who deny the existence of that feeling in this country, steadily directed towards a reformation of all public abuses, I am not one of those. If there be any, who shrink from advocating this great and vital question in this House, and thus attempting to stem the torrent of corruption, on account of the obloquy or calumny by which they may be assailed, again I say, I am not one of those,—

> .....Though perils did
> Abound as thick as thought could make them, and
> Appear in forms more horrid—yet my duty,
> As doth a rock against the chiding flood,
> Should the approach of this wild river break,
> And stand unshaken.

Sir, I move you, that this House do resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider the state of the Representation of the people in Parliament.

A

# BILL

*For effecting a Reform in the Representation of the People in Parliament.*

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS many boroughs and towns in England and Wales which now send burgesses to parliament have fallen greatly into decay, and contain but few voters to return such members to parliament: and whereas many other towns and places of great wealth population and consequence do not return burgesses to serve in parliament: and whereas many persons inhabitants and householders in various parts of England and Wales have no right to vote at and have no voice in the election of any members to serve in parliament, and yet are liable to all payments rates and taxes granted by parliament equally with persons voting in the election of members to serve in parliament, and are therefore equally interested and concerned with them to be truly and faithfully represented in parliament; by means whereof the representation of the people of England and Wales in the Commons House of parliament has become and is greatly defective: and whereas it is just and equitable that that which affects all should be imposed only by the common assent of all, and that none should be taxed but by their representatives duly and fairly chosen and returned by themselves; for remedy whereof therefore, and for the promoting and maintaining the prosperity of the crown and the satisfaction and contentment of the people,

[Boroughs returning Members at present not to return after the present Parliament, except the two Universities.] Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the termination of this present Parliament, the several cities towns boroughs cinque ports and other places within England and Wales, which have heretofore been accustomed to return citizens burgesses and barons to serve in parliament, save only the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, shall from thenceforth cease to return such citizens burgesses and barons as aforesaid to serve in parliament as heretofore.

[England and Wales divided into Districts for the purpose of returning Members to Parliament.] And for the providing more fully and equally for the due representation of the people of England and Wales in the Commons House of Parliament, Be it further enacted, that the several counties cities

boroughs towns and other places throughout England and Wales, shall, for the returning of members to parliament and for the purposes of this Act, be divided into the several districts of boroughs contained in the Schedule to this Act annexed marked (A); and that from and after the termination of this present parliament each of the said several districts shall in all future parliaments to be holden in and for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland return such one or more member or members to represent such districts respectively in parliament as are set and placed against such districts respectively in the said Schedule hereunto annexed marked (A) to be elected and returned in manner hereinafter provided.

[When the Town at which the election is directed to be held is in the jurisdiction of any Sheriff, all places in that District to be held to be within his jurisdiction for the purposes of this Act.] And whereas certain parts of some such districts are situated in separate and distinct shires counties or jurisdictions; be it therefore further enacted, that for the purposes of this Act every parish village hamlet or other place whatsoever forming part of any such district shall be taken and held for all the purposes of this Act to be in the same shire county and jurisdiction wherein the place whereat the election for such district is hereby directed to be held as hereinafter provided shall be situated, and shall from and after the issuing of the writ for holding any such election as hereinafter provided be taken to be subject in all respects, for the purposes of such election and for the preservation of the peace during the continuance of the same, to the authority control and jurisdiction of the sheriff or sheriffs and all magistrates of that shire or county wherein such place appointed for holding such election as hereinafter provided shall be situate, and to the jurisdiction of the returning officer of such district, in like manner as if such parish township village hamlet aud other place forming part of such district had been actually situate in the same shire, county, and jurisdiction, and subject to the same control and jurisdiction as such place appointed for holding such election.

[Writs to be issued by Lord Chancellor on new Parliaments.] And be it further enacted, that when any new parliament shall at any time hereafter be summoned or called, that in lieu of the writs heretofore issued by the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain for the election and return of citizens burgesses and barons for cities boroughs towns cinque ports and other places other than the several shires of England and Wales and the said two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the said Lord High Chancellor shall issue writs made and sealed under the great seal of Great Britain in like manner as writs have heretofore been accustomed to be issued for the election and return of such citizens burgesses and barons as aforesaid, which said writs shall be directed to the sheriff or sheriffs of each and every county of Great Britain and Wales; whereby the said sheriffs respectively shall be commanded to cause to be elected freely and indifferently such member or members for each and every district within the county bailiwick or jurisdiction of such sheriff or sheriffs respectively as are in this Act directed and required to be elected and returned, and such sheriffs respectively shall be thereby required to return the same in like manner as such sheriffs or other persons, to whom such writs for the election of citizens burgesses and barons, as aforesaid have heretofore been directed, have been required to return such citizens burgesses and barons, and such writs shall be forwarded conveyed delivered and transmitted to and received and dealt with by such sheriffs respectively in like manner as writs for the election of members to serve in parliament are now required to be forwarded conveyed delivered and transmitted received and dealt with under and by virtue of the several Acts

made and now in force concerning the delivery and conveyance of writs for the election of members to serve in parliament.

[On a Vacancy Speaker to issue his Warrant.] And be it further enacted, that during the sitting of any parliament which shall be held after the termination of this present parliament, when any vacancy shall occur in the representation of any such district or districts throughout England and Wales as aforesaid by the death or other removal of any member or members having represented such district or otherwise, such writ or writs as aforesaid shall be issued for supplying the vacancy or vacancies thereby occasioned, directed to the sheriff or sheriffs of the county or counties respectively wherein such district or districts shall be situated respectively, in like manner as writs for the choosing and returning citizens burgesses and barons are now issued during the sitting of the high court of parliament, according to the ancient jurisdiction and authority of the commons house of parliament in that behalf accustomed and used, and the several Acts made and now in force respecting the issuing of the same.

[Who shall be Returning Officers.—Magistrates to be elected by Overseers and Churchwardens as Returning Officers.] And be it further enacted, that for the providing of fit and competent persons to be returning officers in the said several districts respectively, the churchwardens chapelwardens and overseers of the poor of each and every parish township chapelry hamlet or other division in each and every of the said several districts shall on the fourth Monday next after Easter day, or in default thereof so soon after as they shall be required by public notice in writing signed by any two inhabitant householders of such district, or by any one magistrate having jurisdiction in such district, and published in some newspaper usually circulating in such district, in each and every year after the passing of this Act, meet in the vestry room or other most usual place of holding vestries within the principal town village parish township chapelry hamlet or other division of such district whereat the election for such district is hereby directed to be holden as hereinafter provided, and after electing a chairman of such meeting, who shall have the casting vote in such meeting, on all questions put to the vote at such meeting where there shall be an equality of votes on such questions, but who shall not otherwise vote thereon, shall proceed to elect by a majority of voices of those present at such meeting some one acting magistrate within such district or within some borough town or other separate jurisdiction within such district, if any such there shall be, and if not then some acting magistrate within the borough town hundred riding county or other division wherein such district shall be situate, such magistrate not being a peer of the realm or clerk in holy orders, to become and act as returning officer for such district for which he shall be so chosen as aforesaid, for the year commencing from the first day of June next after such day of election, and until some other person shall be duly chosen in his stead as such returning officer, and such magistrate shall be and become, when so chosen and elected as aforesaid, the returning officer of such district for the year commencing from such first day of June next after such day of election and until some other person shall be duly chosen in his stead as such returning officer, and shall after notice of such election by the chairman of such meeting, which notice such chairman is hereby required to give in writing to such magistrate and also to the sheriff or sheriffs of the county wherein such district shall be situate within twenty days next after such election, be bound to perform and execute all the duties of such returning officer, and to preside at all elections of a member or members to serve in parliament within the district for which he shall be chosen such returning officer as aforesaid, during the time that he shall be and continue such returning officer, and shall execute all such duties in like manner and shall take

the like oaths and be subject to the like pains penalties rules laws regulations directions immunities and disqualifications as the returning officers of any borough town cinque port or other place now sending members to parliament, excepting as is herein otherwise particularly provided and enacted: provided always, that no such magistrate shall be eligible to be or shall be elected as such returning officer for two successive years, or shall be bound to accept the office or to perform the duties of such returning officer for the same district within three years from the time of such magistrate's having been the returning officer of such district.

[Returning Officer giving Notice to Sheriffs may appoint a Deputy, and Office where Duties of Returning Officer shall be executed.] And be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for any such magistrate who shall be chosen and elected the returning officer of any such district to nominate and appoint some fit and proper person or persons as his deputy or deputies, and to name and appoint some place or office within such district, giving notice thereof to the sheriff or sheriffs of the county wherein such district shall be situate, where the duties of such returning officer shall and may be performed; and any person or persons accepting such nomination and appointment shall be bound to perform and execute all the duties of such returning officer (excepting the duty of presiding at elections in such district, which every returning officer shall be bound to perform in person excepting in the case of serious illness or some urgent and sudden necessity, in which case such deputy or deputies may act in his behalf) in like manner as any returning officer would be likewise bound to perform the same; and all notices precepts and other proceedings served at such place shall be held to be good to all intents and purposes, and binding on such returning officer as if the same had been served at the dwelling house of such returning officer, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding; and any returning officer, or deputy returning officer, and each of them who shall refuse or neglect to perform his duty as such returning officer or deputy returning officer, when duly required so to do, shall forfeit £ with treble costs, for each and every such instance of refusal or neglect, to any person suing for the same in any of the courts at Westminster.

[Returning Officer acting corruptly to be imprisoned, and rendered incapable of acting as a Magistrate or holding any Office under the Crown.] And for the purpose of guarding against corrupt and partial conduct of returning officers at elections of members to serve in parliament for such districts, be it further enacted, that every returning officer or deputy returning officer who shall be by due course of law convicted of having acted corruptly or partially in the execution of his duty of returning officer or deputy returning officer of any such district, at any election of member to serve in parliament for such district, shall be adjudged guilty of a high misdemeanor, and be imprisoned for such time, not exceeding three years nor less than one year, as to the court, before whom such returning officer shall be tried, shall seem fit and meet; and such person so convicted shall from thenceforth be incapable of acting as a magistrate or of holding any office under the Crown.

[Magistrates may decline, and pay £200 Fine to the Poor.] And whereas it may happen that in some instances magistrates may be chosen returning officers for districts for which such magistrates may have an idea of offering themselves as candidates for the representation thereof: and whereas such magistrates would be disqualified by the existing laws as such returning officers from representing the district for which they were respectively such returning officers, and might therefore be prevented from offering themselves as such candidates; be it therefore further enacted, that if any magistrate shall be chosen or elected returning officer of any district for

which he may intend to offer himself as a candidate to represent such district in parliament, it shall and may be lawful for any such magistrate, on giving notice to the sheriff or sheriffs of the county wherein such district shall be situate, and paying a fine of £200 to such sheriff or sheriffs for the use of the poor of the several parishes hamlets villages chapelries townships or other divisions within the district whereof he shall be so chosen or elected such returning officer, and to be paid by such sheriff or sheriffs to the respective overseers of the poor thereof, to decline to act as such returning officer on such election; and every such sheriff or sheriffs on the receipt of such notice, and also when and as often as any vacancy shall occur in the office of returning officer in any district within the bailiwick or jurisdiction of such sheriff or sheriffs by reason of the death of such returning officer, or by any such returning officer becoming a peer of the realm, or a clerk in orders or otherwise, shall forthwith cause good and sufficient notices thereof to be given to the respective churchwardens chapelwardens and overseers of the poor of the several parishes hamlets villages chapelries townships and other divisions within such district, commanding them to meet at some time to be mentioned in such notices, and at the usual place of such meeting, to be also mentioned in such notices, for the purpose of electing some other such magistrate as and for the returning officer of such district, and such churchwardens chapelwardens and overseers of the poor shall accordingly meet in pursuance of such notices and shall proceed to the election of some other such magistrate as and for such returning officer in like manner as is hereby prescribed and directed for the annual election of such returning officers; and any such magistrate so elected at such meeting shall serve as such returning officer for the current year of such election, and until some other person shall be duly chosen as hereinbefore provided as such returning officer.

[Sheriff to issue Precept to elect on Monday next, after two clear Days Notice.] And be it further enacted, that from and after the termination of this present parliament the sheriff or sheriffs of each and every county throughout England and Wales shall forthwith, on the receipt of any such writ or writs as aforesaid for the election and return of any member or members for any district or districts within his or their bailiwick or jurisdiction, make out, and within three days from the time of the receipt of the said writ deliver, his or their precept or precepts under his or their seal or seals to the returning officer of each and every district within the bailiwick of such sheriff or sheriffs for which such member or members shall be directed to be elected or returned, reciting the said writ and commanding such returning officer to proceed to such election and to make his election of the member or members who shall be chosen for such district, to such sheriff or sheriffs according to due course of law; and every such returning officer upon the back of the same precept shall indorse the day of his receipt thereof in the presence of the party of whom he received such precept, and shall within thirty-six hours then next following cause public notice to be given of the time and place of election, and shall proceed to election thereupon on the Monday next after two clear days, whereof Sunday may be one, from the time of giving such notice,

[Public Notices to be affixed on all Churches and Market Places.] And be it further enacted, that besides the public notice to be given as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of every returning officer of every district, and they are hereby required respectively as soon after the receipt of such precept as conveniently may be, and not later in any case than by twelve o'clock at noon on the Saturday next preceding the day of election, to cause public notices in writing to be affixed in some conspicuous part on the principal door of every church or chapel, and also on the market

place, or if none then on some other most conspicuous place within every parish township chapelry hamlet or other place within the district whereof they shall be such returning officers respectively, stating the time and place of holding such election, and the places, if more than at the place of holding such election as hereinafter provided, where any votes within such district may be tendered and recorded, and shall for that purpose use the several forms contained in the schedule hereunto annexed marked (B) as the same may be applicable to such purpose.

[Right of Voting.] And be it further enacted, that from and after the termination of this present parliament the right of election of a member or members to serve in parliament for such several districts in England and Wales as aforesaid respectively, shall be and is hereby declared to be in the inhabitant householders within such districts respectively who shall have been *bona fide rated* to the church or poor within such district respectively, or shall have been assessed towards and shall have paid any direct public taxes within such districts respectively for six calendar months previous to the first day of election, not having for such time received alms or charity in the way of parochial relief, and in none others, except as is hereinafter particularly provided; and that from thenceforth it shall and may be lawful to and for every such inhabitant householder within any such district as aforesaid, who shall at any election for a member or members to serve in parliament for such district be of the age of twenty-one years, to vote for such member or members at such election: Provided nevertheless, that no person or persons shall be entitled to vote at such election who would be disqualified from voting at elections of members to serve in parliament according to the laws now in force respecting the disqualification of any person or persons to vote in the election of any members to serve at this present time in parliament, except persons professing the Roman catholic religion, who are hereby declared to be entitled to vote at such elections; and the returning officer for the time being of every such district as aforesaid to whom the return of every writ or precept for the election of any member or members to serve in parliament for any such district shall belong, shall return to the sheriff or sheriffs of the county wherein such district shall be situate the person or persons to serve in parliament for such district who shall have the major number of such votes within such district, not being disqualified from voting as aforesaid.

[Oaths to be taken.] And be it further enacted, that every person or persons before he or they is or are admitted to poll at any such election as aforesaid, shall, if duly required so to do, take and subscribe all the several oaths and make all the several affirmations and declarations directed by the laws now in force to be taken and subscribed and made by persons voting in the election of burgesses to serve in parliament at this present time, as far as the same may be applicable to such person or persons respectively, excepting only the oath generally called the oath of supremacy, and the declaration generally called the declaration of test, and such oaths and declarations as relate to the Roman catholic religion; and every inhabitant householder before he is admitted to poll at any such election shall, in addition thereto, if required by any candidate at such election or any person having a right to vote at such election, first take the oath, or, being a quaker, the solemn affirmation following; that is to say,

'I, *A. B.*, *(signifying his trade or profession)* do swear (*or*, solemnly affirm) that I am an inhabitant householder of this district, and that the place of my abode is at in the parish (*or*, hamlet, &c. *as the case may be*) of *(stating his place of residence)* in this district, and that I have for the space of six months immediately previous to this

election, to the best of my knowledge and belief, been rated to the relief of the poor of the said parish (*or*, hamlet, &c.) of in this district, or have been assessed towards and have paid direct public taxes within the said parish (*or*, hamlet, &c.) and that I am twenty-one years of age to the best of my knowledge and belief, and have not before been polled at this election for this district.'

Which oath or solemn affirmation the returning officer of such election, or his deputy or any poll clerk, or person taking the poll, shall be and are hereby authorised and empowered and required to administer.

[Persons now entitled to vote for any Borough, &c. to be entitled to vote for Life.—Oath to be taken.] Provided always, and be it further enacted, that any person or persons who may now have, or who shall before the termination of this present parliament acquire, a perfect right to vote in the election of any citizen burgess or baron to serve in parliament for any city borough town cinque port or other place now sending members to parliament, shall after the termination of this present parliament be entitled to vote in respect of such right of voting now had or before the termination of this present parliament acquired, and so long as such right shall continue vested in such person or persons, in the election of a member or members to serve in parliament for the district, or districts if more than one, wherein such city borough town cinque port or other place shall be situate, although such person or persons shall not be an inhabitant householder or inhabitants householders qualified to vote at such election or elections; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding: and such person or persons, before he or they is or are admitted to poll at any such election, shall, if required by any candidate or any person having a right to vote at such election, first take the oath, or being a quaker, make the solemn affirmation following; that is to say,

'I, *A. B.*, *(mentioning his trade or profession)* do swear (*or*, solemnly affirm) that I reside at *(mentioning his place of residence)* and that I had on the day of *(mentioning the day on which this present parliament shall terminate)* a perfect right to vote in the election of burgesses (*or*, citizens, &c.) to serve in parliament for the borough (*or*, town, &c. *as the case may be)* of (*stating the* borough or town) as a *(stating the right of voting)* and that such right still remains vested in me to the best of my knowledge and belief; and that I have not before been polled at this election for this district.'

[Place of Election and Duration of Poll.] And be it further enacted, that the election for each and every of the said districts shall be had and held at such place and places within the said districts respectively as are put and placed opposite to the said several districts respectively in the schedule hereto annexed marked (A) and named in the said schedule as the place of holding such elections respectively, and in no other place or places except in the case of any extraordinary and urgent necessity; and such elections shall respectively commence before the hour of twelve o'clock at noon on the first day of such elections respectively, and shall be proceeded in and conducted in all respects as elections for any burgess or burgesses for any borough or other place are now by law directed to be proceeded in and conducted, except as herein is particularly otherwise provided and enacted: Provided nevertheless, that when any poll shall be demanded at any such election, such poll shall commence on the day on which it shall be demanded, or on the next day at farthest, and shall be duly and regularly proceeded in from day to day, and shall be kept open for eight hours at the least in each day, except the day of demanding the same, between the hours of seven in the morning and eight in the evening, till the same be finished, but so that no

election shall continue more than six days at most, including the first day, and so that every poll shall be finally closed at or before the hour of three in the afternoon of the Saturday next after the first commencement of the said elections; and the returning officer at every such election shall immediately or as soon as conveniently may be, and within one hour after the final close of the poll if kept open till the sixth day, truly fairly and publicly declare the name or names of the person or persons who have the majority of votes on such poll, and shall forthwith make a return of such person or persons, unless such returning officer, upon scrutiny being demanded by any candidate or any two or more electors, shall deem it necessary to grant the same, in which case the same shall be proceeded in according to the laws now in force relating to the election of members to serve in parliament at this present time.

[Proper Places to be provided for polling in.] And be it further enacted, that at every such election the returning officer shall appoint make hire or erect, or cause to be appointed made hired or erected, such numbers of convenient booths or polling places separate and distinct from each other, not being fewer in districts where one member shall be directed to be returned than four, and in districts where two members shall be directed to be returned not being fewer than eight, as shall seem to him necessary and convenient, with good and free separate access thereto respectively, for taking the poll without tumult or confusion, which said booths or polling places shall be used respectively for taking the poll according to the alphabetical order of the names of the voters; and such returning officer shall affix or cause to be affixed on the most public part on the outside of each of the said booths or polling places the letter or letters for which such booth or polling place shall be allotted or designed, and a sufficient notification of the intent thereof, and all voters shall tender and give their votes only at such booth or polling place as shall be allotted or designed for the letter wherewith the surname of such voter respectively shall commence, excepting in the case hereinafter provided for; and such returning officer shall appoint or cause to be appointed a proper clerk or clerks at each of the said booths or polling places to take the poll (which said clerk or clerks shall be paid such reasonable sum not exceeding one guinea per day each clerk) as shall appear fit and proper to such returning officer; and the said returning officer shall also give notice in writing before the commencement of the poll, to each and every of the candidates or their agents at such election, of the situation of all booths or polling places so appointed made hired or erected, and immediately on the increase of any such booths and polling places, of such additional booths and polling places, and of the letters to which each of such booths or polling places is allotted or designed.

[Overseers to make and send Lists of Persons rated.] And be it further enacted, that the churchwardens chapelwardens and overseers of the poor respectively of every parish hamlet chapelry township or other division having separate church or chapelwardens or separate overseers of the poor within any such district, shall respectively, and they are hereby required within one fortnight next after the publication of any and all poor or church or chapel rate or rates for such parish hamlet chapelry or township, to make out and deliver at the dwelling-house of the returning officer or at the office appointed for executing the duties of returning officer of such district, an alphabetical list or lists containing in alphabetical arrangement the surname of every person rated in such rate or rates to the church or poor respectively within such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division, together with the Christian name if known and the place of abode of every such person within such parish hamlet chapelry or township; and every collector of assessed taxes collecting any such taxes within any part of such

district shall within one fortnight next after the receipt of any warrant to collect such taxes, make out and deliver at the dwelling house of such returning officer or at such office as aforesaid, an alphabetical list or lists containing in alphabetical arrangement the surname of every person from whom such collector shall be directed, in and by such warrant, to collect or levy any such taxes within any part of such district, together with the Christian name if known and the place of abode of every such person within such district; and every returning officer of such district shall upon any election to be held for such district deliver or cause to be delivered copies, to each and every poll clerk appointed by such returning officer of such district, of such part of such alphabetical lists respectively as shall contain the names of persons whose names commence with any letters for which the booth or polling place for which such poll clerk to whom the same shall be delivered shall be appointed shall be allotted or designed; and in case of any dispute as to any vote at any such election, the poll clerk to whom any vote shall be tendered at such election, shall, if required by any candidate or agent or by any elector, refer to such list, and if the name of the person tendering such vote shall not appear in such copy or copies of such lists or any of them, then such vote so tendered shall not be received by such poll clerk without a written or other authority, as hereinafter provided, from the returning officer at such election, after investigating such vote, to receive the same: provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to give power to any poll clerk or poll clerks to decide on any objection taken to any vote, other than the name of the voter tendering such vote not being contained in any such list or lists.

[In Districts consisting of more than one Parish where Voters reside more than Five Miles from place of election, Votes may be tendered to Overseers of the Parish where Voters are resident] And for the purpose of lessening the expense of elections, and for the greater convenience of voters, be it further enacted, that in any district consisting of more than one parish hamlet chapelry township or other division for which there shall be separate overseers of the poor, and wherein any part of such district shall be more than five miles distant by the direct and nearest horse or carriage road from the place at which the election shall be directed to be held, it shall be lawful for any person or persons having a right to vote at any election of a member or members to serve in parliament for such district and residing above five miles from the place of such election, to tender his and their vote and votes for such district, if he or they shall be willing so to do, to the overseers of the poor of such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division within such district wherein he or they shall be a householder or householders, or to some one or more of such overseers or to their sufficient deputy appointed for that purpose, as hereinafter provided, at such time and place as shall be appointed for receiving such votes, as hereinafter provided; and all votes so tendered shall be received and recorded by the overseer or overseers or their sufficient deputy to whom the same shall be tendered in manner hereinafter provided, and shall be as good and valid for the candidate or person for whom the same shall be tendered, to all intents and purposes, as if such votes had been tendered and received at the poll taken at the principal place of holding such election: provided nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent any person or persons having a right to vote at such election, from voting at the principal place of holding such election, if he or they shall think proper so to do in preference to voting at such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division poll.

Returning Officers to give Notice to the Overseers to attend to take Votes in some place appointed by the Returning Officer.] And be it further enacted, that when the returning officer of any district consisting of

more than one parish hamlet chapelry township or other division for which there shall be separate overseers of the poor, and wherein any part of such district shall be more than five miles distant by the direct and nearest horse and carriage road from the place at which the election shall be directed to be held, shall receive any such precept as aforesaid requiring such returning officer to proceed to the election of a member or members to serve in parliament for such district, such returning officer shall within forty-eight hours next following the receipt of such precept give notice in writing of such precept to the overseers of the poor, or any two of them, of each and every parish hamlet chapelry township or other division within such district having such separate overseers, whereof any part shall be more than such five miles distant from the place at which such election shall be directed to be held, and shall require the overseers of each and every such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division respectively to meet on the Tuesday next after the first day of election appointed for such district by nine o'clock in the morning, in the vestry-room or other more convenient place to be named by such returning officer, in each and every such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division respectively, there to receive by themselves or their sufficient deputy the vote or votes of any person or persons having a right to vote at such election, residing in such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division respectively above five miles from the place of election for such district, who shall be desirous of tendering his or their vote or votes to be there received for such election; and the several overseers of each and every such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division, or some one or more from each and every such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division, in pursuance of such notices (under the penalty of to be paid by each and every of them who shall make default therein, to be paid to the poor of such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division in case one or more of such overseers respectively shall not attend accordingly,) shall attend at the time and places respectively appointed in and by such notices, and shall then and there by themselves or some one or more of them, or by their sufficient deputy which they or those of them attending respectively are empowered to appoint, and open a poll for such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division for the reception of all such votes so to be tendered as aforesaid; which said poll shall be kept open for the purpose aforesaid for the space of five hours at the least from the hour of nine o'clock in the morning for three days then next following, exclusive of the first day of such poll, provided the poll at the principal place of election for such district shall be so long kept open and not longer, and if such poll at the principal place of election shall be closed, or if all the persons entitled to vote at such election and residing in any such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division above five miles from the place of election for such district shall have been polled before the end of such three days, then the poll so taken before such overseers or their deputies respectively shall be closed as soon as the person taking any such poll shall receive sufficient notice or information of the closing of such principal poll, or that all such persons have been polled; and such overseers respectively or their deputy taking any such poll as aforesaid shall on the daily close of such poll and immediately after the close thereof transmit the amount of the number of votes tendered to and received by such persons respectively in the course of such days poll for each and every candidate at each election, and at the final close of such poll shall transmit the original poll so taken for such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division, with the account of the numbers thereof, to the returning officer of the district wherein such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division shall be situate, by some mes-

senger or messengers specially appointed by such overseers respectively for such purpose, who shall with all possible expedition convey the same; and if any person or persons shall molest obstruct or assault such messenger or messengers in the due execution of his or their duty in conveying such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division poll, or the account thereof as aforesaid, such person or persons being thereof lawfully convicted shall be liable to be imprisoned for any time not less than months, as the court before whom such person or persons shall be convicted shall think proper; and every returning officer, on the receipt of the account and amount of any such parish hamlet chapelry township and other division poll, shall accordingly add such numbers as shall have voted at such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division poll for any candidate or candidates at such election to the numbers appearing on the principal poll taken at the place of such election for such candidate or candidates respectively.

[Overseers or their Deputy shall have same Power as Returning Officers.] And be it further enacted, that any overseer or overseers, or their deputy, before whom any such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division poll as aforesaid shall be taken, shall have all the same powers and authorities in taking such poll as shall by law appertain to, and shall take and have power to administer the same oaths as by law are and shall be directed to be taken and administered by any returning officer of any such district as aforesaid; save and except that if any dispute shall arise as to the validity of any vote tendered to any overseer or overseers or their deputy, objected to by any candidate or candidates at any such election, or by his or their agent or agents, or by any two or more persons having right to vote at such election on any objection stated in writing by the person or persons so objecting, such overseer or overseers or deputy shall not receive or record such vote, but the question of the admissibility of such vote shall be referred to the returning officer of such district to whom the same may be again tendered at the place of holding such election, and who shall decide in some convenient place (to be appointed by him for that purpose on or before the first day of election) all disputes whether arising at the principal place of election or at any parish hamlet chapelry township or other division poll relating to votes tendered at such election; and if on investigating any such disputes such returning officer shall be of opinion that any such votes so objected to ought to be received, then such returning officer shall give a written authority to the proper poll clerk for receiving such vote, or shall personally direct such proper poll clerk to receive the same; upon which no further objection shall be made to such vote, but the same shall be immediately received.

[For remunerating Overseers' Deputy, and Messenger.] And be it further enacted, that for the remuneration of any deputy and of any messenger or messengers to be appointed by any such overseers to take such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division poll and to convey such poll and account, there shall be paid by such overseers respectively to every such deputy the sum of half a guinea for each and every day such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division poll shall be kept open, and to the messenger or messengers such sum or sums of money as shall appear to such overseers a reasonable and fair remuneration to such messenger or messengers for their trouble and the expenses attending the conveyance of such poll and accounts; which several sums of money shall be paid by such overseers or any of them out of and charged upon the poor rates of such parish hamlet chapelry township or other division and included in the accounts of such overseers respectively.

[Remuneration to Deputy Returning Officers.] And whereas it would be necessary to make some provision for the remuneration of the deputies of returning officers; but it would be desirable that such remuneration should

be limited to such reasonable and proper amount as would not exceed a fair and adequate remuneration, for the trouble attendant on the situation of any such deputy returning officer; Be it therefore further enacted, that there shall and may be paid to the deputy of any returning officer of any such district such sum and sums of money, for the several acts and things provided and directed to be done by such deputy returning officer by this act for and towards the holding and conducting of any such election, as the court of quarter sessions for the county wherein any such district shall be situate shall direct and appoint, upon a table of fees to be presented to such court of quarter sessions by the clerk of the peace for such county at the Midsummer quarter sessions for such county in each and every year: Provided nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to permit any such court of quarter sessions to grant any fee or remuneration whatsoever to any magistrate being such returning officer as aforesaid but every such magistrate shall perform the duties of such office without any fee reward or remuneration whatsoever.

[How Expenses to be defrayed.] And whereas it is just and right that those who have the benefit of an election should pay the expenses attendant thereon; Be it therefore further enacted, that all the expenses of any election, as well the reasonable and necessary expenses incurred in providing or erecting polling places and procuring and paying poll clerks and other persons employed therein, as any other expenses authorised by this act and necessarily attendant on such election, shall be borne and paid out of the poor rates of the several parishes hamlets villages chapelries townships and other divisions in the district for which such election shall be held and shall be paid by the overseers of such parishes hamlets villages chapelries townships and other divisions out of the poor rates of the same to the returning officer or his deputy, in such fair and rateable proportions in proportion to the amount of the poor rates of such parishes hamlets villages chapelries townships and other divisions respectively on a rack rent, as near as the same can be ascertained, as such returning officer and any other magistrate of the county wherein such district shall be situate, by warrant under their own proper hands and seals directed to the overseers of such parishes hamlets villages chapelries townships and other divisions respectively, shall direct and appoint.

[Sheriff to appoint more than one Booth if necessary in each Hundred.] And whereas it would be desirable to reduce as far as possible the expense of county elections; Be it therefore further enacted, for the more easy taking of the poll and preventing confusion at county elections, that from and after the termination of this present parliament, at every election of a knight or knights of the shire to serve in parliament for any county within England or Wales, the sheriff or sheriffs of such county, or in his or their absence the under-sheriff or such as he shall depute, shall and he and they are hereby required, without request by any candidate, on the taking of any poll on such election to make erect or hire and appoint or cause to be made erected or hired and appointed at the principal place of holding such election, such number of booths or polling places separate and distinct from each other, and not being in any case fewer than the number of hundreds rapes lathes wapentakes wards or other divisions in such county, but more if they shall be required, as shall seem to him necessary and convenient, with good and free access thereto respectively for taking such poll without tumult or confusion; and shall appoint a proper clerk or clerks at each of the said booths or polling places to take the poll, who shall be paid not exceeding one guinea per day each clerk; and which said booths or polling places and clerks may be increased if necessary during such election, and which said booths and polling places shall be used respectively in like man-

ner; and lists for each of such booths or polling places shall be made out and copies thereof delivered in like manner as is now directed for booths or polling places erected for taking the poll in county elections under and by virtue of the laws now in force.

[Poll to be open in Counties only Ten Days.] And be it further enacted, that no poll taken for any county for the election of a knight or knights of the shire shall after the termination of this present parliament be kept open longer than ten days exclusive of the first day of such election, and if it shall continue open to the tenth day then such poll shall be finally closed at or before three o'clock on such tenth day in like manner as such polls are now required by law to be closed on the fifteenth day of such polls.

[Freeholders of Forty Shillings in Towns which are Counties to vote for County Members.] And be it further enacted, that from and after the termination of this present parliament every freeholder who shall have any freehold estate in any lands tenements or hereditaments of the clear yearly value of forty shillings over and above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of the same, lying within any city borough town or other place in England or Wales which is a county of itself, shall be entitled to vote at all elections for knights of the shire to serve in parliament for the county at large within which such city borough town or other place which is a county of itself shall be situate; and such freeholders before they are admitted to poll shall if required take the like oaths as other freeholders for counties are now by law required to take.

[Leaseholders to vote in Counties.] And be it further enacted, that from and after the termination of this present parliament, every person who shall hold any lands or tenements of the clear yearly value of forty shillings over and above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of the same under or by virtue of any lease or leases, or for any term of years, which lease or leases, shall be renewable from time to time for ever at the will of the lessee, and every person who shall hold any lands or tenements of the clear yearly value of forty shillings over and above all rents and charges payable out of the same under and by virtue of any lease or leases for any term of years whereof not less than twenty-one shall be to come and unexpired at the time of such person tendering his vote, shall be entitled to vote for the knights of the shire of that county within which lands or hereditaments are respectively situated; and every such person before he is admitted to poll shall, if required by the candidates or any of them, or any other person having a right to vote at the said election, first take the oath (or, being one of the persons called quakers, the solemn affirmation) following; videlicet,

'You shall swear, *(or, being one of the people called Quakers, shall* solemnly affirm) that you are a leaseholder in the county of , and have a leasehold estate for a term of years renewable for ever at the will of the lessee, or whereof 21 years are yet to come and unexpired, consisting of *(stating the description of the premises,)* and that you have been in the actual possession or receipt of the rents or profits thereof for your own use above twelve calendar months, or that the same came to you by descent, marriage, marriage settlement, *or* devise, and that such leasehold estate has not been granted assigned or made to you fraudulently, on purpose to qualify you to give your vote, and that the place of your abode is at in and that you are twenty-one years of age, as you believe, and that you have not been polled before at this election.'

[Copyholders to vote in Counties.] And be it further enacted, that from and after the termination of this present parliament, every person who

shall hold any lands tenements or hereditaments by copy of court roll of the clear yearly value of forty shillings over and above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of the same, shall be entitled to vote at any election for the knights of the shire to serve in parliament for the county within which such lands tenements or hereditaments are respectively situated, and shall take the like oaths and affirmations with freeholders voting at such elections, excepting that the words Copyholder and Copyhold shall be used respectively by such copyholders, in lieu of the words Freeholder and Freehold in such oaths or affirmations.

[In Counties Votes may be tendered to the High Constables of Hundreds &c. or their Deputies at such Place as shall be appointed; but any Person who prefers it, to be entitled to vote at the principal Place of Election.] And for the purpose of lessening the expense of electors of knights of the shire for the several counties of England and Wales, and for the greater convenience of voters, Be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for any person having a right to vote, at any election of a knight of the shire or knights of the shire to serve in parliament for any counties in England or Wales, to tender his vote, if he shall be willing so to do, to the high constable or constables or other principal peace officer for the time being of the hundred half hundred rape lathe wapentake ward or other division within such county wherein the property in respect of which such person shall be entitled to vote shall be situate, or to his or their sufficient deputy appointed for that purpose, at such time and place as shall be appointed for receiving such votes as hereinafter provided; and all votes so tendered shall be received and recorded by such high constable or constables or other principal peace officer or his or their sufficient deputy to whom the same shall be tendered, in manner hereinafter provided, and shall be as good and valid for the candidate or person for whom the same shall be tendered, to all intents and purposes, as if such votes had been tendered and received at the principal place of holding the election for such county: Provided nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent any person whomsoever, having a right to vote at such election, from voting at the principal place of holding such election, if he shall think proper so to do, in preference to voting at such place as shall be appointed for that purpose within such hundred half hundred rape lathe wapentake ward or other division as aforesaid.

[Sheriff to issue Precept to High Constable to take Votes tendered within their respective Hundreds.] And be it further enacted, that when the sheriff of any county in England or Wales shall receive any precept requiring such sheriff to proceed to the election of a knight or knights of the shire to serve in parliament for such county, such sheriff shall within two days next following the receipt of such precept give notice in writing of such precept to the high constable or high constables or other principal peace officer or officers for each and every hundred half hundred rape lathe wapentake ward or other division within such county, and shall require such high constable or constables or other principal peace officer to attend on the day next after the first day of election appointed for such county by nine o'clock in the morning at some convenient place within the hundred half hundred rape lathe wapentake ward or other division for which he or they shall be high constable or constables or other peace officer, to be named by such sheriff in such notice, there to receive by himself or themselves or his or their sufficient deputy the vote or votes of any person or persons, having right to vote at such election, who shall be desirous of tendering and entitled to tender his or their vote or votes to be there received for such election; and the high constable and constables or other principal peace officer

of each and every such hundred half hundred lathe wapentake ward or other division, shall, in pursuance of such notice, giving good and sufficient notice throughout the hundred of the time and place appointed, to be given forthwith on the receipt of such requisition, attend at the time and place respectively appointed in and by such notices, and shall then and there by himself or themselves, or his or their sufficient deputy whom he or they is and are hereby empowered to appoint, open a poll for such hundred half hundred rape lathe wapentake ward or other division for the reception of all such votes to be tendered as aforesaid, which said poll shall be kept open for the space of hours at the least from the hour of nine o'clock in the morning for five days then next following, exclusive of the first day of such poll, provided the poll at the principal place of election for such county shall be so long kept open, and no longer; and if such poll at the principal place of election for such county shall be closed, or if all the persons entitled to vote at such election in respect of any property within any such hundred half hundred rape lathe wapentake ward or other division, or so many as shall desire so to do, shall have been polled before the end of such five days, then the poll so to be taken before such high constables or other principal peace officers respectively or their respective deputies shall be closed as soon as the person taking any such poll shall receive sufficient notice or information of the closing of such principal poll, or that all such persons so entitled and desirous to vote as aforesaid have been polled; and such high constables or other peace officers respectively or their respective deputies taking any such poll as aforesaid shall on the daily close of such poll and immediately after the close thereof transmit the amount of the numbers of votes tendered and received by such persons respectively in the course of each day's poll for each and every candidate at such election, and at the final close of such poll shall transmit the original poll so taken for such hundred half hundred rape lathe wapentake ward or other division, with the account of the numbers thereof, to the sheriff of the county wherein such hundred half hundred rape lathe wapentake ward or other division shall be situate, by some messenger or messengers specially appointed by such high constables or other principal peace officers respectively for such purpose, who shall with all possible expedition convey the same; and if any person or persons shall molest obstruct or assault such messenger or messengers in the due execution of his or their duty in the conveyance of such hundred half hundred rape lathe wapentake ward or other division poll or the account thereof as aforesaid, such person or persons being lawfully convicted thereof shall be liable to be imprisoned for any time not less than months, as the court before whom such person or persons shall be convicted shall think proper; and every sheriff on receipt of the account and amount of any such hundred half hundred rape lathe wapentake ward or other division poll shall accordingly add such numbers as shall have voted at such hundred half hundred rape lathe wapentake ward or other division poll for any candidate or candidates at such election to the numbers appearing on the principal poll taken at the place of such election for such candidate or candidates respectively.

[High Constables to take the same Oaths and have the same Power as Returning Officers, except as to disputed Votes.] And be it further enacted, that every high constable or constables or other peace officer or their deputy before whom any such last mentioned poll as aforesaid shall be taken, shall have and shall be bound by all the same powers and authorities in taking such poll as shall by law appertain to, and shall take and have power to administer the same oaths as by law are and shall be directed to be taken and administered, on such election, by the sheriff

of the county wherein such hundred half hundred rape lathe wapentake ward or other division shall be situate; save and except that if any dispute shall arise as to the validity of any vote tendered to any such high constable or constables or other principal peace officer or their deputy, objected to by any candidate or candidates at any such election, or by his or their agent or agents, or by any two or more persons having right to vote at such election, on any reasonable ground stated by the person or persons so objecting, such high constable or constables or other principal peace officer or his or their deputy shall not receive or record such vote, but the question of the admissibility of such vote shall be referred to the sheriff of such county, to whom the same may be again tendered at the principal place of holding such election, who shall decide all disputes relating to votes tendered at such election, and if on investigating any such disputes such sheriff shall be of opinion that any such votes so objected to ought to be received, then such sheriff shall give a written authority to the proper poll clerk for receiving such vote, or shall personally direct such proper poll clerk to receive the same, upon which no farther objection shall be made to such vote, but the same shall be immediately received.

[For remunerating High Constables, Deputies, and Messengers.] And be it further enacted, that for the remuneration of any high constable or other peace officer or any deputy of such high constable or other peace officer taking such last-mentioned poll in any county, and of any messenger or messengers to be appointed by any such high constable or other peace officer to convey such poll and accounts, there shall be paid by the sheriff of such county to every such high constable or other peace officer or his deputy taking such poll the sum of one guinea for each and every day such poll shall be kept open, together with the reasonable expense, if any, attendant upon giving notice of such poll and procuring a fit and proper place to take such poll in, and to the messenger or messengers such sum or sums of money as shall appear to such sheriff a reasonable and fair remuneration to such messenger or messengers for their trouble and the expenses attending the conveyance of such poll and accounts; which several sums of money shall be paid by such sheriff, and reimbursed to him in manner hereinafter provided.

[How Expenses to be defrayed.] And be it further enacted, that all the expenses of any election for a knight or knights of the shire to serve in parliament for any county in England and Wales, as well the reasonable and necessary expenses incurred in providing or erecting booths and polling places as well in the several hundreds half hundreds rapes lathes wapentakes wards and other divisions as in the principal place of holding such election, and of procuring and paying poll clerks and other persons employed therein, as any other expenses thereof authorised by this act and necessarily attendant on such election, shall be borne and paid out of the county rate of the county for which such election shall be held, and shall be paid by the clerk of the peace or treasurer of such county to the sheriff of such county, on demand thereof, out of the county rate of such county; and in default of payment thereof one month after such demand, such sheriff may recover the amount thereof by action of debt or assumpsit in any of his Majesty's courts at Westminster, to be brought against the clerk of the peace or treasurer of such county, in which it shall be lawful for such sheriff to lay the venue either in the same or some neighbouring county, and in case such sheriff shall recover the full amount demanded of such clerk of the peace or treasurer, then such sheriff shall also recover and be paid double costs of suit.

[1 Geo. 1. c. 38. Repealed; and Parliaments to be Triennial.] And where

as in and by an act of Parliament made in the first year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the First, intituled, 'An Act for enlarging the time of continuance of Parliaments appointed by an Act made in the sixth year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, intituled, An Act for the frequent meeting and calling of Parliaments,' it was enacted, that the then present parliament, and all parliaments that should at any time thereafter be called assembled or held, should and might respectively have continuance for seven years and no longer, to be accounted as therein mentioned: And whereas the frequent meetings and callings of fresh parliaments tend to the promotion of the independence of parliament and the happy union and good agreement of the king and people; and it is therefore expedient that the time of continuance of parliaments should be shortened; Be it therefore enacted, by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, in parliament assembled, that the said Act, intituled, 'An Act for enlarging the time of continuance of parliaments appointed by an Act made in the sixth year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, intituled, an Act for the frequent meetings and callings of parliaments,' shall be and the same is hereby wholly Repealed and declared to be null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever as if the said Act had never been had or made, and that from henceforth and from and after the dissolution or expiration of this present parliament, no parliament whatsoever that shall at any time hereafter be called assembled or held, shall have any continuance longer than for three years only at the furthest, to be accounted from the day on which by the writs of summons the said parliament shall be appointed to meet.

[Present Parliament to expire on ] And be it further enacted, that this present parliament shall cease and determine on the day of which will be in the year of our Lord unless previously dissolved by the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

[Oath to be taken by Candidate.] And be it further enacted, that before any person can be returned to sit in parliament for any county shire or district within England or Wales, he shall take and subscribe the oath following, and which he shall repeat and again subscribe at the table of the House of Commons before he is admitted to take his seat:

'I, *A. B.* do swear (*or* affirm) that I have not, directly or indirectly, given or offered, or promised to give procure or allow, and will not give or offer or promise to give procure or allow, by myself or any other person, and have not directly or indirectly authorised, and will not authorise any other person for me or on my behalf, either directly or indirectly, to give or offer, or to promise to give procure or allow any sum of money place office or employment gift or reward, or any promise or security, or the hope or expectation of any money office or employment or gift, to any person entitled or claiming to vote at this election, or to any person for or in trust for him or any of his family, in order to influence his vote at this election.'

Which oath the proper officer to whom the return of any writ or precept for such election shall belong, or his deputies, are required to administer, under a penalty of five hundred pounds for omitting so to do, such penalty to be recoverable in any of His Majesty's courts of record at Westminster by any person having a right to vote for such place; and in case any person taking the said oath shall therein commit perjury and shall thereof be convicted by due course of law, such person shall incur and suffer the pains and penalties which by law are enacted or inflicted in cases of wilful and corrupt perjury.

[Persons guilty of Bribery, and convicted by two persons, to suffer all the

Penalties, &c. now inflicted by Law.] And be it further enacted, that every person or persons who shall be convicted, by the evidence of two witnesses, of having given or offered, or of having promised to give or allow any sum or sums of money, office or employment, to any person whomsoever, in order to influence the vote of any elector or his choice of a person to serve as a member in the high court of parliament, shall be held to be guilty of bribery, and be subject to all the pains and penalties enacted or inflicted in cases of bribery, and shall suffer all the pains and penalties, disabilities and disqualifications now inflicted and attendant on persons proved to be guilty of bribery at elections of members to serve in parliament.

[Ambassadors, &c. to be incompetent to sit in parliament.] And be it further enacted, That no ambassador or other person whomsoever having or accepting any office, commission or employment under His Majesty, whether civil or military, the duties whereof shall be executed out of the United Kingdom, shall be capable of being elected or of sitting or voting as a member of the house of commons in any parliament which shall be hereafter summoned and holden; and if any person who shall be elected to serve as a member of the house of commons in any parliament which shall be hereafter summoned and holden, shall, during such time as he shall continue a member, accept or take any such office, commission or employment, his election shall be and is hereby declared to be void, and the seat of such person shall be thereby immediately vacated, and a new writ shall issue for a new election in the room of such person as if such person so accepting was naturally dead.

[Statutes now in force relative to elections, continued.] And be it further enacted, That all statutes now in force touching or concerning the qualification, election or return of knights of the shire, or of burgesses to serve in the high court of parliament, shall be held to extend, and the same are hereby declared to extend to the qualification, election and return of knights of the shire and members to be elected and chosen to serve in the said high court of parliament under or by virtue of this act, so far as the provisions of the said statutes shall be applicable to the same, and in so far as they are not varied or altered or repealed by the present Act.

And be it further enacted, That this Act and the provisions thereof shall extend to that part of the United Kingdom called England and Wales, and no further.

## Schedule (A.)

A SCHEDULE containing the several Districts throughout *England* and *Wales*, to return hereafter One or more Members to serve in the Commons House of Parliament.

| County within which the District is situated, and to the Sheriff of which the Writ to issue. | Name of District. | Parishes and Places comprised in such District. | Place of Election. | Number of Members to be returned. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |

## SDHEDULE (B.)

*A Schedule containing the Form of Notices to be given of the Time and Place of holding Elections, to be affixed on Churches, &c.*

### No. 1.

A General Notice of the Time and Place of Election in Districts where no Votes are to be tendered to Overseers.

Election of a Member to serve in Parliament for the District of

NOTICE is hereby given, That an Election of a Member to serve in Parliament for this District, will be held on Monday next, the day of at the *(naming the place of election)* at the hour of Nine o'clock in the Morning. Dated this day of

*A. B.* Returning Officer.

---

### No. 2.

*Form of Notice to be added to the above in Districts where Votes are to be tendered to Overseers of Parishes.*

And NOTICE is hereby further given, That any Persons residing within the several Parishes *(or* Hamlets, &c. *naming the Parishes, &c. of which any part is more than five miles from the principal place of election)* of who reside more than five miles from the said town of and who may be desirous of polling, without coming to the said town of may tender their votes to the Overseers of their said respective Parishes, Hamlets, &c. at the places hereunder written, and for that purpose appointed respectively, where such Votes will be respectively reeeived. And the Overseers of the said Parishes, Hamlets, &c. are hereby respectively required to meet at such places accordingly, on Tuesday the day of at Nine o'clock in the Morning, to open a Poll to receive any such Votes. Dated this day of

*A. B.* Returning Officer.

*Places for tendering Votes in the above Parishes, Hamlets, &c. respectively.*

Parish of *A.* - - Vestry Room of said Parish,
Hamlet of *B.* - - School House at in said Hamlet,
Hamlet of *C.* - - Hustings to be erected at in said Hamlet,

*As the Returning Officer shall direct.*

---

THE END OF NO. XLI.

# ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF

# The Members of the Commons

## *House of Parliament;*

SHEWING

**THE PLACES THEY REPRESENT,**

*distinguishing those who hold Places, and who are dependant on*

## The present Administration;

And also those who hold

**COMMISSIONS IN THE NAVY AND ARMY,**

AND HOW

**THEY VOTED ON FOURTEEN GREAT QUESTIONS,**

Divided on during the Sessions of 1821 and 1822,

AND THE

**MINORITIES ON THIRTY-SIX QUESTIONS.**

The Names of the Members corrected to the present time,

*(Being the only correct List extant.)*

---

This is a very interesting and important production, containing more information is usually found in a large volume, and is as intelligible as it is concise, deserving keepest consideration of every Elector in the United Kingdom."

---

LONDON:

1823.

OL. XXI. *Pam.* NO. XLII. U

The Commons House of Parliament is composed of 658 Members, returned from the several sections of the United Kingdom, in the following proportion, viz.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The County of Cornwall, 44; of Wilts, 34; of York, 30 | | 108 |
| " Sussex 28; Dorset 20; Suffolk 16; Stafford, 10 | | 74 |
| The Counties of Devon and Hants, | each 26 | 52 |
| " Kent and Somerset, | each 18 | 36 |
| " Bucks, Lancaster, and Surry, | each 14 | 42 |
| " Lincoln, Norfolk, and Salop, | each 12 | 36 |
| " Berks, Northampton Oxford, Worcester, | each 9 | 36 |
| " Essex, Gloucester. Hereford, Middlesex, Northumberland and Nottingham | each 8 | 48 |
| " Cambridge, Cumberland, Hertford & Warwick, | 6 | 24 |
| " Bedford, Chester, Derby, Durham, Huntingdon, Leicester, and Westmorland, | each 4 | 28 |
| " Monmouth, 3; Rutland, 2 | | 5 |
| Wales 24; Scotland 45; Ireland 100 | | 169 |
| Making the Total Number of Votes | | 658 |

*The following Changes have taken place since the 5th February.*

| Vacated. | | New Members. |
|---|---|---|
| Bathurst, Right Hon. C. | Harwich | Canning, George |
| Canning, Right Hon. G. | Liverpool | Huskisson, Wm. |
| Cole, Sir G. L. | Fermanagh | |
| Huskisson, Wm. | Chichester | Poyntz, Mr. |
| Leigh, J. H. | Winchester | East, Sir E. H. |
| Taylor, Sir H. | Windsor | ‡Disbrowe, E. C. |
| Vansittart, Nicholas | Harwich | ‡Herries, J. C. |
| Arbuthnot, Right Hon. C. | St. Germains | All re-elected |
| Robinson, F. J. | Rippon | All re-elected |
| Scarlet, James | Peterboro' | All re-elected |
| Ossulston, Lord | Berwick | |
| Beresford, Sir J. P. | Coleraine | |
| Deceased. | | |
| Blake, Robert | Arundel | Kemp, Mr. |
| Concannon, Lucius | Winchelsea | |
| Portman, E. B. | Dorset County | Portman, Jun. |

Sir J. P. Beresford vacated for Coleraine, with the view of being returned for Berwick, Lord Ossulstone having succeeded to the Peerage; Lord Corry, the Son of Earl of Belmore, is Candidate for Fermanagh County; and Mr. Wm. Leader is we believe to be returned for Winchelsea. The new Member for Coleraine was not named at the time of our going to press.

THE FOLLOWING

IS A

# STATEMENT OF THE QUESTIONS

DIVIDED ON;

THE VOTES ON WHICH ARE ILLUSTRATED

IN THE FOLLOWING

## ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE MEMBERS.

Column

*a* Notes by a * 188 members who on the 6th February, 1821, supported the motion of the Marquis of Tavistock, "that his Majesty's ministers, in advising the measures against the Queen, were not justifiable," &c.; and by a † 334 who opposed it. The same column also notes by the letter *a* 21 other members who, in addition to the 188, supported the motion of Lord Archibald Hamilton on the 26th January preceding, "that the omission of her Majesty's name from the Liturgy and accustomed prayers of the Church was ill-advised and inexpedient," who did not vote at all on the motion of the Noble Marquis.

*b* Notes by the letter *c* 253 members, who on the 28th Feb. 1821, supported the motion of Mr. Plunkett "*For the appointment of a committee to consider of the laws affecting Roman Catholics,*" and by the letter *p* 247 who *opposed* it.

*c* Notes by a * 126 members who on the 9th May, 1821, supported the motion of Lord John Russell "*For Parliamentary Reform;*" and by a † 157 who *opposed* it.

*d* Notes by a * 108 members who on the 11th February, 1822, supported the motion of Mr. Brougham for "*A sensible Reduction of Taxes;*" and by a † 212 who *opposed* it.

*e* Notes by a * 126 members who on the 21st February supported a similar motion of Viscount Althorp; and by a † 234 who *opposed* it.

Column

*f* Notes by a * 159 members who on the 13th March supported the motion of Viscount Normanby, "*For reducing one Post-Master General;* and by a † 184 who *opposed* it. The same column also notes by the figure 2, 81 other members who on the 2nd May supported a similar motion by the same Noble Viscount, who did not vote at all on the previous occasion.

*g* Notes by a * 100 members who on the 25th June supported the motion of the Hon. James Abercromby for "*An enquiry into the conduct of the Lord Advocate of Scotland;*" and by a † 121 who *opposed* it.

*h* Notes by a * 95 members who on the 3rd June supported the motion of Mr. Curwen, for "*A total Repeal of the Duty on Salt;*" and by a † 106 who *opposed* it. The same column also notes by the letter *c* 99 other members in addition, who on the 28th February preceding supported the motion of Mr. Calcraft for "*A gradual Reduction in the Duties on Salt;*" who did not support the motion of Mr. Curwen.

*i* Notes by a * 65 members who on the 18th June supported Sir J. Newport's amendment to Mr. Hume's motion, relating to the Tythe System of Ireland; and by a † 72 who *opposed* it.

*k* Notes by a * 175 members who on the 25th April supported the motion of Lord John Russell, for "*A Reform in Parliament;*" which was *opposed* by 269. The same column also notes by the letter *r* 77 other members, part of 185 who on the 1st March supported the motion of Sir Matthew White Ridley for "*The Reduction of Two Lords of the Admiralty.*"

☞ The Notations in the margin imply as follow, viz.—The Nos. 12, &c. as 12 opposite the name of J. Abercrombie implies, that he voted 12 times in the minorities here subsequently stated. No. 27 opposite the name of Sir Geo. Anson, or 31 opposite that of A. Baring imply, that they voted in the minority on those questions so numbered in the said following statement. *A* voted in support of Lord Althorp's proposition in "*Committee on the Corn Laws.*" *L* for those of Sir Thomas Lethbridge. *R* for those of Mr. Ricardo. *M* implies those who *opposed* the propositions of the late Marquis of Londonderry, and contended for the "*Continuance of the Corn Law as it then stood.*" *W* implies those members who supported the resolutions of Mr. Western on the 12th June, relating "*To the aggravation of the Distresses of the Country, by the Alteration of the Currency.*"—See page [8.

*The following is a Statement of the* 36 *Questions, of which the Minorities are hereafter stated, viz.*

Nos.

1— 89 Who on the 5th Feb. supported Mr. Hume's amendment to the Address .....*opposed by* 171

2— 68 Who on the 7th Feb. opposed Mr. Peel's motion, "For leave to bring in a bill, suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland,".....*supported by* 195

3— 22 Who on the same day supported a motion "For the Irish Insurrection Bill to be printed to afford time to consider it." .....*opposed by* 149

4— 30 Who on the 8th supported the motion of Mr. Rice, to insert a clause in the said bill "For making imperative a Trial by Jury." .....*opposed by* 139

5— 31 Who on the same date supported the motion of Mr. Rice, to insert another clause in the said bill, "Authorising the Lord Lieutenant to appoint County Magistrates to assist in Towns.".....*opposed by* 110

6— 28 Who on the same day opposed the passing of the Bill. .....*supported by* 109

7— 97 Who on the 13th February supported the motion of Sir Robert Wilson, "For Papers to be laid before the House relating to his Dismissal from the Army." ..... *opposed by* 199

8— 60 Who on the 25th February supported the motion of Mr. James, "That it was a Breach of the Privileges of Parliament to open Letters to and from Members to and from Prisoners in Gaol." .....*opposed by* 167

9— 78 Who on the 27th supported the motion of Mr. Hume, "For a more detailed Statement of the manner in which £1,781,325 estimated for the Supply of the Naval Service was to be expended before the Supply was granted." .....*opposed by* 129

10— 56 Who on the 28th supported the motion of Mr. Ald. Wood, "For a Committee to enquire into the cause of the Outrage committed on Mr. Sheriff Waithman, in front of Knightsbridge Barracks." .....*opposed by* 184

11— 39 Who on the 4th March supported the motion of Mr. Pascoe Grenfell, "To postpone the clause in the 5 per Cent. Reduction Bill for remuneration to the Bank, for further investigation,".....*opposed by* 76

Nos.

12— 51 Who on the same day supported the motion of Mr. Hume, "That the Regular Army be reduced from 68,802 to 57,802, or 10,000 men," ..... *opposed by* 196

13— 88 Who on the 14th March supported the motion of Mr. Creevey, "For an enquiry into the Duties of the Board of Control,"..... *opposed by* 273

14— 33 Who on the 15th supported the motion of Mr. Hume, "To reduce the expences of the Military Staff of Great Britain and the Colonies, from £96,846 to £84,000,"..... *opposed by* 109

15— 18 Who on the 20th supported the motion of Mr. Hume, "To reduce the Salary of the Judge Advocate-General from to £1,500 per Ann... *opposed by* 124

16— 17 Who on the 28th supported the question of a Petition from the Inhabitants of Bethnal Green, on behalf of Mr. Hunt, and imputing notorious and avowed Corruption in Parliament—should lie on the table ..... *opposed by* 67

17— 26 Who on the 20th supported the motion of Mr. Hume, "For a reduction of £5,000 ℔' Ann. in the expences of the Staff of the Royal Military College," *opposed by* 75

18— 21 Who on the 22d supported the motion of Mr. Hume, "To reduce the charge for Sinecure Offices in the Garrisons abroad and at home £12,000 per Annum," ..... .... *opposed by* 80

19— 30 Who on the 25th supported the motion of Mr Hume, "To reduce the Vote for the Expence of the Ordnance Establishments at the Tower and in Pall Mall £10,000 per Annum..... *opposed by* 95

20— 22 Who on the same date supported the motion of Mr. Creevey, relating to a misapplication of the 4½ per Cent. Duties in Barbadoes..... *opposed by* 62

21— 39 Who supported a further motion relating to the same subject ..... *opposed by*

22— 49 Who on the 8th March supported the motion of Mr. Denman, "To extend the time for the holders of 5 per cent. Stock entering their dissents to the transfer from the 16th to 30th March" .... .....*opposed by* 143

23— 84 Who on the 24th April supported the motion of Sir Francis Burdett, for an Address to the King to remit the further punishment of Mr. Hunt ... *opposed by* 223

7 Who on the 8th May supported the motion of Mr. Wyvill, "That the best and most effectual relief that could be given to the Agricultural interest, was a large remission of Taxation ..... *opposed by* 120

7 Who on the 14th supported the motion of Mr. Hume, "For an Address to His Majesty to direct enquiry into the State of the Government of the Ionian Islands, and the cause of Martial Law having been proclaimed, and the Inhabitants of the Islands disarmed ..... *opposed by* 152

7 Who on the 15th supported the motion of Mr. Lennard, "For a Committee to enquire into the expenditure of the 3rd class of the Civil List for Ambassadors and Consuls, and to consider whether any reduction could be made in that expence," ..... *opposed by* 274

41 Who on the supported the motion of Mr. Warre, "That without detriment to the public service, the charge of the Mission to the Swiss Cantons might be reduced to a scale of expenditure not exceeding the sum annually received by Lord Robert Fitzgerald and Mr. Wickham, from May 1792 to Jan. 1798, and for which sum the duties of the Mission have punctually been performed for one year and eight months preceding the recent appointment of Mr. H. Wynn.". ... ..... ..... *opposed by* 247

55 Who on the 3d June supported the motion of Mr. Coke of Norfolk, for laying on the table a petition of the Inhabitants of the Hundred of North Greenhoe, in that County, complaining of Agricultural distress ..... *opposed by* 89

54 Who on the same date supported the motion of Mr. Hume, for taking from the Sinking Fund the amount to which it was proposed to relieve the Country in Taxes, instead of by borrowing..... *opposed by* 81

117 Who on the 4th June supported the motion of Sir James Macintosh, "That the House will at an early period of the next session of Parliament, take into their most serious consideration the means of increasing the efficacy of the Criminal Laws, by abating their undue rigour," ..... *opposed by* 101

Nos.

31—101 Who on the 24th June supported the motion of Mr. Brougham, "That the influence now possessed by the Crown is unnecessary for maintaining its Constitutional prerogatives, destructive of the independence of Parliament, and inconsistent with the well government of the realm," ..... *opposed by* 216

32— 42 Who on the 26th supported the motion of Mr. Creevy, for the repeal of the Superannuation Bill of 1797, ..... ..... *opposed by* 143

33— 59 Who on the 2d July supported the motion of Mr. Hobhouse, that the Tax on Windows in Great Britain is unjust, unequal in its operation, and most oppressive to those especially who are least able to bear it, and that it appeared to the House that the said Tax should be forthwith and immediately repealed, ..... *opposed by* 146

34— 94 Who on the 5th June opposed the motion of Mr. Peel for leave to extend the operations of the Alien Bill for two years..... *supported by* 189

35— 72 Who on the 14th opposed the further progress of the said Bill ..... *supported by* 108

36— 68 Who on the 1st July opposed its still further progress ..... *supported by* 142

---

☞ The Notations *A. L. R. M.* in the Margin, seem to require a further elucidation than is given at page 4—*A.* the proposition of Viscount Althorp was for a *bounty* of 18s ℔ Qr. on the *Exportation* of Wheat, and on all other Grain in proportion.

*L.* The proposition of Sir Thomas Lethbridge was for a duty of 40s ℔ Qr. on the *Importation* of Wheat, and on all other Grain and articles of Agricultural produce, such as Hides, Tallow, Butter, Bark, &c. in proportion.

*R.* The proposition of Mr. Ricardo was for a duty of 20s ℔ Qr. on the Importation of Wheat, and on other Grain in proportion, to be reduced 1s ℔ Qr. annually till it was down to 10s, at which duty to be permanent, and a permanent Bounty of 7s ℔ Qr. on Exportation.

*M.* The proposition of Lord Londonderry was to admit Wheat to Importation at a duty of 12s ℔ Qr. and all other Grain in proportion, which was opposed by contending for the Corn Law as it then stood, by which all Grain was prohibited Importation until the average price of Wheat for three months attains the price of 80s ℔ Qr.

## TABLE I.

# ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE MEMBERS

OF THE

## COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT.

*Corrected to the 5th February,* 1823.

uring the Session of 1822 a return was moved for and ordered to be laid on the table of the se, of all such Members who hold places of profit or emolument, and who sit and vote in the se of Commons, and stating the amount of such salaries, profits, or emoluments, and also of uch Members who hold Commissions in the Navy and Army.' In compliance with this r, a return was made of 89 Members, under 7 several Classes, who sit and vote in the mons House of Parliament, receiving salaries, profits, and emoluments, in the aggregate to Amount of £183,372 8s 11½d ℔ Annum. In the following list these 89 Members are d by a ‡ and it will be seen that they form the bulk of that phalanx who regularly assemble ut-vote those Members who are returned to Parliament by the voice of the People. turn was also made of Fifty-nine other Members, who hold Commissions in the Navy and y, pay and emoluments not stated; which 59 are noted by a §—several other Members are d by a ↓—as Sons, Brothers, or dependants on those sharing the £183,372 8s 11½d ℔ um, or otherways participating largely of the Taxes—such as Chandos Marquis, eldest Son ne of the chiefs of the Grenville party; Apsley Lord, eldest Son of the Secretary of State of Colonies, who receives about £15,000 ℔ Annum out of the Taxes not included in the before tioned Sum of £183,372 8s 11½—all the others noted by a ↓ are more or less directly or rectly linked with the participators in pay or emoluments out of the Taxes, and will as ormly be seen in the list of those majorities opposed to the interests of the people from m they draw so large a share of their means of subsistence!!!

hose Members printed in *Italics* are new Members recently returned.

| c | | | d | e | f | g | h | i | k | | Margin |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| * | Abercromby, Hon. James, | Calne ..... *Wilts* | * | | * | * | * | | * | * | 12 |
| | Acland, Sir T. D. Bart... | Devon ..... *County* | | † | | | c | | r | | |
| | ↓ § A'Court E. H. ..... | Heytesbury ..... *Wilts* | † | † | † | | | | | | |
| † | Alexander, James ..... | Old Sarum ..... *do.* | † | † | † | † | † | † | | | |
| | Alexander, Josias Dupre | Old Sarum ..... *do.* | | | † | | | | | | |
| * | Allan, J. H. ..... | Pembroke ..... *Town* | | * | | * | * | | r | * | 9 |
| * | Althorp, Viscount ..... | Northampton .... *County* | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | 16 *A R* |
| † | Ancram, Earl ..... | Huntingdon..... *Town* | | | † | | † | | | | |
| | § Anson, Hon. George ... | Yarmouth ..... *Norfolk* | | | 2 | | | | * | * | 4 |
| | § Anson, Sir George .... | Litchfield ..... *City* | | | 2 | | | | * | * | No. 27 |
| | ‡ Antrobus, G. C..... | Aldborough ..... *York* | | | † | | | † | | | |
| | ↓ Apsley, Lord ..... | Cirencester .... *Gloucester* | | † | † | | | † | | | |
| † | ‡ Arbuthnot, Right Hon.C. | St. Germains.... *Cornwall* | † | † | † | † | † | † | | | |
| | ‡ Archdall, Mervyn..... | Fermanagh Co.... *Ireland* | | | 2 | | | | | | |
| | Ashurst, W. H..... | Oxford ..... *County* | † | † | | | | | | | |
| | Astell, Wm..... | Bridgewater .... *Somerset* | | † | | | † | | r | * | 3 |
| | Astley, Sir J. D. Bart. .. | Wilts..... *County* | † | † | * | | c | | r | | |
| | Attwood, Matthias ..... | Callington ..... *Cornwall* | † | † | | † | | | | | *W M* |
| | Aubrey, Sir Jno. Bart. .. | Horsham ..... *Sussex* | | | | | | | | * | 5 |
| | ‡ Bagwell, Right Hon. W. | See Bird Bagwell ..... | | | | | | | | | |
| † | § Baillie, Col. J..... | Hedon ..... *York* | | † | * | | c | r | | * | 3 |
| | Balfour, John ..... ... | Orkney and Shetland .... | † | † | † | | † | | | | |
| | *Baker, Edward* ..... | Wilton..... *Wilts* | | | | | | | | | |
| † | Bankes, George ..... | Corfe Castle ..... *Dorset* | † | † | | † | † | | | | |
| † | Bankes, Henry, sen. .... | Corfe Castle ..... *do* | † | † | * | † | † | | r | | *A M* |
| | *Bankes, W. J.*..... | Cambridge .... *University* | | | | | | | | | |
| * | Barham, J. F. ..... | Stockbridge ..... *Hants* | * | * | * | | * | | r | * | 3 *A W* |
| * | Baring, Alexander ..... | Taunton ..... *Somerset* | | | | * | | | | * | No. 31 |

| a | b | c | | | | d | e | f | g | h | i | k | | Margin |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| * | | * | Baring, Henry | Colchester | *Essex* | * | | | * | | | | * | 6 |
| * | c | | Baring, Sir Thomas, Bart. | Wycombe | *Bucks* | * | * | * | | c | | * | * | 4 |
| * | c | * | § Barnard, Viscount | Tregony | *Cornwall* | * | | 2 | * | c | | * | * | 6 *R* |
| † | | | Barne, Michael | Dunwich | *Suffolk* | | | † | | | | | | |
| * | c | * | Barat, S. M. | Richmond | *York* | | * | * | | c | | * | * | 25 |
| | | † | ‡ Barry, Right Hon. J. M. | Cavan County | *Ireland* | | † | † | | | | | | |
| | | † | Bastard, E. P. | Devon | *County* | † | † | 2 | † | † | | r | | |
| † | | | § Bastard, John | Dartmouth | *Devon* | | † | | † | c | | r | | *L* |
| † | p | † | ‡ Bathurst, Right Hon. C. | Harwich | *Essex* | † | | † | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | ‡ Bathurst, Hon. S. T. | St. Germains | *Cornwall* | | | † | † | | | | | |
| * | c | * | Beaumont, T. W. | Northumberland | *County* | * | | * | | * | | * | * | 9 *R* |
| | c | * | Becher, W. W. | Mallow | *Ireland* | | | 2 | | | | * | * | No. 26 *R* |
| | c | | Bective, Earl of | Meath County | *do.* | | † | | | | | | | |
| | | | § Belfast, Earl of | Belfast | *do.* | | | | † | | | | | |
| | c | * | Belgrave, Viscount | Chester | *City* | | | * | | | | * | * | 6 |
| * | c | | Benet, John | Wilts | *County* | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | 11 *W* |
| * | | * | Bennet, Hon. H. G. | Shrewsbury | *Town* | | * | * | * | c | * | * | * | 31 *A WM* |
| | p | | Bent, John | Totness | *Devon* | | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | | § Bentinck, Lord F. C. | Weobly | *Hereford* | † | | | | | † | | | |
| * | c | * | ‡ Bentinck, Lord W. H. C. | Nottingham | *County* | * | * | * | * | c | | * | * | 4 *W* |
| * | | * | Benyon, Benjamin | Stafford | *Town* | * | * | * | | * | | * | * | 15 |
| † | p | | § Beresford, Sir J. P. Bart. | Coleraine | *Ireland* | | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | | ‡ Beresford, Lord George | Waterford County | *do.* | | | † | † | † | † | | | |
| * | | * | Bernal, Ralph | Rochester | *City* | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | 29 |
| | p | | Bernard, Viscount | Bandon Bridge | *Ireland* | * | † | | | | † | | | |
| | | | Bernard, Thos. jun. | King's County | *do.* | | | | | | | | | |
| † | c | † | Binning, Lord | Rochester | *City* | † | † | † | † | † | | | | |
| * | c | | Birch, Joseph | Nottingham | *Town* | | * | * | | c | | * | * | 18 *R* |
| | | | Bird, Sir W. Bagwell | Tipperary County | *Ireland* | | | 2 | | | | | | |
| † | p | | Blackburne, John | Lancaster | *County* | | † | † | | † | | | | |
| † | p | † | Blair, James | Aldeburgh | *Suffolk* | | | † | † | | | r | | |
| † | | † | Blake, Robert | Arundel | *Sussex* | | † | † | | | † | | | |
| * | c | * | Blake, Sir Francis, Bart. | Berwick | | | | * | | * | | | * | 12 |
| a | | * | Boughey, Sir John, Bart. | Stafford | *County* | * | * | * | | c | | * | * | 8 *A* |
| a | | | Boughton, Sir W. E. R. Bart | Evesham | *Worcester* | | * | 2 | | c | | * | * | 3 |
| † | | † | ‡ Bourn, Right Hon. W. S. | Christchurch | *Hants* | † | † | † | | | | | | |
| † | p | | Bouverie, Hon. B. B. | Downton | *Wilts* | | | | | | | | | |
| † | | | Bradshaw, R. H. | Brackley | *Northampton* | | † | † | | | | | | |
| | c | | Brandling, C. J. | Northumberland | *County* | | † | * | | | | | | |
| | | † | ‡ Brecknock, Earl of | Ludgershall | *Wilts* | | | | | | † | † | | |
| † | | | Bridges, George | London | *City* | † | † | | | | | | | |
| * | p | * | Bright, H. | Bristol | *City* | | * | * | | * | | r | * | 21 |
| † | c | † | Broadhead, T. H. L. | Yarmouth | *Isle of Wight* | † | | † | | † | | | | |
| † | p | | ‡ Brogden, James | Launceston | *Cornwall* | † | † | † | † | † | † | | | |
| * | | * | Brougham, H. | Winchelsea | *Sussex* | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | 22 *A R W* |
| † | c | † | Brown, Peter | Rye | *do.* | † | † | † | † | † | | | | |
| † | c | | Brown, Right Hon. Dennis | Kilkenny City | *Ireland* | † | † | | | † | * | | | |
| * | c | | Brown, Dominic | Mayo County | *do.* | | * | | | | * | r | * | 7 *L W* |
| † | c | | Brown, James | Mayo County | *do.* | | † | | | | * | | | *L* |
| † | p | | Brownlow, Charles | Armagh County | *do.* | | † | | | | † | | | |
| † | p | † | § Bruce, Robert | Clackmannon & Ross | *Cnties* | | † | † | † | † | | r | | |
| † | p | | Brudenell, Lord | Marlborough | *Wilts* | | | † | † | | | | | |
| | | | Bruen, H. | Carlow County | *Ireland* | | | | | | | | | |
| | | † | Buchanan, John | Dumbarton County, | *Scotld* | † | † | † | | | | | | |
| * | | * | Burdett, Sir Francis, Bart. | Westminster | *City* | * | * | * | | | | * | * | 18 *W* |
| † | | † | ‡ § Burgh, Sir Ulysses | Carlow County | *Ireland* | † | † | † | † | † | † | | | |
| † | p | * | Burrell, Sir C. M. Bart. | New Shoreham | *Sussex* | * | | | | c | | r | * | No. 27 *AW* |
| † | p | | Burrell, Walter | Sussex | *County* | * | † | | | c | | r | | *W* |
| | c | | Bury, Viscount | Arundel | *Sussex* | | | * | | c | | * | * | 11 |
| † | | | Butterworth, Joseph | Dover | *Kent* | † | * | * | * | † | * | r | * | 3 |

| a | b | c | | | | | d | e | f | g | h | i | k | Margin |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| † | p | | Buxton, J. Jacob | Bedwin | Wilts | | † | | | | | | | A |
| a | | * | Buxton, T. Fowell | Weymouth | Dorset | | | | * | * | c | | * | * 3 |
| * | c | | Byng, George | Middlesex | County | | * | * | * | | | | * | * 10 A M |
| * | c | * | Calcraft, J. sen. | Wareham | Dorset | | | | | * | * | * | * | * 15 |
| * | | | Calcraft, J. H. | Wareham | do. | | * | * | * | * | * | | | * 6 |
| † | c | | Calthorpe, Hon. F. G. | Hindon | Wilts | | * | † | * | * | † | * | * | |
| † | p | † | ‡ Calvert, John | Huntingdon | Town | | † | † | † | † | † | † | | |
| * | c | * | Calvert, Charles | Southwark | | | * | * | * | * | c | | * | * 18 M |
| * | c | * | Calvert, Nicholas | Hertford | Town | | * | * | | | * | * | * | * 5 A M |
| | p | | Campbell, Archibald | Glasgow district | Scotland | | | † | † | † | † | | | M |
| * | c | * | Campbell, Hon. G. P. | Nairn & Cromarty Cnties | do. | | | | * | | * | | | * 5 M |
| | | | Campbell, W. F. | Argyle County | do. | | | | | | | | * | * No. 26 |
| | | | ‡ Canning, George | Harwich | Essex | | | † | † | † | † | | | |
| * | c | | Carew, C. S. | Wexford County | Ireland | | | | 2 | | | | * | * No. 26 |
| * | c | * | Carter, John | Portsmouth | Hants | | * | | 2 | | * | | * | * 11 R |
| † | p | † | Cartwright, W. R. | Northampton | County | | | † | | † | | | | |
| | c | | Caulfield, Hon. H. | Armagh County | Ireland | | | * | 2 | | c | | r | * 4 |
| | c | * | Cavendish, C. C. | Newton | Hants | | | * | * | * | c | | * | * 6 |
| * | c | | Cavendish, Lord G. A. H. | Derby | County | | | | * | | c | | * | * 7 |
| * | c | | § Cavendish, Lord H. F. C. | Derby | Town | | | | * | * | c | | * | * 6 M |
| * | p | | Cawthorne, J. F. | Lancaster | do. | | | | | | | | | |
| | p | | §† Cecil, Lord Thomas | Stamford | Lincoln | | † | | † | | | | * | |
| | | * | Chaloner, R. | York | City | | | * | 2 | | c | | * | * 6 |
| | | | Chamberlayne, Wm. | Southampton | Hants | | † | † | 2 | | * | | * | * 4 |
| | | | † Chandos, Marquis | Buckingham | Town | | † | † | † | † | c | | | L |
| | p | † | Chaplin, Charles | Lincoln | County | | | † | 2 | | | | | |
| | p | † | Cheere, E. M. | Cambridge | Borough | | † | † | † | | | † | | M |
| | | | Cherry, G. H. | Dunwich | Suffolk | | † | † | * | | | | r | |
| | | † | Chetwynd, George | Stafford | Town | | | | * | | c | | r | |
| | c | | Chichester, Arthur | Carrickfergus | Ireland | | | | | | † | † | | L |
| | p | † | Childe, W. L. | Wenlock | Salop | | | † | | | | | | |
| | p | | Cholmley, Sir M. Bart. | Grantham | Lincoln | | † | † | | | † | † | | * No. 30 |
| | | † | † Cholmondeley, Lord H. | Castle Rising | Norfolk | | † | † | † | | | | | |
| | c | | Clarke, Hon. C. H. Butler | Kilkenny County | Ireland | | † | | | | | | | * No. 4 |
| | | | Claughton, Thomas | Newton | Lancaster | | | † | | † | | | | * No. 1 |
| | p | | Clements, J. M. | Leitrim County | Ireland | | † | | | | | | | |
| | p | † | ‡ Clerk, Sir G. Bart. | Edinburgh | County | | | † | † | † | † | † | | |
| | c | * | Clifton, Viscount | Canterbury | City | | * | * | 2 | | c | * | * | * 5 |
| | p | | § Clinton, Sir W. H. K. | Newark | Notts. | | | † | | | | | | |
| | | | † Clinton, H. Fynes | Aldborough | York | | † | † | | | | | | |
| | p | † | ‡ Clive, Henry | Montgomery | Town | | † | † | | † | | | | |
| | p | | † Clive, Viscount | Ludlow | Salop | | † | | † | | | | | |
| | p | | † § Clive, Hon. R. | Do. | do | | † | | † | | | | | |
| | | † | ‡ Cockburn, Sir G. | Weobly | Hereford | | † | † | † | † | † | † | | |
| | p | | Cockerell, Sir Chas. Bart. | Evesham | Worcester | | | † | † | | | | | |
| | c | † | † Cocks, Hon. J. S. | Ryegate | Surry | | † | † | | | * | | | |
| | c | | § Coffin, Sir Isaac, Bart. | Ilchester | Somerset | | * | * | * | | c | | * | * 10 |
| | c | * | Coke, T. W | Norfolk | County | | | | * | * | | | * | * 7 |
| | | | Coke, T. W. | Derby | Town | | | | | | | | | |
| | p | † | Collett, E. J. | Cashell | Ireland | | † | | † | | | | | |
| | c | | Colthurst, Sir N. C. Bart. | Cork | City | do | | | | | | * | | |
| | c | * | Colburne, Sir N. W. R. Bt. | Thetford | Norfolk | | | | * | * | * | * | * | * 7 |
| | p | | § Cole, Sir Christopher | Glamorgan | County | | † | | * | | c | * | r | |
| | p | † | § ‡ Cole, Sir G. L. | Fermanagh County | Ireland | | | † | † | | | | | |
| | c | * | Concannon, Lucius | Winchelsea | Sussex | | | * | * | | * | | * | * 13 |
| | p | | § ‡ Congreve, Sir W. Rt. | Plymouth | Devon | | | † | | † | † | | | |
| | p | † | Cooper, R. B. | Gloucester | City | | † | † | | † | † | † | | |
| | | † | Cooper, E. S. | Sligo County | Ireland | | | | | | | | r | |
| | | | Coote, Sir C. H. Bart. | Queen's County | do | | † | † | * | | | | | |

| a | b | c | | | | | d | e | f | g | h | i | k | Margin |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| † | p | † | ‡ | Copley, Sir J. S. | Ashburton | *Devon* | † | † | † | † | † | † | | |
| † | p | | | Corbett, Panton | Shrewsbury | *Salop* | † | † | * | | c | | r | * No. 30 |
| | p | | | Cotterell, Sir J. G. Bart. | Hereford | *County* | | | | | | | | L |
| † | c | † | ‡ | Courtenay, T. P. | Totness | *Devon* | † | † | † | † | † | | | |
| † | c | † | ‡ | Courtenay, William | Exeter City | *do* | | † | † | | † | | | |
| | | | § | *Cradock, Sheldon* | Camelford | *Cornwall* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | ‡ | Cranborne, Viscount | Hereford | *Town* | † | | † | † | | | | |
| † | p | | | Crawley, Samuel | Honiton | *Devon* | † | | | | | | | * No. 29 W |
| * | c | | | Creevey, Thomas | Appleby | *Westmorland* | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * 20 |
| † | p | † | | Cripps, Joseph | Cirencester | *Gloucester* | | † | † | | | | | |
| † | c | | ‡ | Croker, J. W. | Bodmin | *Cornwal* | † | † | † | † | | | | |
| a | c | * | | Crompton, S. | Retford | *Notts.* | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * 14 |
| † | c | | | Crosbie, James | Kerry County | *Ireland* | | | | | | | | |
| † | | | ‡ | Cuffe, James | Tralee | *do* | | | | | | * | | |
| † | c | | | Cumming, George | Fortrose district | *Scotland* | † | | † | | | | | |
| | p | | | Curteis, E. J. | Sussex | *County* | * | † | 2 | † | c | | r | * No. 1&27 I |
| † | p | | | Curtis. Sir Wm. Bart. | London | *City* | | † | | | | | | * No. 10 |
| * | c | | | Curwen, J. C. | Cumberland | *County* | * | * | | | * | | * | * 6A M |
| † | p | | | Curzon, Hon. R. | Clithero | *Lancaster* | | † | | | | | | |
| † | p | | § | ‡ Cust, Hon. E. | Grantham | *Lincolnshire* | † | † | † | † | † | † | | |
| † | p | | § | † Cust, Hon. P. F. | Honiton | *Devon* | | | | † | † | | | |
| † | p | | § | Dalrymple, J. A. | Appleby | *Westmorland* | | | † | | † | | | |
| † | c | | | Daly, James | Galway County | *Ireland* | | | | † | | | * | |
| a | p | | | Davenport, D. | Chester | *County* | * | * | * | | * | | | * No. 33 |
| * | p | * | § | Davies, T. H. | Worcester | *City* | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * 25 R |
| | | | | † Davis, R. H. | Bristol | *do* | † | † | | | † | | | |
| † | | | | † Dawkins, James | Hastings | *Sussex* | | † | † | | † | | | |
| † | p | | ‡ | Dawkins, Henry | Boroughbridge | *York* | † | † | † | | | † | | |
| | p | | ‡ | Dawson, G. R. | Londonderry | *City* | † | † | † | | † | † | | |
| † | c | | | Dawson, J. H. M. | Clonmell | *Ireland* | | † | | | | | r | |
| a | c | * | | De Crespigny, Sir W. Brt | Southampton | *Hants* | * | * | * | | c | | * | * 21 |
| † | p | | | Deerhurst, Viscount | Worcester | *City* | | | | | c | | | * No. 30 |
| * | c | * | | Dennison, W. J. | Surrey | *County* | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * 18 *W* |
| * | c | * | | Denman, Thomas | Nottingham | *Town* | | | 2 | * | * | | * | * 23 *R* |
| | p | | | Dent, John | Poole | *Dorset* | † | | | | | | | |
| * | p | | | Dickenson, Wm. | Somerset | *County* | † | * | * | | c | | * | * 4 *A M* |
| ‡ | | | | *Disbrowe, E. C.* | Windsor | *Berks* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | | | Divett, Thomas | Gatton | *Surrey* | † | † | † | † | † | | | |
| † | p | † | | Dodson, J. | Rye | *Sussex* | † | | † | | | † | | |
| † | | | | Domville, Sir C. | Bossiney | *Cornwall* | † | | | | † | † | | |
| | c | | | Don, Sir Alexander | Roxburg County, | *Scotland* | | † | | † | | | | |
| † | p | | | Douglas, John | Minehead | *Somerset* | | | | † | † | † | | |
| † | c | | | † Douglas, W. R. K. | Dumfries district, | *Scotland* | | | † | † | | † | | |
| † | c | † | | Doveton, Gab. | Lancaster | *Town* | † | † | * | | | | r | |
| † | p | † | ‡ | Dowdeswell, Jas. E. | Tewkesbury | *Gloucester* | † | † | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | | Downie, Robert | Stirling district | *Scotland* | † | † | † | | | | | |
| | | | | † Drummond, Home | Stirling County | *do.* | | | † | † | † | † | | |
| | | † | | Drummond, James | Perth County | *do.* | | | | † | | | | L |
| | p | | | Drake, T. T. | Amersham | *Bucks* | † | | † | | | | | |
| † | p | | § | Drake, W. T. | Do. | *do* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | | | Dugdale, D. S. | Warwick | *County* | | | * | | | | | |
| † | | † | | Dunally, Lord | Oakhampton | *Devon* | | | | | | | | |
| * | c | * | | Duncannon, Viscount | Malton | *York* | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * 18 |
| † | | | | Duncomb, Charles | Newport | *Hants* | † | | | | | | | |
| † | | † | | Duncomb, Wm. | Grimsby | *Lincolnshire* | † | | | | | | | |
| a | c | | | Dundas, Charles | Berks | *County* | * | | | | * | | * | No. 26 *L W* |
| * | c | * | | Dundas, Hon. Thomas | Richmond | *York* | | * | 2 | * | c | * | * | * 9 |
| † | | | ‡ | Dundas, Right Hon. W. | Edinburgh | *City* | † | † | † | † | † | | | |
| † | c | | § | Dunlop, James | Kirkcudbright Co. | *Scotland* | | | † | | | | | |

| a | b | c | | | d | e | f | g | h | i | k | Margin |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| † | | ↓ | Eastnor, Viscount .... | Hereford .....*City* | † | † | * | | | | r | |
| * | c | * | Ebrington, Viscount .... | Tavistock .....*Devon* | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | 15 |
| | | | Edwards, Hon. E. H.... | Bletchingley .....*Surrey* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | Egerton, Wilbraham.... | Chester ..... *County* | † | † | † | † | * | | r | |
| † | p | † | Eliot, Hon. W. ..... | Liskeard.....*Cornwall* | | † | | | | | | |
| * | c | * | Ellice, Edward ..... | Coventry .....*City* | * | * | * | | c | * | * | 17 *M* |
| † | c | | Ellis, C. R..... | Seaford .....*Sussex* | | † | † | | † | | | |
| ‡ | c | | Ellis, G. J. W. A. ..... | Seaford.....*do.* | | | 2 | * | * | | * | No. 26 & 27 |
| † | p | | ‡ Ellis, Thomas ..... | Dublin ..... *City* | | | † | | | | | |
| † | c | † | Ellison, Cuthbert ..... | Newcastle on Tyne..... | | † | | | | | r | |
| | | † | Ennismore, Viscount.... | Cork County ....*Ireland* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | | Estcourt, T. G..... | Devizes .....*Wilts* | | † | † | | | | | |
| | c | | Evans, Wm..... | Retford .....*Nottingham* | | | 2 | | | | * | 5 *R* |
| † | c | | Evelyn, Lyndon ..... | St. Ives .....*Cornwall* | † | † | † | | | | | |
| † | p | | Fairlie, Sir W. C. Bart... | Leominster ....*Hereford* | | * | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | Fane, John ..... | Oxford .....*County* | * | † | * | | c | | r | * No. 1 *L* |
| † | p | † | ↓ Fane, J. T. ..... | Lyme Regis .....*Dorset* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | ↓ Fane, Vere ..... | Lyme Regis.....*do.* | † | † | | | | † | | |
| ‡ | c | | Farquharson, A..... | Elgin, Banff, &c. dist. *Scotld* | | | 2 | | | | * | No. 23 |
| * | c | | Farrand, Robert..... | Hedon ..... ....*York* | * | * | * | | | | r | * 5 |
| † | p | † | Fellows, W. H. ..... | Huntingdon .....*County* | | † | * | | | | | |
| * | c | * | Ferguson, Sir R. C. .... | Dysart, &c. district, *Scotlnd* | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | 31 |
| † | p | | Fetherstone, Sir G. Bart. | Longford County..*Ireland* | † | | | | | | * | No. 26 |
| | p | | Fife, Earl of ..... | Bamff County....*Scotland* | | | | | | | | |
| * | c | | § Fitzgerald, Right Hon. M. | Kerry County ....*Ireland* | | | | | | | | |
| | | | ‡ Fitzgerald, Right Hon. W. | Clare County .....*do.* | | | | | | | | |
| * | c | * | Fitzgerald, Lord W. C... | Kildare County .....*do.* | * | * | * | * | * | | r | * 7 |
| † | c | | ‡ Fitzgibbon, Hon. R.... | Limerick County ....*do.* | | | | | | | | * No. 24 |
| * | c | * | § Fitzroy, Lord C. ..... | Thetford ..... *Norfolk* | | | * | * | | * | | * 8 M |
| * | c | | Fitzroy, Lord J..... | Bury St. Edmunds, *Suffolk* | * | * | * | | c | | r | * No 31 |
| † | c | | Fleming, John..... | Hampshire .....*County* | † | † | † | | † | | r | * No. 30 |
| † | p | | Fleming, John..... | Saltash ..... ..*Cornwall* | † | † | † | | | | r | * No. 30 |
| | | | Foley, J. H. H. ..... .. | Droitwich ...*Worcester* | | | * | | | | * | * 4 |
| * | | * | Folkestone, Viscount.... | Salisbury .....*City* | | | 2 | * | c | | r | * 12 |
| † | | | Forbes, Charles ..... | Malmsbury .....*Wilts* | † | † | 2 | † | | | r | * 3 |
| † | c | † | ‡ § Forbes, Viscount .... | Longford County..*Ireland* | | | † | | † | | | * No. 2 |
| | | | Forde, Matthew ..... | Down County .....*do* | † | | * | | | * | | |
| | | | Forrester, F..... | Wenlock .....*Salop* | † | | † | † | | | | |
| † | p | | Fox, G. L..... | Beverley .....*York* | | | | | | | | * No. 1 |
| | c | * | Frankland, Robert..... | Thirsk ..... .....*do* | * | | 2 | | c | | * | * No. 27 & 31 |
| † | c | † | ‡ Freemantle, Wm..... | Buckingham .....*Town* | | | † | † | † | | | |
| | c | | French, Arthur ..... | Roscommon Co...*Ireland* | | | 2 | | | | | |
| † | p | † | Fynes, H..... | See Clinton Fynes ..... | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | | § Gascoigne, Isaac .... | Liverpool ....*Lancashire* | † | | | | † | | | * No. 11 & 30 |
| † | c | * | Gaskell, B. ..... | Malden .....*Essex* | | | 2 | * | | | * | * 8 M |
| † | p | † | ‡ Gifford, Sir R. ..... | Eye .....*Suffolk* | † | † | † | † | † | † | | |
| † | p | † | Gilbert, D. G..... | Bodmin .....*Cornwall* | † | † | † | † | | | | |
| | | | Gipps, George..... | Ripon .....*York* | | † | * | | c | | r | * No. 1 & 29 |
| | c | | ↓ Gladstone, John ..... | Woodstock .....*Oxford* | † | | † | | | | | M |
| | c | | Glenorchy, Viscount .. | Oakhampton.....*Devon* | | | | * | * | * | | * 3 |
| | | † | Gooch, Thomas S..... | Suffolk ..... *County* | † | † | * | | | | r | |
| | | † | Gordon, Hon. Wm..... | Aberdeen County *Scotland* | † | † | † | | † | | | *A* |
| | c | * | Gordon, Robert ..... | Cricklade .....*Wilts* | | | | | | | | |
| | p | † | § Gossett, Wm. ..... | Truro .....*Cornwall* | † | | † | | | | | |
| | p | † | ‡ Goulbourn, H..... | West Looe .....*do* | | † | † | † | † | † | | |
| | | | Gower, Lord F. L..... | Blechingley .....*Surrey* | | † | † | | | | | |
| | p | | Graham, Sir James..... | Carlisle .....*City* | | | | | | | | |
| | c | | Graham, Sandford..... | Ludgershall .....*Wilts* | * | | * | | c | * | * | * 11 |

| a | b | c | | | | d | e | f | g | h | i | k | | Margin |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| * | | c | | Grant, J. P. | Tavistock ... *Devon* | | | 2 | * | * | * | * | * | 4 |
| † | p | † | | Grant, A. C | Lestwithiel ... *Cornwall* | † | † | † | † | | | | | |
| † | c | † | ‡ | Grant, Rt. Hon. C. | Inverness County *Scotland* | | † | | | | | | | |
| † | c | | | Grant, F. W. | Elgin County ... *do* | | | | † | | | | | |
| † | | | † | Grant, G. M. | Sutherland County ... *do* | | | | | | | | * | No. 30 |
| | c | | * | Grattan, James | Wicklow County . *Ireland* | * | * | 2 | * | | * | * | * | 15 *W* |
| † | | | ‡ | Graves, Lord | Milborne Port .. *Somerset* | † | | † | † | | | | | |
| * | c | | | Grenfell, Pascoe | Penryn ... *Cornwall* | † | † | * | * | | | r | * | 6 |
| | p | † | § ‡ | Greville, Sir C. J. | Warwick ... *Town* | † | † | | | | | | | |
| * | c | | | Griffith, J. W. | Denbigh ... *do* | | | * | * | | * | * | * | 12 *A W M* |
| † | | | | Grossett, J. R. | Chippenham ... *Wilts* | | | | | | | | * | No. 23 *W* |
| | | | | *Grosvenor, Hon. R.* | Shaftesbury ... *Dorset* | | | | | | | | * | 4 |
| | p | | | Grosvenor, R, E. D. | New Romney ... *Kent* | | | 2 | | | | | | |
| | | | § | Grosvenor, Thomas | Chester ... *City* | | | | | | | | * | No. 27 |
| * | c | | * | Guise, Sir B. W. Bart. | Gloucester ... *County* | | * | * | * | c | | * | * | 12 *A M* |
| * | c | | | Gurney, Hudson | Newton ... *Hants* | | † | † | * | † | | r | * | 7 *W* |
| * | | | | Gurney, R. Hanbury | Norwich ... *City* | * | | | | | | | * | 8 |
| * | | | * | Haldimand, Wm | Ipswich ... *Suffolk* | | † | * | | * | | * | * | 12 *R* |
| * | c | | | Hamilton, Lord A. | Lanark County .. *Scotland* | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | 13 *W* |
| * | c | | | Hamilton, Sir H. D. | Jedburgh, &c. district.. *do* | | † | | | | | | | |
| | p | † | | Handley, Henry | Heytesbury ... *Wilts* | † | † | 2 | | | | r | | |
| † | c | † | ‡ § | Hardinge, Sir H. Bart. | Durham ... *City* | † | † | † | † | † | | | | |
| † | p | | ‡ § | Hart, G. V | Donegal County .. *Ireland* | † | | | | | | | | |
| † | c | | | Hartopp, George | Dundalk ... *do* | | | | | | | | | |
| † | c | | | Harvey, Charles | Carlow Town ... *do* | † | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | | § | Harvey, Sir Eliab Bart. | Essex ... *County* | † | † | * | | | | r | | *L* |
| | | | | Hawkins, Sir C. Bart. | St. Ives ... *Cornwall* | † | † | | | | | | | |
| a | c | | * | Heathcote, J. G. | Boston ... *Lincoln* | * | * | 2 | | | | | * | 6 |
| * | | | | Heathcote, Sir G. Bart. | Rutland ... *County* | | * | | | | | * | * | No. 1 |
| | | | | *Heber, R.* | Oxford ... *University* | | † | | † | * | | r | | |
| * | | | | Heron, Sir R. Bart. | Peterborough ... *City* | * | * | 2 | | c | | * | * | 11 |
| ‡ | | | | *Herries, J. C.* | Harwich ... *Essex* | | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | | * | Heygate, Wm | Sudbury ... *Suffolk* | † | † | | | | | r | | *W M* |
| * | c | | § | Hill, Lord Arthur | Down County ... *Ireland* | * | * | | | c | * | * | * | 12 |
| † | p | † | ‡ | Hill, Right Hon. Sir G. F. | Londonderry City ... *do* | † | † | † | † | † | † | | | |
| | | | | Hill, Rowland | Salop ... *County* | † | † | | | | | | | |
| * | c | | * | Hobhouse, J. Cam | Westminster ... *City* | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | 30 |
| † | p | | | Hodson, John | Wigan ... *Lancashire* | | | | † | | | | | |
| † | p | † | ‡ | Holford, G. P. | Queenboro ... *Kent* | † | † | † | † | † | † | | | |
| a | | | | Holmes, Sir L. T. Bart. | Newport ... *Hants* | | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | ‡ | Holmes, Wm. | Bishop's Castle ... *Salop* | † | † | † | † | † | † | | | |
| * | c | | * | Honeywood, W. P | Kent ... *County* | * | * | | * | * | | r | * | 20 *W* |
| † | | | § | Hope, Hon. Sir A. | Linlithgow Count. *Scotland* | † | | | † | † | | | | |
| † | | † | ‡ | Hope, Sir W. J. | Dumfries County ... *do* | | | | | | | | | |
| * | c | | * | Hornby, E. | Preston ... *Lancashire* | | | 2 | | | | * | * | 4 |
| † | | | | Horrocks, S | Do. ... *do* | | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | § | Hotham, Lord | Leominster ... *Hereford* | † | † | 2 | † | | † | r | * | No. 27 |
| † | c | | | Houldsworth, Thomas | Pontefract ... *York* | | | | † | † | | | * | No. 32 & 3 |
| | c | | § | Howard, Hon. F. G. | Castle Rising ... *Norfolk* | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | Howard, Lord H. T. H. M. | Steyning ... *Sussex* | | | | | | | | | |
| * | c | | | Howard, Hon. W. | Morpeth . *Northumberland* | | * | * | | c | | | * | 3 |
| | | | | Hudson, Harrinton | Helstone ... *Cornwall* | † | | | | | | | | *L A M* |
| * | c | | § | Hughes, W. L. | Wallingford ... *Berks* | | * | 2 | | * | | * | * | 10 |
| † | | | | Hulse, Sir C. Bart. | West Looe ... *Cornwall* | | | * | | | | | | |
| * | c | | * | Hume, Joseph | Aberdeen, &c. dist. *Scotld.* | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | 34 *R* |
| * | c | | * | Hurst, Robert | Horsham ... *Sussex* | * | * | * | | c | | * | * | 9 |
| † | c | † | ‡ | Huskisson, Rt. Hon. W. | Liverpool ... *Lancaster* | † | † | † | † | | † | | | |
| * | c | | * | Hutchinson, Hon. C. H. | Cork City ... *Ireland* | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | 24 |
| | | | | *Hyde, John* | Youghall ... *do* | | | | | | | | | |

| c | | | d | e | f | g | h | i | k | Margin |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | James, William | Carlisle ... City | * | * | 2 | * | * | * | * | 26 |
| † | ‡ Jenkinson, Hon. C. C. | East Grinstead ... Sussex | † | † | † | | | | | |
| | Jervoise, G. P. | Hampshire ... County | * | | 2 | * | * | | * | 13 |
| | Innes, Sir H. Bart. | Kirkwall, &c. dist. Scotland | | | | | | | | |
| | ‡ Innes, John | Grampound ... Cornwall | † | † | | | | † | | |
| | Jocelyn, Hon. J. | Louth County ... Ireland | | | | | | | | L |
| * | § Johnstone, W. A. | Boston ... Lincolnshire | | * | 2 | | c | | * | * 11 |
| | ‡ Joliffe, Hylton | Petersfield ... Hants | † | | † | | | | | |
| | Jones, John | Carmarthen ... Town | | * | | | * | † | | |
| † | Irving, John | Bramber ... Sussex | † | † | † | | | † | | |
| † | Kech, G. A. L. | Leicester ... County | | † | * | | c | | r | |
| | Kennedy, T. F. | Ayr, Irvine, &c. dist. Scotlnd | | * | * | * | * | | * | * 11 |
| | Kerr, D. | Athlone ... Ireland | | | † | † | † | | | |
| | § *King, Colonel* | Sligo County ... do | | | | | | | | |
| | King, Sir J. D. Bart. | Wycombe ... Bucks | † | | | | c | † | r | L |
| | Kingsboro, Viscount | Cork County ... Ireland | | | | | | * | | |
| † | Kinnersley, W. S. | Newcastle ... Stafford | † | † | | | | | | |
| † | Knatchbull, Sir E. Bart. | Kent ... County | † | † | 2 | | c | | r | A |
| | Knox, Hon. T. | Dungannon ... Ireland | † | | † | † | † | | | |
| | *Lamb, Hon. G.* | Dungarvon ... Ireland | | | * | * | | * | * | * 5 R |
| | Lamb, Hon. W. | Hertford ... County | † | | | | † | | | * No. 11 R |
| * | Lambton, J. G. | Durham ... County | | * | * | * | c | | * | * 16 M |
| * | Langston, J. H. | Woodstock ... Oxford | | * | * | | | | * | * No26&27 R |
| † | Lascelles, W. S. | Northallerton ... York | † | † | † | | | | r | |
| | Latouche, Robert | Kildare County ... Ireland | | | 2 | | | * | * | * 4 W |
| * | Lawley, Frank | Warwick ... County | * | * | 2 | | c | | * | |
| | Leake, Wm. | Malmesbury ... Wilts | * | * | * | | | | r | |
| | ‡ Legge, Hon. H. | Banbury ... Oxford | | † | | | | | | |
| | Legh, Thomas | Newton ... Lancashire | | | | | | | | |
| | Leigh, Francis | New Ross ... Ireland | | † | | | | | | |
| * | Leigh, Jas. H. | Winchester ... City | † | | | | † | | | * No. 30 L |
| * | Lemon, Sir W. Bart. | Cornwall ... County | * | | * | * | * | | * | * 6 |
| * | Lennard, T. B. | Ipswich ... Suffolk | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * 21 |
| † | Lennox, Lord J. G. | Chichester City ... Sussex | | | † | | | | | * No. 7 |
| | Leslie, E. P. | Monaghan County. Ireland | | | | | | | | |
| | Lester, B. L. | Poole ... Dorset | | | 2 | | | | * | * 3 |
| | Lethbridge, Sir T. Bart. | Somerset ... County | † | * | * | | c | | r | * 5 L |
| † | ‡ Lewis, T. F. | Beaumaris ... Wales | † | † | † | † | | | | |
| | Lewis, Wyndham | Cardiff ... do. | | † | | | | | | |
| | Leycester, Ralph | Shaftesbury ... Dorset | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * 15 A W |
| | ‡ Lindsay, Hon. H. | Perth, Dundee, &c. dist. Scot. | † | † | † | † | | † | | |
| | Lindsay, Lord | Wigan ... Lancaster | | | † | | | | | |
| | Littleton, E. J. | Stafford ... County | † | † | * | | * | | r | * No. 30 |
| | § Lloyd, J. M. | New Shoreham ... Sussex | | | | | | | | |
| | Lloyd, Sir E. P. Bart. | Flint Town ... Wales | | | 2 | * | * | | * | * 8 |
| | Loyd, Samuel Jones | Hythe ... Kent | † | | † | | | | | |
| | Lockhart, J. J. | Oxford ... City | | | | * | † | | | * 5 L M |
| | Lockhart, W. E. | Selkirk County ... Scotland | | | † | | | | | A |
| † | ‡ Long, Right Hon. Sir C. | Haslemere ... Surrey | | † | † | † | † | † | | |
| | Lopes, Sir M. M. Bart. | Westbury ... Wilts | | | | | | | | |
| | § Lovaine, Lord | Beralstone ... Devon | | | | | † | † | | |
| † | § ‡ Lowther, Hon. H. C. | Westmoreland ... County | † | | | | | † | | |
| † | ‡ Lowther, John | Cumberland ... do. | | † | † | † | | | | |
| † | ‡ Lowther, J. H. | Cockermouth, Cumberland | | † | | | | | | |
| † | ‡ Lowther, Viscount | Westmoreland ... County | | † | † | † | † | | | |
| | Lucy, George | Fowey ... Cornwall | | † | 2 | † | | | | |
| † | ‡ Lushington, S. R. | Canterbury ... City | † | † | † | | | † | | |
| | Lushington, Doctor S. | Ilchester ... Somerset | | | | * | * | | * | * 22 |

| a | b | c | | | | d | e | f | g | h | i | k | | Margin |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| † | p | † | | Luttrell, J. F. | Minehead ... *Somerset* | | † | † | | c | | r | | |
| † | | | § | Lygon, Hon. H. B. | Worcester ... *County* | † | † | | | † | | r | | |
| * | p | * | | Maberley, John | Abingdon ... *Berks* | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | 18 *R* |
| * | c | * | § | Maberley, W. L. | Northampton ... *Town* | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | 14 |
| * | c | * | | Macdonald, James | Calne ... *Wilts* | * | * | * | * | | | * | * | 17 |
| † | | | | Macdonald, R. G. | Plympton ... *Devon* | | † | | | | | | | |
| * | c | * | | Macintosh, Sir Jas. Bart. | Knaresboro' ... *York* | | * | * | * | * | | * | * | 11 |
| † | c | | | *Mackenzie, Thomas, jun.* | Ross County ... *Scotland* | | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | | ‡ | Mc Naghten, E. A | Orford ... *Suffolk* | † | † | † | † | † | † | | | |
| | | | | Macqueen, T. P. | Eastlooe ... *Cornwall* | † | † | † | | | | | | |
| * | | | | Madocks, W. A. | Chippenham ... *Wilts* | * | | | | | | | * | No. 1 & 4 |
| | p | | | Magennis, Rd | Enniskellen ... *Ireland* | † | | † | | | | | | |
| * | c | | § | Mahon, Hon. S. | Roscommon County .. *do.* | | | 2 | | | | | * | No. 26 |
| † | p | † | § ‡ | Manners, Lord R. | Leicester ... *County* | † | | † | † | † | | | | |
| † | p | | ‡ | Manners, Lord C. S. | Cambridge ... *do.* | † | | † | † | | | | | |
| | | | ‡ | Manning, Wm. | Lymington ... *Hants* | † | † | † | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | | Mansfield, John | Leicester ... *Town* | † | † | | | | | r | | |
| * | c | | | Marjoribanks, S. | Hythe ... *Kent* | * | * | * | | c | | * | * | 12 *R* |
| † | | | | Marjoribanks, Sir J. Bart. | Berwick County .. *Scotland* | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | § | Markham, Admiral | Portsmouth ... *Hants* | * | * | 2 | | | | * | | |
| † | | | | Marryatt, Jos. | Sandwich ... *Kent* | † | † | * | | | | * | * | 4 |
| * | c | * | | Martin, James | Tewkesbury .. *Gloucester* | * | † | * | * | * | * | * | * | 23 |
| † | c | † | | Martin, Richard | Galway County .. *Ireland* | | | | † | † | † | | * | No. 30 |
| † | p | † | ‡ | Martin, Sir T. B. | Plymouth ... *Devon* | † | | † | † | | † | | | |
| | c | | § | Maule, Hon. W. R. | Forfar County .. *Scotland* | | | * | | | | | * | 9 |
| * | c | * | | Maxwell, John | Renfrew County ... *do.* | | * | 2 | * | † | | r | * | 7 *W* |
| † | | | | Maxwell, J. W. | Downpatrick ... *Ireland* | | | | | * | † | * | | |
| | | | | *Maxwell, Sir W. Bart.* | Wigtown County, *Scotland* | | | | | | | | | |
| * | | | | Milbank, Mark | Camelford ... *Cornwall* | | | 2 | * | * | | * | * | 8 *L* |
| | c | | | Mildmay, P. St. John | Winchester ... *City* | | | | | | | | | |
| † | | † | | Miles, P. J. | Westbury ... *Wilts* | | | * | | | | | | |
| † | p | | | Mills, Charles | Warwick ... *Town* | † | † | † | | | | | | |
| * | c | * | | Milton, Viscount | York ... *County* | | | | | | | * | | |
| † | p | | | Mitchell, John | Kingston-on-Hull .. *York* | † | † | | | * | | r | | |
| * | c | * | | Monk, J. B. | Reading ... *Berks* | * | * | 2 | * | * | * | * | * | 22 *W M* |
| † | c | | | Money, W. T. | St. Michaels ... *Cornwall* | † | † | | | | | | | |
| † | p | | | Monteith, H. | Selkirk, &c. district, *Scotld* | | † | | | | | | | *M* |
| † | p | | ‡ | Montgomery, James | Ayr County ... *Scotland* | | † | | | | | | | |
| | | | § | Montgomery, Sir J. Bart. | Peebles County ... *do.* | | | | | | | | | |
| * | c | * | | Moore, Peter | Coventry ... *City* | * | * | * | | * | | * | * | 20 |
| † | p | | | Morgan, Sir C. Bart. | Monmouth ... *County* | | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | | § | Morgan, G. G. | Brecon ... *Wales* | † | † | | | | | | | |
| † | c | † | ‡ | Morland, Sir S. B. Bart. | St. Mawes ... *Cornwall* | † | † | | | † | | | | |
| * | c | | | Mostyn, Sir Thos. Bart. | Flint County ... *Wales* | * | | | * | * | | * | * | 3 |
| † | p | | ‡ | Mountcharles, Earl | Donegal County .. *Ireland* | † | † | | | | | | | |
| | p | | | *Munday, Frs.* | Derby ... *County* | | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | § | Munday, George | Boroughbridge ... *York* | | | † | | | † | | | |
| † | p | | | Musgrave, Sir P. Bart. | Petersfield ... *Hants* | † | † | † | † | c | | r | | |
| | | † | § | Neale, Sir H. B | Lymington ... *Hants* | † | † | † | | | | | | |
| * | c | | | Neville, Hon. R. | Berks ... *County* | * | | * | | c | | r | * | No. 1 & 2 |
| * | p | * | | Newman, R. W. | Exeter City ... *Devon* | | | * | | c | | * | * | 9 |
| * | c | * | | Newport, Rt Hon. Sir J. Brt. | Waterford City .. *Ireland* | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | 18 |
| † | | | | Newry, Viscount | Newry City ... *do.* | † | | † | | | | | | |
| † | p | | ‡ | Nichol, Right Hon. Sir J. | Bedwin ... *Wilts* | | † | | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | ‡ | Nightingale, S. M. | Eye ... *Suffolk* | † | † | † | † | | † | | | |
| * | p | | | Noel, Sir G. N. Bart. | Rutland ... *County* | | | | | | | | | |
| † | | † | ‡ | Nolan, Michael | Barnstaple ... *Devon* | † | † | | † | † | † | | | |
| | | | | Normanby, Viscount | Higham Ferrers, *Northampt* | | * | * | * | c | | * | * | 16 *M* |

| c | | | d | e | f | g | h | i | k | Margin |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Northey, W. | Newport | | | | | | | | |
| | ‡ Nugent, Sir G. | Buckingham | † | † | † | | c | | | L |
| * | Nugent, Lord | Aylesbury | * | * | 2 | * | * | | * | * 16 |
| | O'Brien, Sir E. Bart. | Clare County | | | 2 | | † | * | | |
| * | O'Callaghan, James | Tregony | | * | * | | c | | * | * 12 L |
| | § O'Grady, Standish | Limerick County, | † | † | | | | * | r | |
| | ‡ O'Neil, Hon. J. R. | Antrim County | † | | | | | | | |
| † | Ommaney, Sir F. M. | Barnstaple | † | | † | † | † | † | | |
| | ‡ Onslow, Arthur | Guildford | † | † | † | | | | | |
| * | Ord, Wm. | Morpeth, | | * | 2 | | c | | * | * 10 |
| | Osborne, Lord F. G. | Cambridge | | | | | c | | * | * 4 |
| † | ‡ Osborne, Sir John, Bart. | Wigtown, &c. dist. | † | † | † | † | | † | | |
| | Owen, Sir John, Bart. | Pembroke County | | † | | | c | | | W |
| | Oxmantown, Lord | King's County | | | | | | | | |
| | ‡ Paget, Hon. B. | Milborne Port | | † | | † | | | | |
| | ‡ Paget, Hon. Sir C. | Carnarvon Town | | † | † | | | | | |
| | § Pakenham, Hon. R. | Westmeath County | | | | | | | | |
| | Palk, Sir L. V. Bart. | Ashburton | † | | | | | | | |
| | § Palmer, Charles | Bath City | | | 2 | | c | | * | * 10 |
| * | Palmer, C. F. | Reading | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * 21 W |
| † | ‡ Palmerston, Lord | Cambridge | † | † | † | † | † | † | | |
| * | Pares, Thomas | Leicester | * | * | | | c | | * | * 8 |
| | Parnell, Sir H. Bart. | Queen's County | | | | | * | * | r | * No. 8 & 9 |
| † | Paxton, Sir W. G. Bart. | Plympton | † | | † | | | | | |
| † | Pearse, John | Devizes | † | † | | † | | | | |
| | ‡ Pechell, Sir T. B. Bart. | Downton | † | † | | | † | | | |
| | ‡ Peel, Right Hon. R. | Oxford | | † | † | † | † | † | | |
| | ‡ Peel, W. Yates | Tamworth | † | † | † | | † | | | |
| * | Peirse, H. | Northallerton | * | * | * | | * | | * | * 3 |
| | Pelham, Hon. C. A. | Lincoln | * | * | 2 | | | | * | * No. 7 |
| | *Pelham, J. C.* | Salop | | | | | | | | |
| | § ‡ Pellew, Hon. P. B. | Launceston | † | | | | | | | |
| | ‡ Pennant, G. H. D. | New Romney | | † | † | | † | | | |
| † | Penrudocke, J. H. | Wilton | | | | | † | | † | r |
| | ‡ Percy, Hon. H. | Beralstone | | | | | | | | |
| | ‡ § Percy, Hon. W. H. | Stamford | † | | | | | | | |
| † | ‡ Phillimore, Joseph | St. Mawes | | † | † | † | † | | | |
| * | Phillips, George, sen. | Wooton Basset | * | | * | * | | * | * | * 8 R |
| * | Phillips, G. R. | Steyning | | * | * | | c | | * | * 11 |
| † | ‡ Phipps, Hon. E. | Scarborough | † | | † | † | † | † | | |
| † | Pitt, Joseph | Cricklade | | | † | | | | | |
| † | Pitt, Wm. M. | Dorset | † | † | | | | | | |
| | Plummer, John | Hindon | † | | † | † | * | | | * No. 7 & 30 |
| | ‡ Plunkett, Rt Hon. W. C. | Dublin | | | † | † | † | † | | |
| | Pole, Sir Peter, Bart. | Yarmouth | † | | † | | | | | |
| | Pollen, Sir John, Bart. | Andover | | † | * | | | | | |
| | Pollington, Viscount | Pontefract | | | † | | | | | |
| | § Ponsonby, Hon. F. C. | Kilkenny County | | | | | | | | |
| | *Porcher, H.* | Clitheroe | | | | | | | | |
| | Portman, E. B. | Dorset | * | | * | | | | * | No. 30 |
| | Powell, W. E. | Cardigan County | † | | | | | | | |
| | Power, Richard | Waterford County, | | | 2 | | | * | * | * 10 |
| | Powlet, Hon. W. J. F. | Durham | | | 2 | * | c | | * | * 11 |
| | *Poyntz, M.* | Chichester | | | | | | | | |
| | Prendergast, M. G. | Galway Town | | † | † | | † | | | |
| * | Price, Robert | Hereford | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * 17 |
| | Price, Richard | Radnor Town | | | | | † | | | |
| | § Pringle, Sir W. H. | Liskeard | † | † | † | † | | | | |
| | Prittie, *Hon. F. A.* | Tipperary County, Ireland | | | 2 | * | | | * | * 3 |

| a | b | c | | | | d | e | f | g | h | i | k | Margin |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | § Proby, Hon. G. L. | Wicklow County | *Ireland* | | | | | c | | r | |
| * | c | * | Pryse, Pryse | Cardigan Town | *Wales* | | | | | | | * | *No 23 § 27 W |
| * | c | * | Pym, Francis | Bedford | *County* | | * | * | | c | | * | * 8 |
| † | p | | ‡ Rae, Sir W. Bart. | Crail, &c. district, | *Scotland* | | | | † | † | | | |
| † | p | | ‡ Raine, Jona | Newport | *Cornwall* | † | † | | | | | | |
| | c | | Ramsay, Sir A. Bart. | Kincardine County, | *Scotld* | | | 2 | | | | * | * No. 23 |
| * | | | Ramsbottom, John | Windsor | *Berks* | | * | 2 | | * | | * | * No. 27 |
| * | c | * | Ramsden, J. C. | Malton | *York* | | * | 2 | | c | | * | * 7 |
| † | p | | Rice, Hon. George. | Carmarthen County, | *Wales* | † | † | † | † | † | | | |
| * | c | * | Rice, T. S. | Limerick City | *Ireland* | * | * | * | * | c | * | * | * 22 |
| * | | * | Ricardo, D. | Portarlington | *do.* | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * 28 *R* |
| * | p | | Rickford, W. | Aylesbury | *Bucks* | * | | * | | | | * | * 13 *M* |
| a | c | | Ridley, Sir M. W. Bart. | Newcastle on Tyne | | | * | * | | c | | * | * 9 |
| * | p | * | Robarts, A. W. | Maidstone | *Kent* | * | * | * | * | c | | * | * 22 |
| * | | * | § Robarts, G. J. | Wallingford | *Berks* | * | * | | * | c | * | * | * 22 |
| | | † | Roberts, W. A. | Bewdley | *Worcester* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | Robertson, A. | Grampound | *Cornwall* | † | † | * | | | | | * No. 22 |
| † | c | † | ‡ Robinson, Right Hon. F. | Ripon | *York* | † | † | † | † | † | † | | |
| * | c | * | Robinson, Sir G. Bart. | Northampton | *Town* | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * 27 *A R* |
| | | | Rochfort, G. H. | Westmeath County, | *Ireland* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | Rogers, E. | Bishops Castle | *Salop* | | † | 2 | † | c | | | |
| | | | ‡ Rose, Right Hon. G. | Christchurch | *Hants* | | | | | | | | |
| | | | § *Ross, Charles* | Orford | *Suffolk* | | | | | | | | |
| a | | | § Rowley, Sir Josias | Kinsale | *Ireland* | † | † | † | | † | | | |
| * | c | * | Rowley, Sir Wm. | Suffolk | *County* | * | | 2 | * | * | | | * 6 *W* |
| * | c | | Rumbold, C. E. | Yarmouth | *Norfolk* | | * | * | * | * | | * | * 14 *R* |
| * | c | * | Russell, Lord John | Huntingdon | *County* | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * 9 |
| * | c | * | § Russell, Lord G. W. | Bedford | *Town* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | Russell, Jesse Watts | Gatton | *Surrey* | † | | † | | † | | | |
| | | | Russell, Wm. | Saltash | *Cornwall* | | | | | | | | |
| * | c | | Russell, R. Greenhill | Thirsk | *York* | | * | * | | | | * | * 4 |
| † | p | | ‡ Ryder, Right Hon. R. | Tiverton | *Devon* | | † | † | | † | | | |
| | | | ‡ Sandon, Viscount | Tiverton | *Devon* | | † | † | † | | † | | |
| * | c | * | Scarlet, James | Peterboro | *City* | * | * | 2 | * | c | | * | * 14 *R* |
| * | c | | Scott, James | Bridport | *Dorset* | * | | * | | * | | * | * 12 |
| † | p | | Scott, Samuel | Whitchurch | *Hants* | † | † | | | | | | |
| † | p | | ‡ Scott, Hon. W. H. J. | Hastings | *Sussex* | | | † | | | | | |
| † | | † | Scourfield, W. H. | Haverfordwest | *Wales* | | * | 2 | | c | | | |
| * | c | | Scudamore, R. P. | Hereford | *Town* | | | * | | c | | * | * 4 |
| * | c | * | Sebright, Sir J. S. Bart. | Hertford | *County* | | | * | | * | | * | * 5 |
| * | c | * | Sefton, Earl of | Droitwich | *Worcester* | * | * | | * | c | | * | * 15 |
| † | p | | § Seymour, Hor. | Lisburne | *Ireland* | | | † | | | | | |
| † | c | | Shaw, Sir Robert, Bart. | Dublin City | *do.* | | | † | | | | | |
| | p | | Shelly, Sir John, Bart. | Lewes | *Sussex* | | * | * | | * | | r | *L* |
| † | p | | Shiffner, Sir G. Bart. | Lewes | *do.* | † | † | † | | | | | *L A* |
| | | | Skeffington, Right Hon. T. | Louth County | *Ireland* | † | † | | † | † | † | | |
| * | | These 5 are of one family. | Smith, Abel | Midhurst | *Sussex* | * | † | * | | | | r | * No. 12 |
| * | c | * | Smith, John | Midhurst | *do.* | | | * | * | * | * | * | * 5 |
| * | c | | Smith, George | Wendover | *Bucks* | * | | * | * | * | | | *No. 28 § 30 |
| * | p | | Smith, Samuel | Wendover | *do.* | | † | * | * | * | * | r | * 8 |
| * | | * | Smith, Hon. R. | Bucks | *County* | * | * | * | | c | | * | * 9 |
| * | c | * | Smith, Wm. | Norwich | *City* | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * 24 |
| † | p | † | Smith, Christopher | St. Albans | *Hertford* | | † | † | † | | | | * No. 10 |
| | c | | Smith, Robert | Lincoln | *City* | † | † | * | | c | | r | * 5 |
| † | p | | Smith, T. A. | Andover | *Hants* | † | † | | | | | | |
| | | | Smyth, Wm. | Drogheda | *Ireland* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | Sneyd, Nathaniel | Cavan County | *do.* | | | | † | | † | | |
| † | p | † | ‡ Somerset, Lord G. | Monmouth | *County* | † | | † | † | | † | | |

| a | b | c | | | | | d | e | f | g | h | i | k | Margin |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| † | p | † | ‡ | Somerset, Lord R. .... | Gloucester ..... | *County* | † | | † | | | | | |
| † | c | | | Somerville, Sir M. Bart.. | Meath County.... | *Ireland* | | | | | | | | |
| † | | † | § | Sotheran, Frank ..... | Nottingham ..... | *County* | † | † | 2 | † | | | | |
| | | | ‡ | Stanhope, Hon. J. H .. | Dartmouth..... | *Devon* | | | | | | | | *L* |
| | | * | | *Stanley, Hon. E. G.* .... | Stockbridge ..... | *Hants* | | | | | | | | |
| * | c | | | Stanley, Lord ..... | Lancaster ..... | *County* | * | * | 2 | | | | * | * 11 |
| † | c | | | Staunton, Sir G. Bart. .. | St. Michael .... | *Cornwall* | | | | | * | | | |
| † | c | | | Stewart, A. R ..... | Londonderry County, | *Ireld* | | † | † | † | † | | | |
| † | p | | ‡ | Stewart, Rt. Hon. Sir J. | Tyrone County ..... | *do.* | † | | | | | | | |
| † | | | | Stewart, William ..... | Tyrone County ..... | *do.* | | * | 2 | | c | * | * | * 6 |
| † | p | | | Stuart, William ..... | Armagh Town..... | *do.* | † | † | | | | | | |
| * | c | * | | Stuart, Lord P. J. C..... | Bute & Caithnes Co. | *Scotld* | * | * | 2 | * | c | | * | * 13 |
| † | p | † | | Stopford, Viscount..... | Wexford County.. | *Ireland* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | | | Strathaven, Lord ..... | East Grinstead .... | *Sussex* | | | † | | | | | |
| | p | † | | Strutt, J. H. ..... | Malden ..... | *Essex* | † | † | † | | | | | |
| † | p | † | | St. Paull, Sir H. D. C ... | Bridport..... | *Dorset* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | | Sumner, G. H..... | Surrey ..... | *County* | † | † | † | | † | | | *M* |
| † | p | | | Suttie, Sir James, Bart.. | Haddington County, | *Scotld* | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | Sutton, Right Hon. C. M. | Scarborough ..... | *York* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | * | | Swann, Henry..... | Penryn ..... | *Cornwall* | | | | | † | | | |
| * | c | | | Sykes, Daniel ..... | Kingston-on-Hull .. | *York* | * | * | * | | c | | * | * 12 |
| * | c | | | Talbot, R. W..... | Dublin County.... | *Ireland* | | | 2 | | | | * | |
| * | c | * | | Tavistock, Marquis of .. | Bedford ..... | *County* | * | * | 2 | * | * | | * | * 5 *M* |
| a | | | | Taylor, C. W. ..... | Wells City..... | *Somerset* | | | 2 | | | | * | |
| | p | | | Taylor, G. W..... | East Looe ..... | *Cornwall* | † | | † | † | | | | |
| † | p | † | ‡ | Taylor, Sir H. ..... | Windsor ..... | *Berks* | † | † | † | | | | | |
| * | c | * | | Taylor, M. A. ..... | Durham..... | *City* | | * | * | * | * | | * | * 7 |
| * | c | * | | Tennyson, Charles ..... | Great Grimsby .. | *Lincoln* | * | * | * | | c | | * | * 8 |
| | p | † | | Thompson. Wm..... | Callington ..... | *Cornwall* | † | † | | † | c | | r | * No.10 *RW* |
| † | p | | | Thynne, Lord John..... | Bath City ..... | *Somerset* | † | | | | | | | |
| * | c | * | | Tierney, Right Hon. G... | Knaresboro ..... | *York* | | * | * | * | c | | * | * 14 |
| * | c | † | | Titchfield, Marquis of.... | Kings Lynn.. ... | *Norfolk* | * | * | 2 | * | * | | * | * 6 *W* |
| * | p | * | | Townshend, Lord C. .... | Tamworth ..... | *Stafford* | | | * | | c | * | * | * 4 |
| † | p | † | | Townshend, Hon. H. G.. | Whitchurch ..... | *Hants* | † | † | † | † | | | | |
| | | | § | Townshend, Lord J. N.. | Helstone..... | *Cornwall* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | | Tremayne, J. H..... | Cornwall ..... | *County* | | | 2 | | | | | |
| † | | † | § | Trench, F. W. ..... | Cambridge . ..... | *Town* | † | | † | | | † | | |
| | | | | Tudway, J. P..... | Wells City..... | *Somerset* | † | | | | | | | |
| a | p | | | Tulk, C. A. ..... | Sudbury ..... | *Suffolk* | † | * | * | * | * | | * | * No. 30 |
| † | | | | Tynte, C. K. ..... | Bridgewater .... | *Somerset* | | | * | | | | | * 5 |
| | c | † | ‡ | Twiss, Horace ..... | Wootton Basset.... | *Wilts* | † | † | † | † | | | | |
| † | c | | § | Upton, Hon. A. F. .... | Bury St. Edmunds | *Suffolk* | | † | | | | | | |
| | p | † | | Ure, Masterton ..... | Weymouth ..... | *Dorset* | † | † | † | † | | | | |
| † | | | § | Uxbridge, Earl ..... | Anglesea County .. | *Wales* | | | † | | | | | |
| † | p | | | Valletort, Viscount .... | Fowey ..... | *Cornwall* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | ‡ | Vansittart, Nicholas ... | Harwich ..... | *Essex* | † | † | † | † | † | † | | |
| | | † | | Vaughan, Sir R. W. Bart | Merioneth County.. | *Wales* | | | | | | | | |
| † | c | † | | Vernon, G. G. V. ..... | Litchfield City ..... | | † | † | † | | | | | |
| † | | | ‡ | Villiers, Right Hon. J. C. | Queenborough ..... | *Kent* | † | † | † | † | | † | | |
| † | p | | ‡ | Vivian, Sir R. H. ..... | Truro ..... | *Cornwall* | | † | | | | | | |
| † | | | | Walker, Joshua ..... | Aldeburgh ..... | *Suffolk* | | † | | | | | | |
| a | c | | | Wall, C. B. ..... .. | Guildford ..... | *Surry* | † | † | | | | | | |
| † | p | † | ‡ | Wallace, Rt. Hon. T. .. | Weymouth ..... | *Dorset* | † | † | † | † | | † | | |
| | c | † | | Ward, Hon. J. W. ..... | Bossiney ..... | *Cornwall* | | | | | | | | * No. 36 |
| † | p | † | ‡ | Ward, Robert ..... | Haslemere..... | *Surry* | † | † | † | † | † | † | | |
| † | | | ‡ | Warren, Charles ..... | Dorchester ..... | *Town* | † | | † | † | | | | |

| a | b | c | | | | d | e | f | g | h | i | k | Margin |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| † | c | † | ‡ Warrender, Sir G. Bart. | Sandwich | *Kent* | | | † | † | | † | | |
| † | | † | Walpole, Hon. J. | King's Lynn | *Norfolk* | | | * | | | | | |
| a | c | * | Warre, James A. | Taunton | *Devon* | | * | * | | c | | * | * 9 |
| * | p | * | Webbe, Edward | Gloucester | *City* | | * | * | | c | | * | * 9 *A W* |
| † | p | † | Wells, J. | Maidstone | *Kent* | † | * | * | | c | | | *L M* |
| | | † | ‡ Wellesley, Richard | Ennis | *Ireland* | † | † | † | † | | | | |
| † | p | † | § Wemys, J | Fife County | *Scotland* | | | | † | | † | | *L* |
| † | p | | Westenra, Hon. H. B. | Monaghan County | *Irelnd* | † | | * | | | | r | |
| * | c | | Western, C. C. | Essex | *County* | | | 2 | * | * | * | * | * 12 *A W* |
| * | p | | Wetherall, C. | Oxford | *City* | † | † | † | | † | | | |
| * | c | * | Wharton, John | Beverley | *York* | | | * | | | | | * No. 12&13 |
| * | c | * | Whitbread, S. C. | Middlesex | *County* | * | | * | * | c | * | * | * 20 *M* |
| * | c | * | Whitbread, W. H. | Bedford | *Town* | * | | | | c | | | * 10 |
| * | c | | White, Luke | Leitrim County | *Ireland* | * | | | | | * | * | * 4 |
| | | | *White*, —— | Dublin do. | *do* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | | Whitmore, Thomas | Bridgenorth | *Salop* | * | | | | | | | |
| * | c | * | Whitmore, Wm. Wolr. | Do. | *do* | | † | | | c | | * | * 6 *R* |
| † | | | Wigram, Sir R. | Lestwithiel | *Cornwall* | | | | | | | | |
| † | p | | Wigram, Wm | Wexford Town | *Ireland* | † | | | | | | | *M* |
| † | | | Wilberforce, Wm. | Bramber | *Sussex* | | | | | | | * | |
| † | p | † | Wilbraham, E. B. | Dover | *Kent* | † | | † | | † | | | |
| † | p | | Wildman, J. B. | Colchester | *Essex* | | † | | | | | | |
| * | | | Wilkins, Walter | Radnor County | *Wales* | * | * | | | c | | * | * No, 9 & 12 |
| | | | Williams, John | Lincoln | *City* | | | 2 | * | * | | * | * 11 *M* |
| * | | | Williams, Owen | Marlow | *Bucks* | | | * | | | | | * No. 25&35 |
| † | p | | Williams, Robert | Dorchester | *Town* | † | † | † | | | | | |
| | | | Williams, Sir Robt. Bart. | Carnarvon County | *Wales* | | * | | | | | * | * 4 |
| * | c | | Williams, T. P. | Marlow | *Bucks* | * | | * | | c | | r | * No. 10 |
| * | | * | Williams, Wm. | Weymouth | *Dorset* | * | | 2 | * | c | * | * | * 17 |
| | | | Willoughby, H. | Newark | *Notts* | † | † | † | | | | | |
| † | c | † | ‡ Wilmot, R. J. | Newcastle | *Stafford* | † | † | † | † | | † | | |
| | | | Wilson, W. W. C. | Cockermouth | *Cumblnd* | | † | † | † | † | † | | |
| † | p | | Wilson, Sir H. W. | St. Albans | *Hertford* | † | † | † | | | | | |
| * | c | * | Wilson, Sir R. T. | Southwark | *Surry* | * | | * | * | * | | * | * 30 *M* |
| † | p | † | Wilson, Thomas | London | *City* | † | † | † | † | † | | r | * No. 27 |
| a | | | Winnington, Sir T. Bart. | Worcester | *County* | * | | * | | c | | | * 5 |
| † | p | † | Wodehouse, E. | Norfolk | *do* | † | † | * | † | * | | | *W* |
| † | p | | Wodehouse, Hon. J. | Marlboro | *Wilts* | † | † | | † | | | | |
| † | | | § Wood, Thomas | Brecon County | *Wales* | † | † | † | † | † | | | |
| * | c | * | Wood, Matthew | London | *City* | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * 30 *M* |
| † | | | ‡ Worcester, Marquis of | Monmouth | *Town* | | | | | | | | |
| † | c | | Wortley, J. S. | York | *County* | † | † | † | | * | | r | |
| † | | | ‡ Wrottesley, H. | Brackley | *Northampton* | | † | | | | | | |
| † | p | | Wyndham, Wadham | Salisbury | *City* | | | † | | | † | | |
| | | | Wynne, Owen | Sligo Town | *Ireland* | | | | | | | | |
| † | c | | ‡ Wynne, Chas. W. W. | Montgomery Co. | *Wales* | | † | † | † | † | † | | * No. 30 |
| | c | | ‡ Wynne, Sir W. W. Brt. | Denbigh County | *do* | | | † | † | | | | |
| * | c | * | Wyvill, M. | York | *City* | * | * | 2 | | c | | * | * 12 |
| † | | | Yarmouth, Earl | Antrim County | *Ireland* | | † | † | | | | | |
| | | | Yorke, Sir Joseph S. | Riegate | *Surry* | † | | * | | * | | | |

## LIST OF SEVEN MEMBERS

***who sat in the Session of* 1821, *but who are now called by a different Name or Title.***

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In 1821 by the Name of | Beauchamp, Lord | *now* | Earl of Yarmouth. |
| | Butler, Hon. C. H. | " | Hon. C. H. Butler Clarke. |
| | Cocks, Hon. J. S. | " | Viscount Eastnor. |
| | Fynes, Henry | " | Henry Fynes Clinton. |
| | Hare, Hon. Richard | " | Viscount Ennismore. |
| | Needham, Hon. F. | " | Viscount Newry. |
| | Temple, Earl | " | Marquis of Chandos. |

## TABLE II.

# LIST OF THE MINORITIES

## ON 36 QUESTIONS,

*Divided on during the Session of Parliament* 1822.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 20 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 30 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 36 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ercromby, Hon. James | * | * | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | * | * | * |
| an, J. H. | | | | | | | | * | | * | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | * | | | | | * | * | | | * | * | |
| horp, Viscount | | | | | | | * | * | * | | * | * | * | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | * | * | | | * | * | | * | * | * | * |
| son, Hon. George | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | * | | | | | * | |
| ell, William | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | | | | | |
| brey, Sir John | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | * | * | * | | | | | |
| illie, Colonel John | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | * |
| ring, Henry | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | * | | | * | * | |
| ring, Sir Thomas | | | | | | | * | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | | |
| rham, J. F. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | * | | | |
| rnard, Viscount | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | * | | | | * | | * |
| rat, S. M. | * | * | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | | * | * | | | | * | * | |
| aumont, T. W. | | * | | | | | * | * | | * | | | * | | | | | | | | | * | | * | | | * | | | | | | | | | |
| lgrave, Viscount | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | * | | | | * | * | | | * | | | | | | |
| net, John | * | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * |
| nnett, Hon. H. G. | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | * | | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| ntinck, Lord W. H. C. | * | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | | | | |
| nyon, Benjamin | * | * | | | | | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | | | | | * | | | | * | | | | * | | | * | * | | | | | * |
| rnal, Ralph | * | * | * | | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * |
| rch, Jos. | * | * | | | | | * | * | * | | | * | * | | | | | * | | | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | * | | |
| ake, Sir Francis | * | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | * | | | * | | * | * | | | * | * | * | * | | | * | | | | | | | |
| ughey, Sir John | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | | | | | * | * | | | | * | * | * | * | * | | | | | | | | |
| ughton, Sir W. E. | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | | | | | | | |
| ight, Henry | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | * | * | | | | * | * | | | * | * | * | | | * | * | * | | | * | | * | | | |
| ougham, H. | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * |
| own, Dominic | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | * | * | * | | * | * | |
| rdett, Sir Francis | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | | | | * | | | | | | * | | * | | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | * | * | | |
| ry, Viscount | * | * | | | * | | * | | | | | * | | * | | | | | | | * | | * | | * | * | | | | | | | | * | | |
| tterworth, Joseph | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | | |
| xton, T. F. | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | * | | | | | | |
| ng, George | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | * | * | | * | * | * | |
| lcraft, John | * | | | | | | * | * | * | | * | | * | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | |
| lcraft, J. H. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | * | * | | | * | * | |
| lvert, Charles | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | | | | * | | | * | | | | | | * | | | | * | * | * | | | * | * | * | * | | |
| lvert, Nicholas | | * | | | | | * | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | | | | | | | |
| mpbell, Hon. G. P. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | * | | | * | | | * | | | |
| rter, John | * | * | | | | | * | * | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | * | * | * | * | | |
| ulfield, Hon. H. | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | |
| vendish, C. C. | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | * | | | | * | * |
| vendish, Lord G. A. H. | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | | | * | | | | | * |
| vendish, Lord H. F. C. | | | * | | | | | | | | * | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | | | * | | | |
| aloner, R. | | | | | | | * | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | * | | | * | | | * | | | |
| amberlayne, Wm. | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | | | |
| ifton, Lord | * | * | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | * | | |
| ffin, Sir Isaac | | | | | | | | * | | | * | * | * | | | | | | | | | * | | * | | * | * | | | * | | | | * | | |

The following very interesting

## ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY,

*Is deduced from the preceding Statement, viz.*

[Turn over.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 20 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 30 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 36 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coke, T. W. | | | | | | | * | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | | | * | | | | * | * |
| Colborne, Sir N. W. R. | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | | | * | | | | | * |
| Concannon, L. | | | | | | | | * | * | * | | * | * | * | | | | | | | | * | * | | * | * | * | | | * | | | | * | | |
| Creevy, Thos. | * | * | | | * | | | * | * | * | * | | | * | | * | | | | * | * | * | | | * | | * | | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | |
| Crompton S. | | | * | | | | | | * | | | | * | * | | | | | * | | | | | * | | * | * | * | | * | * | | | | * | * | |
| Curwen, J. C. | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | * | * | | * | | | | | |
| Davies, T. H. | * | * | | | | | | * | | * | * | * | * | | | * | | | * | * | | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| De Crespigny, Sir W. | | | | | | | * | * | * | * | | | * | * | * | | | * | * | | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | * | * | | |
| Denman, Thos. | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | | | | | | * | * | | | | * | * | * | | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Dennison, W. J. | * | * | | * | | | | * | | * | | | * | * | | | | | * | | | | | * | | | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Dickinson, W. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | | | | * | | | | * | | | | | | |
| Duncannon, Viscount | * | | | | * | * | * | * | | * | * | | | * | | | * | | | | | | | * | | | | | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Dundas, Hon. Thos. | | | | | | | | * | | * | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | | | * | * | * | | | * | |
| Ebrington, Viscount | | * | * | | | | | * | * | * | * | | | * | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | * | | * | | * | * | | | * | * | |
| Ellice, Edward | | * | * | | * | * | * | * | | * | | * | | * | * | * | | | | | * | | * | * | | | * | * | | | | * | | | | | |
| Evans, Wm. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | | | * | | | | * | | * |
| Farrand, Robert | | | * | | | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | | | | | | | | |
| Ferguson, Sir R. C. | | * | * | | * | * | * | * | | * | * | | * | * | * | * | | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * |
| Fitzgerald, Lord W. C. | | | * | | | | | | | * | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | | | | | | | | | * |
| Fitzroy, Lord C. | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | * | * | | | * | | | | * | * |
| Foley, J. H. H. | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | * |
| Folkestone, Viscount | | * | * | | * | * | * | | | | * | | | * | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | * | * | | * |
| Forbes, C. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | * | * |
| Gaskell, B. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | * | * | | | | * | | * | * | * | |
| Glenorchy, Viscount | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | * | | |
| Graham, Sandford | | | | | | | | * | | * | * | | * | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | * | | | | * | | | * | * | * |
| Grant, J. P. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | * | | | | * | | | | | |
| Grattan, James | * | * | * | | | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | * | * | | * | | * | * | * | * | * |
| Grenfel, Pascoe | * | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | * | | | | * | | | | | | |
| Griffith, J. W. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | * | | * | | * | * | | | * | * | | * | * | | | * | * | |
| Grosvenor, Hon. R. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | * | | | | * | | |
| Guise, Sir B. W. | | | | | | | | * | * | * | * | | * | | * | | | | | | | | | * | * | | * | | | | | * | * | | * | | |
| Gurney, Hudson | | | * | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | | | * | | | | * | | * |
| Gurney, R. Hanb. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | * | * | * | * | | | * | | | | | * | |
| Haldimand, W. | | * | | | | | | | * | * | | | | * | | | | | | * | | * | | | | | * | * | * | | * | | * | | * | | |
| Hamilton, Lord A. | | * | * | | | | | * | * | | * | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | | | * | | * | * | | * |
| Heathcote, J. G. | | * | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | | * | | | | | | |
| Heron, Sir R. | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | | * | | | | | | | | | |
| Hill, Lord A. | | * | * | | * | * | * | * | | * | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | * | | | | | * |
| Hobhouse, J. C. | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Honywood, W. P. | | * | * | | * | * | | * | * | * | | * | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Hornby, E. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | * | * | | | | | | | | | |
| Howard, Hon. W. | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | |
| Hughes, W. L. | | * | | | * | * | * | * | | | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | | * | | | | |
| Hume, Joseph | | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Hurst, Robert | | | | | | * | * | * | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | | | * | | | * | | |
| Hutchinson, Hon. C. H. | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | * | * | * | * | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * |

| From | Members who Vote | For Ministers. | Against do. | Both. | Not at all. | Tot |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 40 Counties of England | | 25 | 37 | 10 | 8 | 80 |
| 12 Do. and 12 Towns of Wales | | 13 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 24 |
| 89 Cities & Boroughs, open Election | | 57 | 107 | 5 | 11 | 180 |
| 99 Do. do. | in which the Election is resolved into individuals | 151 | 12 | 5 | 28 | 196 |
| 15 Do. do. | | — | 29 | — | — | 29 |
| 2 Universities | | 4 | — | — | — | 4 |
| 33 Counties and 66 Royal Burghs in Scotland | | 25 | 11 | — | 9 | 45 |
| 32 Counties of Ireland | | 24 | 14 | 2 | 24 | 64 |
| 33 Cities and Boroughs of do. | | 21 | 7 | — | 8 | 36 |
| | Totals... | 320 | 226 | 23 | 89 | 658 |

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 20 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 30 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 36 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| James, Wm | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | | | | * | * | * | | * | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | | * |
| Jervoise, G P | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | * | * | | | * | | | | * | * | * | | * | * | * |
| Johnstone, Gol. W. A | * | * | * | | | | * | | * | | * | * | * | * | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | | | | | | | | |
| Kennedy, T. F | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | | | * | | | | | | | * | * | * | * | * | | | | * | * |
| Lamb, Hon. G | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | * | | | * | | | | | * |
| Lambton, J. G | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | * | | | | * | | | | * | |
| Latouche, Robert | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | * | | | | * | | |
| Lemon, Sir W | | | | | | | | * | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | | | | * | | | | | |
| Lennard, T. B | * | * | | * | | | | * | * | * | | | * | * | | * | * | | | | | | * | * | * | * | * | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | |
| Lester, B. L | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | |
| Lethbridge, Sir Thomas | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | * | * | | | | | | |
| Leycester, R | | | | | | | * | * | * | * | * | | * | | | | | | | * | * | | * | | | * | * | | * | * | * | | | * | | |
| Lockhart, J. J | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | | | * | | | * |
| Lloyd, Sir E | | | | | | | | * | * | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | * | * | | | | * | | | | | |
| Lushington, S | * | * | * | * | | | * | * | | * | | * | * | | * | | * | | * | | * | * | * | | * | * | | * | | * | * | * | | * | | |
| Maberley, John | * | * | | | | | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | | | | | | | * | * | | | * | * | * | | | | * | * | * | | | * |
| Maberley, W. L | * | * | | | | | | * | * | | | * | * | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | * | * | * | | | * |
| Macdonald, James | * | | | * | | | * | * | * | | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | | |
| Macintosh, Sir James | | * | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | * | | * | * | * | | | * | * | * |
| Marjoribanks, S | * | * | | | | | | * | * | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | * | * | | * | | | * | | | * |
| Marryat, Jos. | * | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | |
| Martin, James | * | | | * | | | | * | * | * | * | | * | | | | * | * | | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | * | * | * |
| Maule, Hon. W. R | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | | | | | * | | | * | * | * | * | | | | | | | * | | | | | * |
| Maxwell, John | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | * | | | | | | | | * | | * | | | | * | | * | * | | |
| Milbank, Mark | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | | * | | | | * | * | * | | * | * |
| Monck, J. B | * | | | | | | * | | | | * | * | | | * | | | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | |
| Moore, Peter | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | | | * | * | * | * | | | | | | | * | | * | | | | * | * | * | | * | | * | | * | * |
| Mostyn, Sir T | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | * | | | | | |
| Newman, R. W | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Newport, Sir John | * | * | | | | | | * | * | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Normanby, Viscount | | | | | | | * | * | * | | * | | * | * | | * | | | | | | | * | | * | * | * | * | | * | * | | | * | * | |
| Nugent, Lord | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | * | | * | | | | * | * |
| O'Callaghan, Js | | | | | | | * | * | * | | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | * | * | | * | * | * | | | * | | | * | | |
| Ord, Wm | * | * | | | | | | | | * | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | * | * | | | * | * | |
| Osborne, Lord F. G. | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | | | | | * | |
| Palmer, Chs | * | * | | | | | * | * | | | | | * | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | * | | | | * | |
| Palmer, C. Fysche | * | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | * | * | * | * |
| Pares Thomas | | | | | | | * | | * | * | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | * | | * | | * | | | | | * | |
| Peirse, H | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | |
| Phillips, George | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | * | | | | | * | | * | | | | * | * | * | | | | | | | | | | |
| Phillips, G. R | * | | | | * | | * | | | * | * | | * | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | * | * | |
| Power, R | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | * | * | |
| Powlett, Hon. W. J. | | | | | | | * | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | * | * | | | * | | * | | * | * |
| Price, Robert | * | * | * | | | | * | | * | * | * | | * | | | * | * | * | | | | | | | * | * | | * | | * | * | | | * | | |
| Prittie, Hon. F. A | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | | | | * |
| Pym, Frs | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | | | | | | * | | * | | | | | * | * | | | * | | | | * | |

The following shews the Counties in which the Borough influence more particularly prevails, viz

| | | | For Ministers. | Against do. | Not at all. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cornwall | 21 | Boroughs | 32 | 3 | 7 | 42 |
| Wilts | 16 | do | 18 | 8 | 6 | 32 |
| Sussex | 13 | do | 13 | 10 | 3 | 26 |
| Devon | 13 | do | 17 | 4 | 3 | 24 |
| Hants | 12 | do | 13 | 6 | 5 | 24 |
| Dorset | 9 | do | 9 | 8 | 1 | 18 |
| Surrey | 5 | do | 9 | — | 1 | 10 |
| Totals | 88 | | 111 | 39 | 27 | 176 |

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 20 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 30 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ramsden, J. C. | | | | | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | | | * | * | |
| Rice, T. S. | * | * | | * | * | * | * | | * | | * | | * | | | * | * | | | | * | | * | | | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Ricardo, D. | | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | | * | | * | * | * | * | | * | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | |
| Rickford, W. | * | * | | | | | * | | | | | | * | | * | | | | | * | * | | * | | * | * | * | * | | * | | | | | * | |
| Ridley, Sir M. W. | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | | * | | | | | * | * | | | | * | * | | | * | | | | | * | |
| Robarts, A. W. | * | * | * | | * | * | * | | * | | | | * | * | * | | | | | | * | * | | | | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Robarts, G. J. | * | * | * | | * | * | * | | * | | | | * | * | * | | | | | * | | * | * | | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | | * | * | * |
| Robinson, Sir George | * | | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | | * | * | | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Rowley, Sir W. | * | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | * | |
| Rumbold, C. E. | * | | | | | | * | | * | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | | | | * | * | * | | * | * | | * | * | |
| Russell, Lord John | | | | | | | * | * | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | | | | |
| Russell, R. G. | | | | | | | * | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | * | | |
| Scarlett, James | * | * | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * |
| Scott, James | | | | | | | | | * | * | | * | | | | | | | | * | | * | | | | | * | | | * | * | | * | * | |
| Scudamore, R. P. | | | | | | | * | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | * | |
| Sebright, Sir John | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | | | * | * | | | | |
| Sefton, Earl | * | * | | * | | | * | * | * | * | | * | * | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | * | | | | * | | * | |
| Smith, John | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | | * | | * |
| Smith, Samuel | * | | | | | | * | * | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | * | * | | | |
| Smith, Hon. R. | * | * | | | | | | * | | | | | * | * | | | | | | | * | | * | | | * | * | | | | | | | | |
| Smith, William | * | * | | | * | | * | * | * | * | | * | * | | | | | | | * | * | * | | | | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Smith, Robert | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | * | | | | | | * | |
| Stanley, Lord | | | | | | | * | | * | | | * | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | | * | * | | * | * | | | * | * |
| Stewart, Wm. (*Tyrone*) | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | * | | * | | * |
| Stuart, Lord P. J. | * | * | | | | | * | * | * | | * | | * | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | * | | * | * | | * | | |
| Sykes, Daniel | | | | | | | * | * | * | | * | | * | | | * | | | | * | | | * | * | * | * | * | | | | | | | | |
| Tavistock, Marquis | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | * | | | | * | | | * |
| Taylor, M. A. | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | * | | * | |
| Tennyson, C. | * | * | | | | | * | | * | * | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | | |
| Tierney, George | * | * | | | | | * | | * | * | | | * | | | | | | | | | * | | * | | * | * | * | | * | * | | | | * |
| Titchfield, Marquis | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | * | * | | | | * | | * | * |
| Townshend, Lord C. | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | | | | * | |
| Tynte, C. K. | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | * | * | | * | | | | | |
| Warre, Jas. A. | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | | * | * | | * | * |
| Webbe, Ed. | | | | | | | | | * | * | | * | * | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | * | | | * | | * | | | | |
| Western, C. C. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | * | | * | * | | * | | * | * | * | * |
| Whitbread, S. C. | * | | | | | | * | | * | | * | * | * | | * | | * | | | * | * | * | | | | * | * | | | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Whitbread, W. H. | * | | | | | | | | | * | | * | | | | | | | | | * | | * | | * | * | * | | | | * | | * | | |
| White, Luke | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | | * | | | * | |
| Whitmore, Wm. W. | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | | * | * | | | * | |
| Williams, John | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | | * | | * |
| Williams, Wm. | * | | | | | | * | | * | * | | * | * | | | | | | | * | * | * | | | * | | * | | * | * | | | * | * | * |
| Williams, Sir Robt. | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | * | | * | * | | | | | | | | | |
| Winnington, Sir Thos. | | * | * | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | * | | |
| Wyvill, M. | * | | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | | | | | | | | | | * | * | * | | | | | * | | | | | | |
| Wilson, Sir Robert | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | | * | | | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Wood, Matthew | * | * | * | * | | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | | * | | * | * | | * | * | * | | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | * |

☞ By the preceding Summary it will be seen that out of those Members returned from places with open and fair Election, there is a majority in favor of the Interest of the People of more than 2 to 1—but which majority is borne down by the overwhelming force of the 151 Votes returned by the influence of as few individuals ! ! !

The population of all the Boroughs in Cornwall collectively, is not equal to the population of the Town of Nottingham.

THE

# LOVE LETTERS

OF

# HENRY VIII.

TO

# ANNA BOLEYN.

NOW FIRST CORRECTLY PRINTED FROM THE AUTOGRAPHS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE

## VATICAN PALACE;

WITH

## AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,

ILLUSTRATED BY LETTERS OF DISTINGUISHED CONTEMPORARIES, NOTES, AND FAC-SIMILES.

BY THE EDITOR OF THE "HISTORIA BRITTONUM."

ORIGINAL.

LONDON:

1823.

# PREFACE.

ORIGINAL letters of eminent persons, whether we consider them as calculated to edify, by the display of sagacity and talent; as illustrating manners; or as delighting by their ease and pleasantry, have ever been highly and deservedly esteemed. As compositions, we may class them among the most faithful records of the human mind; may respect them for their tendency to promote accurate investigation in history, manners, science and civilisation, and, from the virtues they delineate, and the failings they disclose, may derive lessons of practical wisdom; and when no injury is done either to the feelings or interests of the living, the production of them is allied to those honorable pursuits, by which society is enlightened and adorned. Among these, regal letters relating to private life, are rarely to be met with, and though like those now offered to the public, they may at first sight appear more curious, than important, yet curiosity seems to rise with the rank of the writer, and if he has acted a conspicuous part in the public transactions of an eventful period, we are more than commonly anxious to be admitted behind the scenes, where he is viewed without disguise: it is in this undress of mind that our Henry VIII. is now to appear before us. Had we to estimate the character of this Potentate by these letters only, his name might have descended to posterity without reproach. At the time they were written, he had not attained those years when, in tempers contumacious by nature and rendered inflexible by indulgence, tenderness and delicacy are supplanted by gross and selfish propensities. To unrestrained passions Henry was not yet the slave; in a more advanced period, when swayed by their despotism, he would not have endured those obstacles which the intrigues of his nephew the Emperor, or the want of firmness in the Roman Pontiff, so perpetually opposed to the completion of his wishes, in which these letters are implicated.

That Henry at first sought Anna Boleyn with dishonorable intentions, is a slander clearly disproved by the tenour of this correspondence. If there are a few expressions [1] which happily we cannot tolerate, they are assignable to the defective manners of an age when females were occasionally subjected to humiliating allusions; for mental cultivation and polished reserve had not yet produced that modest and correct demeanor, whose gentle influence has chastised the rude advances of the opposite sex, and secured for themselves that distinguished rank in society they now so deservedly possess.

When the editor first saw these letters in the library of the Vatican palace, he was not aware they had ever been published in this country; and regarding them as a literary curiosity, by favor of the Prefect obtained copies of them.

How or when they were first there deposited, is still to be ascertained. They make a part of the "Codices Vaticani" (No. 3731) or that division which originally formed the basis of the library, together with the augmentations of successive Pontiffs; independent of those alien additions, introduced during the two last centuries, and to which this stupendous collection owes much of its importance. Among the earliest notices remaining, the following passage has been supposed to refer to them. Cardinal Campeggio,—"thus [2] dismissed and rewarded, was conducted honor-

[1] But there was a grossness in the manners of those times, which we must carry along with us in all our inquiries into them. The actions of men were perhaps more restrained than they are now, their tongues were certainly more licentious; and Henry, who had no idea of delicacy himself, was less offended than might be imagined at the gross indelicacy of others. While the affairs of the court of Rome were depending the emissaries of the popish party allowed themselves unbridled licence in England:—we are amazed that such a prince as Henry could bear to be told in his own chapel, 'that unless he restored religion, dogs should lick his blood, as they had licked the blood of Ahab.' (Gilpin's Life of Cranmer.) Skelton, however, for his buffooneries in the pulpit and his satirical ballads against the Mendicants, was severely censured, and perhaps suspended. (Works, p. 200—and 202.) Neither is this passage intended to convey censure on our fair countrywomen of the 16th century. Females may gradually influence, but unsupported, cannot at once, change the long established system of social manners. And what opinion are we to form of men, even those of high rank, who in private life could accustom their wives and daughters to find amusement in the unchastised licentiousness of the domestic fool—or in public, even in a reign comparatively polished, could allow them to frequent bull and bear baitings, or to attend scenic representations, which in our age would not be endured by the very populace? (For a specimen of the 'entertainments, of which our maiden queen sat as a spectatress in the earlier part of her reign,' the reader is referred to a note in the introduction to the 'Taming of a Shrew.' Johnson and Stevens's edition, V. 3. p. 406. 1778.)

[2] The ground of this quotation from Herbert is taken from Hall: (fol.

ably to the sea side, where he expected only a fair wind. But when he came to take ship, the searchers, upon pretence he carried either money or letters from England to Rome, ransacked all his coffers, bags, and papers; not without hope, certainly, to recover that decretal bull our king so much longed for. I find also (by some relation) that divers love-letters betwixt our king and Mistress Boleyn, being conveyed out of the kings cabinet, were sought for, though in vain, they having been formerly sent to Rome." (Herbert, 1529, Life of Henry VIII.) About the time Herbert's history was written, we elsewhere hear of their being in their present situation. "The papist tells us that Cardinal Campegius, sent over before him some amatorious letters, which passed written with the king's own hand, betwixt him and his dear *Nan*, as he termed her. These are said to import more familiarity than chastity between them, and are carefully kept, and solemnly shewn in the Vatican to strangers, especially of the English nation, though some suspect them to be forged. For though the king had wantonness to write such letters, yet Anna Bolen had wit and wariness too much to part with them:—in a word, so cunning was she in her chastity, that the farther she put him from her, the nearer she fastened his affections unto her." (Fuller's Church History, b. 5. p. 175. an. 1529.)

Previous to the year 1670, they were seen by (that interesting

183. Ed. Grafton) "And so he (Campeggio) toke his journey toward the sea side, where the kings counsail caused his chestes and carriages to be opened, to se what letters the cardinal of Yorke had sent to the court of Rome, and ther wer but a few letters found, for thei were sent before in poste." As Wolsey was suspected of holding a secret correspondence with the Pope, this was the most probable reason of the search. Here is no mention made of love letters, which Hall, who is exact in recording trifles, would not have omitted. Nor are they mentioned by Cavendish, who gives an additional reason for searching the baggage of Campeggio. —"It was told the king that Campeggio was departed, and had greater treasure with him, of my Lord Cardinal's of England, to be conveyed in great sums to Rome, whither they surmised he would secretly repair of this realm; insomuch that they caused a post to ride after the Cardinal to search him, who overtook him at Calais, and staid him until search was made, but there was found no more than was received of the king for a reward." (Cavendish's Life of Wolsey; Grove v. 4. p. 24.) This search was in all probability, nothing more than a matter of course, as the servants in the suite of ambassadors allowed themselves great licence in contraband dealings. That the luggage of ambassadors may be searched, Howel cites an example—"Sir Thomas Chaloner, sent ambassador to Spain by Queen Elizabeth, who sending complaints home, that his chests had bin searched, the council sitting thereupon, determined as Camden hath it, in these words, Legato omnia æqui bonique ferenda dummodo Principis honor non directe violetur; an ambassador must bear all things patiently, provided that the honor of the prince (whom he serves) be not directly violated." (Discourse concerning Precedency, &c. p. 191.)

travelling tutor) Lassels, who, speaking of the literary treasures of the Vatican, says—" the letters of Henry VIII. of England to Anne Bolen his Mistresse, then in his own hand-writing, some in French, but all amatory." (Voyage to Italy, part 2. p. 64.)

Burnet in his visit to the Vatican (1685) informs us—" When it appeared that I was come from England, King Henry the VIIIth's Book of the Seven Sacraments, with an inscription written upon it with his own hand, to Pope Leo the 10th, was shewed me; together with a collection of some letters that he had writ to Ann Bullen, of which some are in English, and some in French. I that knew his hand well, saw clearly that they were no forgeries." (Travels, Letter 4. p. 227.)

Very soon after the copies were made out, the editor had reason to retract the opinion that they had not been published in this country; for looking over the catalogues of the library of the Corsini palace he discovered them, (vol. 895. p. 71.) under this title—" Extrait d'une brochure *imprimée à Londres en* 1714—intitulée Lettres d'amour du Roi Henri à Anne Boleyn;" and more recently that they are inserted in the 1st volume of the Harleian Miscellany.[1] These having been examined, it appears they are transcripts from each other, and are so incorrect, as to render all apology unnecessary for the republication of them in a more accurate form. The first was probably procured by Burnet, who in 1683, got Dr. James Fall (precentor of York 1691,) " to copy them for him. They were very ill wrote, the hand is scarce legible, and the French seems faulty." (Burnet, Ref. v. 3. p. 42.—Rapin, note, v. 1.—785.)

The originals are pasted on blank leaves, and are bound together, so as to make a thin volume of the quarto size. Each letter is written on one side only of a sheet of paper, which is 10½ inches long by 7½ wide, excepting the 8th and 10th, which are somewhat larger. When doubled, they were 3¾ inches by 3¼. They must have been long so kept, as the folds are much worn, and the corners rubbed into holes. From this mode of preserving them, each page is trebled, and of course too thick to discover the paper marks when held up to the light, but not to have obscured the address, had there been any; neither are there any marks of seals or wax; it may therefore be concluded they were sent under covers. They bear no dates, nor place whence dispatched. Some are written in a set and rather formal hand, but generally loose and

[1] This collection having been chiefly formed of printed pamphlets, this now described may have been one of them, and is probably the transcript by Dr. Fall. There is a very good preface, most likely from the pen of Burnet, and to which I am much indebted in the course of this introduction.

slovenly, with occasional interlineations, and but little attention to orthography or grammar. There was then no uniform system of punctuation: the full stop occurs after some of the words; slanting strokes are frequent, but neither placed so as to aid the sense, or mark the regular divisions of the sentences. They are nearly all signed "*Henry the King*," which is expressed in two ciphers. The first was written after Anna Boleyn's retirement from court in consequence of the popular clamor arising from the expectation of Campeggio, which was some time in May (1528), the last after his arrival at Paris, which was late in the September following. They were among the Mss. which the French carried away to Paris from the Vatican, but after the peace were restored with other spoliations.

In them is involved one of the most important events in the annals of this country—the recovered independence of its religious establishment.

In offering them to the public, an historical introduction has been deemed requisite; and though little novelty was to be expected in a path so repeatedly traced, yet the wish to adduce no fact without all attainable proof, has occasioned a research, by which errors have been discovered, that having had their commencement in insufficiency and prejudice, indolence and inadvertency have perpetuated. In addition to our national stores of information, assiduity has also been rewarded by examining the epistolary correspondence of distinguished foreigners,[1] who were either individually interested or officially employed in the affairs of the period they refer to, and in which they have delivered to posterity an estimate of their own views and characters. Should these adventitious accompaniments injudiciously overpower the text, it is hoped the reader will attribute that objection to the cause above expressed.

[1] The Italians, and particularly those of the sixteenth century, have ever been disposed to collect and publish the letters of their more distinguished countrymen. These have issued from the presses of their different capitals, though from none more abundantly than Venice. Of these some are trifling and verbose; others are elegant and important. The most correct list of them is to be found in the Biblioteca of Fontanini, which, illustrated by his notes and the commentaries of Apostolo Zeno, occupy more than 80 closely printed pages in quarto. Those which have proved most useful on the present occasion, and of which specimens are given in the appendix, are the—"Lettere di Principi," &c. (T. 3. Venet. 1573. 4to.), written between the years 1468 and 1571, the title of which expresses the rank of the personages between whom they passed; and the "Lettere edici nomini illustri," (Venet. 1564, duod.) in which are found the private instructions from Rome to Cardinal Campeggio, while on his journey to England. This collection was made by the celebrated Dionigi Atanagi, a citizen of Cagli by birth, and of Rome by privilege, (Mazzuchelli Scrit. d'Italia). They were

# HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

It was not till late in the 15th century that the powers of Europe embraced that extensive system of policy, the due counterpoise of which has in subsequent times received the appellation of the balance of power. This confederacy, so diversified in its effects, so salutary in its influence, has proved the greatest source of national prosperity, of individual ease and security, and hence have resulted those mild and civilised manners which so happily distinguish modern Europe.

Consistently with this plan, our Henry the VII. (1490), engaged in a strict alliance with Ferdinand King of Spain, for the protection of their respective territories, by repressing the formidable power of France. By an article of the treaty, Catherine, the fourth daughter of Ferdinand, then eight years old, was affianced to Arthur, Prince of Wales, who was born 1486. From the youth of the parties, the marriage was for some years delayed, and when it took place (Nov. 14, 1501,) the union was not propitious, for Arthur sickened and died a few months after (April 2, 1502). The same motives which prescribed the alliance urged the continuance of it; and Henry, now Prince of Wales, and 12 years of age, was affianced to his sister-in-law. To silence doubts that might arise as to the legality of a marriage contracted within the degrees prohibited, a dispensation was obtained from the Pope (1503), though in opposition to the opinion of many of the Cardinals.[1] The reigning pontiff, (Julius the 2d) however, who in sagacity and address yielded to no contemporary prince, had his designs on Henry in the wars then begun in Italy, and made no great difficulty to grant it. (Herbert, p. 4. Acta Regia p. 332.) But whether from his own conviction or some other cause, an aversion from the match seems to have taken deep root in the mind of the King. From the Apomaxis of Moryson we learn, that Henry, falling into infirm health, and being further affected by the death of his Queen (1503), considered these visitations as a judgment from heaven, for having married his son to his brother's widow.

published at Rome in octavo, 1554, and licensed by the reigning pontiff, who forbade their being printed elsewhere—a prohibition, however, not attended to, for they were reprinted at Venice in the course of the same year, and with additions repeatedly afterwards.

[1] Catherine in her speech to the Legate and Wolsey, said—her father obtained the dispensation "after a long suit and great cost and charge." (Hall, fol. 180.)

As his danger increased, he convened the prince and several of his nobles to attend him, to whom he imparted his scruples. The son renounced the contract, and a deed was prepared, expressing this determination. It was formally signed, sealed, and witnessed by those present. The material part of Moryson's assertion is corroborated by the following circumstance. During the sitting of the legantine court (1529), a deed was produced, which in substance agreed with that now described, and was apparently the same. Of its authenticity no doubt can be entertained; for Bishop West, who was one of the witnesses, was present, and acknowledged his own signature; and Warham, in his examination declared, that he believed such a protestation was made.

Upon the demise of Henry (April 22, 1509), Ferdinand invested his ambassador with powers to renew the treaty of alliance made with the late King, and to demand the confirmation of the article relative to the marriage of his daughter with prince Henry, now King of England. The Spanish minister having presented his memorial, it was deliberated in council whether the King ought to confirm his marriage with Catherine? Opinions were divided. Those of two of the prelates present comprise the arguments on both sides. Warham boldly declared, that the union was against the laws of God, and therefore *indispensable* by human authority; while Fox, Bishop of Winchester, insisted on the boundless power of the vicar of Christ; affirming, that no person on earth could limit, or even inquire into the papal authority. The arguments of the latter, the state of public affairs, and the King's particular interest, preponderated. Henry and Catherine were married June 3d, 1509, and crowned the 23d of the same month. Whatever might be the private sentiments of the young King, or whatever scruples he might harbour in his bosom, they were concealed from the world. The injunctions of his father, and the deed executed in compliance with them, were never urged in his extenuation, when the lawfulness of his marriage was publicly discussed. During that interval he never treated the queen with unkindness, but, on the contrary, with every mark of dignified and respectful attention. Several children were the issue of the union, all of whom died young, except Mary (born 1516), who afterwards succeeded to the crown of England. They lived constantly together till after the opening of the legantine court.

This was the situation of the king's family; and from the improbability of further issue, Mary was created princess of Wales[1]—a

[1] This fact, though generally asserted, will admit of doubt. Heylin, in his "Help to English History," has this passage—"Edward the IId, who had been summoned by his father to the parliament by the name of Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, summoned his eldest son (Edw. III.) by no

presumption that the repudiation of Catherine was not then in contemplation.

Ferdinand died Jan. 1516, and was succeeded by his grandson Charles, the fifth of that name. The first public exception to the lawfulness of Henry's marriage seems to have originated with Charles himself. By the 4th article of the treaty of Windsor, so denominated from having been signed there in 1522, (Charles being in England that year) it was stipulated that the Emperor should espouse the Princess Mary, when marriageable. Pending this treaty, the Scots (December, 1524) solicited Mary for the consort of their King, but Charles interposing, asserted a prior claim;—(Herbert p. 63) a proof that he then considered this article in force, and that the objection of illegitimate birth, which he urged some years after, was not the real cause.

The battle of Pavia (February 1525) was fatal to the French;[1] their King was taken prisoner; the politics of Europe were thereby changed, and Francis became the future ally of England.

In March an embassy was sent from England to Spain,[2] in which the completion of the 4th article of the treaty of Windsor above-mentioned, was demanded; when Charles' council raised objections to the incestuous birth of Mary (Hall 149)—excuses were made for preferring Isabella, the Infanta of Portugal, whom Charles espoused early in the following year; and our historians remark, that he could not be greatly scandalized by Henry's

other name than Earl of Chester and Flint. Edward III. first used the ceremony of creation by letters patent and investiture, which has since continued; and for want of which, Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, however in their turns they may have been called Princes and Princesses of Wales, were not truly such.

These which were so created, either by parliamentary writ or special charter, are these that follow——Among these, the first after 1504 was Henry Tuther, Duke of York, the second son of Henry VII., afterwards King Henry VIII.; after him was Henry Frederick Stuart, eldest son of James the I., monarch of Great Britain, 1610. (Wright's edition, 8vo. 1773.)

[1] This reverse produced that league of which Henry, in vain, was solicited to be the protector; it was dignified by the name of Holy, because the Pope was at the head of it. Original correspondence relating to this confederacy and the previous steps to it, are to be found among the "Lettere di Principi," and comprise great part of the first and second volumes of that collection; those between Charles and Clement, in which they mutually develop their own characters, are very interesting. The Papal nuntii in England were, Ugo di Gambara, his prothonotary, and Giovanni Battista Sanga, one of his secretaries; their commission is dated September 18th, 1526.—(*Acta Regia*, p. 382.) There are several letters addressed to them while they were in this country.—*Ibid.*

[2] Sir Francis Pointz, Knight, also was, on the 10th of this month delegated to Spain, where Dr. Edward Lee, and Hierome, Bishop of Worcester, (lately come from Rome) were residents on the part of our King.—(*Herbert*, p. 83.)

divorce, since to evade a solemn engagement no longer his interest to observe, he married his own niece.

On the 5th of May, 1527, Rome was captured by the Imperialists, and the Pope imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo;[1] and Charles himself, alarmed by a measure which struck the Christian world with horror, addressed the Princes of Europe, with the vain hope of exculpating himself in their opinion. On the 4th of July following, Wolsey, as ambassador to France,[2] crossed the channel with a splendid train. He was met at Amiens by Francis, who received him with marks of the highest

[1] Charles had frequently expressed an inclination to transport the Pope into Spain; but the fear of giving new offence to all Christendom, and filling his own subjects with horror, obliged him to forego that satisfaction. (Robertson, Charles V. v. iii. p. 8.) That Charles conceived such a plan appears from an extract of a letter written by himself, dated August 3, 1527. (Lettere di Principi, T. i. p. 111.) The merit he assumed, of setting the Pope at liberty, while he was yet a prisoner, is expressed in the Appendix, No. 8.

[2] Supposed to have been contrived by the Reforming party, to remove the Cardinal to a distance from the King. "My Lord had with him such of the lordes and bishoppes, and other worthy persons as were not of the council or conspiracy." (Cavendish, p. 380.) His principal attendants are detailed in Grove, (V. iv. p. 131.) "After the Kings delivery out of the Emperors bondage, and his sons received in hostage for the Emperors and the King, our sovereigne lordes security of all such demands and requests as should be demanded of the French King, as well by the Emperor as our sovereigne lorde, the cardinall lamenting the French Kings calamity; and the Popes great adversity, who yet remained in the castle Angell, either as a prisoner or else for his defence against his enemies, travailed all that he could with the King and his council to take some order for the quietness of them bothe. At laste as ye have hearde here before, how divers of the great estates and lordes of the council with my Lady Anne lay but in await to espy a convenient time and occasion to take the cardinall in a brake, they thought it now a necessary time to cause him to take upon him the Kings commission to travell beyond the seas in this matter, and by his high wit to compass a perfect peace among these great princes and potentates. Their intent was none other, but, if they might, to get him from the King out of the realme; then might they sufficiently adventure by the help of their chief mistress, to deprave him unto the kings highness, and so in his absence to bring him in displeasure with the king, or at least to be of less estimation." These intrigues, in which the Cardinal bore so large a part, did not redound to the glory of his country. Our merry neighbours even then had begun to make our diplomatic inferiority the subject of their sport and ridicule. William Tindall, in his Practice of Popish Prelates, referring to these events, tells us, "The Frenchmen of late dayes made a play or disguising at Paris, in which the Emperor daunced with the Pope and the French King, and weried them, the King of England sitting on a hye bench, and looking on. And when it was asked why he daunced not, it was answered, that he sate there, but to pay the minstrels their wages only: as who should say, wee paid for all men's dauncing." (Tindall's Works, p. 375. A. O. 1572. Cavendish's Life of Wolsey and note. Eccles. Biography, V. i. p. 379.)

distinction. Among the articles to be discussed, were, a projected union between Francis, or his second son the Duke of Orleans, with the Princess Mary; and on the best means of restoring the Pope to liberty.[1] He also dispatched a messenger to Rome, with a consolatory letter to the Pope, which is inserted in the Appendix (No. 9.)

The "King's question," as it was called, was now becoming the prevailing topic, and divided the Papal and Reforming party; —(though it must be supposed that one of such great importance had been long privately discussed by all ranks of people) and to such a degree of intemperance were their feelings excited, that the interposition and remonstrances of the Sovereign occasionally became necessary to compose them. Henry, far from checking the investigation, undertook to study the case himself; yet, such was his self-possession, that while he condescended to invite the most able divines and canonists to engage in the discussion, he de-

[1] Hall gives it as one of the objects of this embassy, that Henry should marry Margaret the Duchess *of Alençon*, at Calais, this summer: an error which has been adopted by successive historians (Rapin excepted) down to Hume and Henry. This lady had been for eight months married to Henry D'Albert, the titular King of Navarre, (Du Tillet An. 1526) and is identified by Cavendish as his queen, in the regal train which met Wolsey at Amiens, in his present embassy. This personage, the beloved sister of Francis, and grandmother of Henry IV. distinguished for her address and ability, and more estimable for the affection she bore her brother, was repeatedly an authoress, and her poetry procured her the appellation of the Tenth Muse. Her works contain a strange mixture of piety and profaneness. She is now best remembered by the "Heptameron," a collection of tales which are much in the taste of Boccaccio, and are not deficient in the objectionable turn of that author. There is a spirited letter of her's to Pope Adrian VI. in the "Lettere di Principi," T. ii. p. 32. It is difficult to ascertain whether this historical error above alluded to owes its origin to Hall's love of gossipry, or to the malice of Polydore Virgil, who never lost an opportunity of vilifying the Cardinal, from whose justice or resentment he had been a year imprisoned. He falsely charges him with having been the first cause of estranging Henry's affections from Catherine, and of proposing the Duchess of Alençon as her successor; at that time *ætate et virtute quam florentissima*, though her age might not insure the "genial bed" which Herbert, quoting from him, promises. Polydore Virgil farther asserts, that when the Cardinal made the proposal to the lady, she, from motives of humanity to Catherine, rejected it in these words:— "noluerit quicquam audire de nuptiis, quæ nuptiæ non possent conjungi sine miserabili Catherinæ casu atque adeo interitu." (P. V. Opera, l. 27. p. 686. Basil. 1570.) She is thus pourtrayed by Thuanus:—"Fœmina omnibus ingenii et animi dotibus exculta: quæ tamen apud ecclesiasticos male audiebat; quod fratris in Lutheranos," &c. (l. 6. s. 8. p. 209. Londini, 1733.)

That Henry's scruples were not infused into him either by Wolsey, or by Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, there is satisfactory proof. At the opening of the legantine court, the Cardinal makes this appeal to his sovereign:—"Sir, I most humbly require your Highness to declare before

clared, that he was "not much used to call in aid the judgment of other learned men."[1]—*Tunstall, Burnet's Collections,* V. i. No. 11.

Unalterably bent on suing for the divorce, and conceiving the Pope alone competent to grant it, he, in a few weeks after the departure of Wolsey, dispatched Dr. Wm. Knight, secretary of state, to Rome, in hopes of obtaining this object of his solicitude.

all this audience, whether I have bine the chiefe and first mover of this matter unto your Majesty, or no; for I am greatly suspected of all men herein." "My Lord Cardinall," quoth the King, "I can well excuse you in this matter. Mary (quoth he) ye have bine rather against me in the attempting hereof, than a setter forth, or mover of the same. The speciall cause that moved me unto this matter was a certain scrupulosity that pricked my conscience upon certain wordes spoken at a time by the Bishop of Bayon, the French ambassador, who had bine hither sent upon a debating of a marriage to be concluded betweene the Princesse our daughter the Lady Mary, and the Duke of Orleaunce, seconde son to the King of Fraunce. And upon the consultation and determination of the same, he desired respite to advertise the King his master thereof, whether our daughter Mary should be legitimate, in respect of this my marriage with this woman, being sometimes my brother's wife. Which wordes once conceived in the secrete bottom of my conscience engendered such a scrupulous doubt that my conscience was incontinently accombered, vexed and disquieted; whereby I thought myself to be in great danger of God's indignation. After I perceived my conscience so doubtfull, I moved it in confession to you, my Lord of Lincolne, then my ghostly father. And for as much as then you yourself were in some doubt, you moved me to ask counsell of all you my Lordes; whereupon I moved it to you my Lorde of Canterbury, first to have your licence—to put this matter in question." (Cavendish, p. 128.) "From these concurrent testimonies it should appear, that the charge which has been often urged against Wolsey, that it was through his intrigues that Longland first suggested his scruples to the King, is unfounded."—*(The Editor's note on the foregoing quotation.)* The justificatory declaration of Henry is perhaps alluded to in the dying words of Wolsey, as expressed to Kingston: "He is a prince of royall courage, and hath a princely harte; and rather than he will miss or want any parte of his will or pleasure, he will endanger the losse of one half of his realme. For I do assure you, I have often kneeled before him, the space sometimes of three houres to persuade him from his will and appetite: but I could never dissuade him therefrom." (Cavendish's Ecclesiast. Biography, V. i. p. 543.)

[1] Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, V. ii. p. 52. and Fiddes, in the Life of Wolsey, p. 444, assign very strong reasons against the possibility of Cranmer's being the first to suggest the expedient of resorting to the universities for a solution of the grand question in the divorce. The universities, in fact, had been consulted on that point, before the date of his interview with the King at Waltham, (i. e. after the dissolving of the legantine court), and Wolsey, it seems, was the first adviser of that measure. It is worthy of remark, that the writer of the life of Bishop Fisher, (who calls himself Thos. Bailey, D.D.) affirms, that the article opened and maintained by Cranmer, at this meeting with the courtiers, was that of the *King's supremacy.* P. 69, &c. edit. 3. (Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, V. iii. p. 437.)

He was commanded to have an interview with Wolsey, who was still in France, and to confer with him on the proper means of liberating the Pontiff. Though his journey was conducted as privately as possible, the vigilance of the Emperor was not to be eluded; he had discovered the intention of Henry, and when his secretary reached Rome, he found the Pope a prisoner[1] in the castle of St. Angelo, and so strictly guarded by Hernando de Alarson, the Spanish commandant, that an audience was not to be obtained, nor any intercourse allowed, but through the intervention of the Cardinal Pisani. Much time was of course lost by this secondary negociation. Wolsey marking the slow progress of the transaction, wrote (December 5, 1527) to Gregorio Casali, Henry's agent at the Papal court, to join in solicitation with Knight, in urging the Pope to expedite the completion of the King's request. His letter was expressed in strong though respectful terms; his Holiness was solicited to appoint commissioners and invest them with provisional authority for hearing, and determining the cause in England;—to grant, on certain conditions, a dispensation for the King to take another wife,[2] with a solicitation not to revoke these acts. Four days after the departure of Wolsey's messenger from England, the Pope recovered his liberty, and retired or escaped to Orvieto.[3] On the arrival of these dis-

[1] The memorable sack of Rome by the troops of Charles V. which Gibbon (c. 31. p. 323.) affirms to have been "more destructive than the ravages of the Barbarians, whom Alaric had led from the banks of the Danube," is admirably described by Robertson. (Charles V. vol. ii. p. 283.) "But the account which most truly deserves the name of authentic and original, is a little book intitled, "*Il Sacco di Roma,*" composed within less than a month after the assault, by Lodovico the brother *(nephew)* of the historian Francesco Guicciardini."—(Gibbon ibid.) The description of this awful calamity is also left us by Francesco Berni, who was in the city, and robbed of his property. (Mazzuchelli gli scrittori d'Italia.) (Appendix 16.)

[2] Royal divorces were, in that age, not uncommon; and when both parties were agreed, or one compelled to assent, were obtained from the Pope without much difficulty. In 1490, Beatrice of Naples and Queen Dowager of Hungary, had been married to Ladislaus, son of Casimir, King of Poland, and who by virtue of that union became King of Hungary; this marriage ten years afterwards was dissolved by Alexander VI. Lewis XII. of France, when Duke of Orleans, had married to Jean of France, sister to his predecessor Charles VIII. was divorced, after being ten years joined in wedlock. Pope Clement VIII. dissolved the marriage of Henry IV. with Margaret of Valois.

[3] "The progress of the Confederates made it now necessary either to set the Pope at liberty, or to remove him to some place of confinement more secure than the Castle of St. Angelo. Many considerations induced Charles to prefer the former, particularly his want of the money requisite as well for recruiting his army, as for paying off the vast arrears due to it. No resource therefore remained but setting his Holiness at liberty; previously, however, extorting from him, by way of ransom, a sum sufficient

patches, Knight and Casali were admitted to his presence. They were graciously received, and their suit attended to with complacency; though in all that related to the dispatch of business, they were referred to the Cardinal of Santiquattro. When they retired, the latter expatiated on the precarious and hazardous ground on which his Holiness stood with respect to the Emperor, and with what circumspection he was under the necessity of proceeding, so long as his forces continued in Italy, and that he had already enjoined his Holiness not to allow the process to be carried on by any judge within the King's dominions. (Herbert, p. 100.) That gratitude induced him to comply with the desire of Henry, though he could not pass the commission in the words dictated by Wolsey, without omissions and alterations. That as to his own person, he must consider himself in captivity while the Germans and Spaniards continued in Italy. Yet would he rather expose himself to ruin, than incur the censure of ingratitude from his Majesty, whom he, with sighs and tears, implored not to expose him to ruin unnecessarily, by entering upon the trial immediately. That the only prospect of saving him, would be for the French commander, Monsieur Lautrec, then at Bologna, to realize his professions of marching his forces to the south of Italy; a measure which would justify the pretence of his being constrained by the English ambassadors to grant the commission, which should bear a date after the approach of the general. A commission, though greatly altered from the one sent out by Wolsey, was then delivered, and Knight finding it contained the best conditions he was likely to procure, immediately departed with it for England.[1] On

for discharging what was due to his troops, without which it was vain to mention their leaving Rome." (Robertson, V. iii. p. 85.)

"Intempesta nocte evasit, nihil prohibentibus portæ custodibus, cum petasetus et penulatus, subductaque et velata barba, se dispensatoris ministrum ignobili eo habitu mentiretur." (Paul. Jov. A. 1528.) See the Emperor's letter, Appendix No.

[1] Knight being prevented by indisposition from travelling with the requisite expedition, the dispatches were forwarded by Gambara, who continued in England some time. In the "Lettere di Principi" (T. i. p. 111.) there is one from Giovanni Batista Sanga, addressed to him with the title of Prothonotary and Nuntio of Pope Clement VII. in England; it is dated February 9th, 1528. He was again delegated hither by his Holiness in January, 1529. He was afterwards created a Cardinal by Paul IV. The Gambara family were noble Brescians, were eminent for the love of letters and the patronage of learned men. Count Gianfrancesco, the eldest brother of the Nuntio, long entertained Nizolius in his family; during which interval, he composed his "Thesaurus Ciceronianus," and in the dedication of that work thus gratefully acknowledges his benevolence: "*Tu enim primum hospitio me accepisti, quo jam tertium et decimum annum honestissime utor; tu tenuitatem meam liberalitate tua semper sustentasti, tu literas et studia mea numquam fovere et exercitare destituisti; tu me omnibus rebus*

examination, however, it was found too defective and fallacious to proceed upon. Expedients were suggested by the Pope;—"by virtue of the commission already obtained, or by the legantine powers invested in the Cardinal of York, he should proceed in the business, and if the King found the matter clear in his own conscience, he should without more noise proceed to judgment, and take another wife, and then apply for a Legate to confirm it." (Burnet, b. 2. coll. 6.) Thus, whatever difficulty might occur, his Majesty must depend on the Pope to extricate him from it. These plans being rejected, Stephen Gardiner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, and Edward Fox, the King's almoner, two of the most learned men in England, were now delegated to Rome on this important occasion.[1] They left England on the 10th of February, 1528, and as they passed through France, readily obtained a promise from Francis, to co-operate with his Holiness in promoting the wishes of their master: they arrived on the 20th of March, at Orvieto, where the Pope still continued. The dispatches they bore, were addressed to Gregorio Casali and his brother Giovanni, the Protonotary; and were dictated in terms the most explicit; they were respectful, but decided. By these the Pope was warned of the consequence of non-compliance with the King's wishes. In the execution of their trust, the two ambassadors were indefatigably urgent. Their importunities, aided perhaps by the successful progress of the French arms, and those of their confederates in Italy, had their weight. In April, his Holiness, in the consistorial court, declared Lorenzo Campeggio legate, who, associated with the Cardinal of York, should try the King's cause in England. Fox returned immediately after this arrangement, and landed at Sandwich on the 2nd of May. The commission, however, was not made out till June 6th, nor was Campeggio dispatched from Rome till July 13th. The French commander, Lautrec, had marched his forces from Bologna January 9th, and on the 10th of February reached the confines of the kingdom of Naples. He made himself master of Abruzzo and part of Apulia. On the 17th of February the Prince of Orange compelled the Imperialists to evacuate Rome, after a possession of ten months. Yet did his half-wasted and debilitated forces retreat to Naples in safety. Towards the end of April, Lautrec was encamped before that metropolis. The result of the campaign was calamitous; during the sultry months great part of his troops became the victims of a

*amicæ, prout facultates tuæ tulerunt, et auxisti, et ornasti. Quid multa? Nisi tu fuisses, ego plane nihil essem."*

[1] "The roads between England and Rome were taken up by couriers passing to and fro; each day gave birth to some new project; and measures were no sooner taken than changed." (Philips's Life of C. Pole, V. i. p. 45.)

raging pestilence, and the commander himself, exhausted by disappointment and distress, died on the 5th of August. The influence of the Emperor again preponderated in Italy. Negotiations were opened between Charles and the Pope, which finally terminated in a separate peace.

Campeggio was now on his journey to England, and the trepidation of Clement, lest he should proceed to judgment on the divorce, increased as he approached his destination. No less than four cautionary letters were dispatched after him before he reached Paris; the last of these is dated September the 28th, and is the first of that number presented to the reader. (Appendix No. 1.) The legate, though he left Rome in July, as above-mentioned, did not land in England till the 9th of October.[1] Henry, not satisfied with the powers with which he was invested, dispatched Sir Francis Brian and Peter Vannes, his Latin secretary, in December, to Rome, where they arrived early in January (1529). Dr. Gardiner was ordered to follow; and having completed his expedition on the 19th of March, obtained an audience with his Holiness. It is both useless and unavailing to trace the progress of a fruitless negociation. Gardiner and Brian were ordered home; and such was the respect the King entertained for the talents of the former, that he deferred entering on the process till his return. (Wolsey's Letter to Gardiner.—Burnet's Collections, No. 23. vol. i.) Dr. Bennet was sent out to Rome in May, who, with Gregorio Casali and Pietro Vannes, were there stationed as agents of the King. The legantine court was not opened till late in that month, and the business of it was protracted till the 23d of July. On that day "there was a great appearance, and sentence was generally expected; but the audience were greatly disappointed; for, instead of coming to a decision, Campeggio adjourned the court to the 1st of October. To give this unlooked-for turn a colour, he asserted that they sat there as a part of the consistory of Rome; and therefore must be governed by the rules it prescribed; now at Rome he solemnly declared there was a vacation ("the Feriæ vindemiarum") from that time to October.[2] (Herbert, p. 118. Collier

[1] "Not before the beginning of October (1518), Campejus coming through France, and being conducted thence into England, by John Clark, Bishop of Bath, our King's ambassador there, came to London." (Herbert. Kennet's Lives, V. ii. 103.)

[2] "And here we may observe that the Pope had concluded a treaty with the Emperor three weeks before this last adjournment." This was that of Barcelona, which was there signed on the 29th of June, (Muratori A. 1529.) "From whence it is not unreasonable to infer, that the latter formalities and proceedings of Campeggio, in the divorce, were only an amusement. And thus the Pope, by straining his credit, and being governed too much by secular views, lost England, and sacrificed the interests of his see to the

E. H. Vol. ii. p. 36.)—a month in which we date the return of Campeggio and the fall of Wolsey.

It may now be proper to introduce the personage to whom these letters were addressed.

Anna was the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn[1] and Elizabeth his wife, whose father was Thomas Howard, Earl of Surry, afterwards Duke of Norfolk. He was at the head of the reforming party, and one of the decided enemies of Cardinal Wolsey. Sir Thomas Boleyn was honorably employed at home, and in repeated embassies abroad. Henry appointed him first treasurer of his household, created him Knight of the Garter, and afterwards Viscount Rochford. He was subsequently Earl of Ormond. Anna, at the age of 7, (1507) went into France with the Princess Mary, sister to Henry, then affianced to Lewis the XIIth, and to whom she was married at Abbeville, Oct. 9th, 1514. The French King, aged and infirm, did not long survive the solemnisation of his nuptials, for he died the 1st of January following. The Queen-dowager, in the beginning of the year 1516, espoused Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and returned to her native country. Anna did not accompany her, but remained at Paris under the protection of Claude, eldest daughter of Lewis XII. by Anne of Brittany, Queen of Francis the First, with whom she continued till the decease of her mistress, which happened in 1524. She afterwards lived with Margaret Duchess of Alençon. This lady favored the Protestant religion, then springing up in France; and from her, it is probable, Anna imbibed principles similar to those entertained by her father. In December 1526, her patroness was married to Henry d'Albret, the titular King of Na-

grandeur of his family"—(the Medici). (Burnet, Ref. P. i. p. 76.—Collier, E. H. P. ii. p. 37.)

"Till this adjournment the King and Queen had constantly lived together; 'then the King commanded the Queen to be removed out of the courte, and sent to another place; and his Highness rode in his progress with Mrs. Anne Bullen in his company, all that season.' (Cavendish, p. 438.) The King was not finally separated from Catherine till the 14th of July, 1531. She was then at Greenwich: continuing inflexible, her departure thence was ordered, and the choice was given her to retire either to the manor of Oking, or Estamsteed, or the manor of Bisham." (Herbert, p. 154.) Her principal residence was Kimbolton, where she died, January the 8th, in her 50th year.

[1] Sir Thomas Boleyn, at the time these letters were written, inhabited Hever Castle in Kent, which was—"purchased by Geofroy, great grandfather to Queen Ann, whose father Thomas finished the castle, was created Earl of Wilts and Ormond, and has a monument here with his figure in brass, in the robes of the garter, on a black marble tomb. On her execution Henry VIII. gave the castle to Ann of Cleves, on whose death Mary gave it to the Waldgraves. It now belongs to Sir Timothy Waldo, and is pretty intire." (Gough's Camden, vol. i. p. 283.)

varre; and her final return to England, from circumstances which follow, must have taken place a few months afterwards.—" Being *again with her father*, he made such meanes, that she was admitted one of Queen Katharines women; among whom, for her excellent gesture and behaviour, she did excel all other; in so much that the King began to grow enamoured with her; which was not known to any person, ne scantly to her own person." " Nowe was at that time the Lorde Piercie, sonne and heire of the Earle of Northumberlande, attending upon my Lord Cardinall, and was his servaunte; and it chaunced the said Lord Cardinall at any time to repaire unto the courte, the Lorde Piercie would resorte then for his pastime into Queen Katherines chamber, and there would he fall in dalliance among the maides, being at the last more conversante with Mrs. Anne Bulleine, than any other, so that there grewe such a secrette love betweene them, that at length they were insured together, intending to marrye. The which thinge when it came to the King's knowledge, he was therewith mightily offended. Wherefore he could no longer hide his secret affection, but he revealed his whole displeasure and secrets to the Cardinall in that behalf; and willed him to infringe the assurance made then between the said Lord Piercie and Mrs. Anne Bulleine." (Cavendish, p. 364.)[1]

Wolsey was not negligent in this commission, nor deficient in contemptuous feeling towards the lady; for, " being in his gallery, he called the said Lord Piercie unto his presence, and before us his servauntes then attending upon him, said unto him thus. I marvaile not a little, quoth he, of thy folly, that thou wouldest thus entangle and ensure thyselfe with a foolish girl yonder in the courte, Anne Bullein. Doest thou not consider the estate that

[1] The anonymous and sensible writer of " *Who wrote Cavendish's Life of Wolsey?*"—(R. and A. Taylor, 4to. p. 56. 1814.) has satisfactorily restored that particularly interesting performance to its real author. It hence appears, " not to have been produced by the Cavendish who was the progenitor of the house of Devonshire," (p. 30.) nor was the foundation of the present grandeur of that house laid, as is commonly understood, in attendance as gentleman usher upon Cardinal Wolsey, p. 54; but by a George Cavendish, (1500—1562) who was of a gentleman's family of Glemford in Suffolk (p. 39—45). Notices of these Cavendishes are to be found in the Archæologia, vol. xi. p. 50—62.

In this biographer and faithful servant of Wolsey, his master enjoyed a felicity, rarely the lot of a fallen minister;—a firm attachment in every period of his misfortunes, from the loss of Henry's favour to his last moments, when he uttered that awful and well-known instructive lesson, which he has so pathetically recorded. Nor should it be forgotten that, either from esteem for his virtues, or affection to the memory of his late favorite, Henry gave Cavendish singular intimations of his grace and favor. For he took him into his family and service, and employed him in several confidential and important offices.

God hath called thee into this worlde? For after thy fathers death thou art most like to inherit and enjoye one of the noblest earledomes of this region."[1] (Ibid.) Having dismissed Piercie, the

[1] Percy, aided by Sir Walter Walsh, in the year 1529 arrested the Cardinal in his palace at Cawood. (Cavendish, p. 510.) The last of this house, who had borne the title of Earl of Northumberland, was that ardent and favoured suitor of Anne Boleyn, who was compelled by his father to renounce his pretensions to her hand, in deference to the wishes of a royal competitor.

The disappointment and the injury impressed themselves in indelible characters on the heart of Percy: in common with the object of his attachment, he retained against Wolsey, whom he believed to have been actively instrumental in fostering the King's passion, a deep resentment, which is said to have rendered peculiarly acceptable to him the duty afterwards imposed upon him, of arresting that celebrated minister, in order to his being brought to trial. For the lady, to whom a barbarous exertion of parental authority had compelled him to give his hand, while his whole heart was devoted to another, he also conceived an aversion rather to be lamented than wondered at. Unfortunately she brought him no living offspring; and after a few years he separated himself from her, to indulge his melancholy alone and without molestation. In this manner he spun out a suffering existence, oppressed with sickness of mind and body, disengaged from public life, and neglectful of his own embarrassed affairs, till the fatal catastrophe of his brother, brought to the scaffold in 1537 for his share in the Popish rebellion under Aske. By this event, and by the attainder of Sir Thomas Percy's children which followed, the Earl saw himself deprived of the only consolation which remained to him,—that of transmitting to the posterity of a brother whom he loved, the titles and estates derived to him through a long and splendid ancestry. As a last resource, he bequeathed all his land to the King, in the hope, which was not finally frustrated, that a return of royal favour might one day restore them to the representatives of the Percies.

This done, he yielded his weary spirit on the last day of the same month which had seen the fatal catastrophe of his misguided brother. (Aikin's Memoirs of Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 118. from the Peerage, by Sir E. Brydges; Article, Duke of Northumberland.)

Though little ceremony, and probably as little time, was used in patching up these nuptials; as might be expected, they were most unhappy. So we are told, on the authority of the Earl's own letters, in the very labored account of the Percy family given in the edition of Collins' Peerage, 1779; perhaps the best piece of family history in our language. "Henry, the unthrifty Earl of Northumberland, died at Hackney in the prime of life, about ten or twelve years after he had consented to this marriage. Of this term but a very small part was spent in company of his lady. He lived long enough, however, not only to witness the destruction of all his own happiness, but the sad termination of Anne Boleyn's life. In the admirable account of the Percy family, referred to above, no mention is made of the lady who on these terms consented to become the Countess of Northumberland, in her long widowhood. She sequestered herself from the world at Wormhill, on the banks of the Derbyshire Wye, amidst some of the sublimest scenery of the Peak. This interesting fact is collected from one of her letters to Lady Cavendish in the Wilson collection. It exhibits the recluse in an amiable character. She is pleading the cause

Cardinal sent for his father, the attachment was broken off, and the son married to a daughter of the Earle of Shrewsbury—"wherewith Mrs. Anne Bullein was greatly offended, promising, if ever it lay in her power, she would work much displeasure to the Cardinal; as after she did in deede." (Ibid.) We are not informed of the precise date of this transaction; but it occurred not later than 1527, as the old Earl of Northumberland died in that year. It happened before the Cardinal was sent out of the way on his embassy to France, (as before mentioned,) and there is a circumstance in the 4th letter also which will fix it in that year:—"As my Lord Piercie was commanded to avoide her company, so she was discharged of the courte, and sent home to her father for a season; whereat she smoked, for all this while she knew nothing of the King's intended purpose."[1]—"After these, my Lord Percie's

of a poor neighbour, whose cattle had been impounded by one of Lady Cavendish's agents. Wormhill is about eighteen miles from Sheffield, where Lady Northumberland's father, brother, and nephew, successively Earls of Shrewsbury, spent the greatest part of their lives. She died in 1572; and on the 17th of May her mortal remains were deposited in the vault made by her father in Sheffield church, where sleep so many noble personages, some of them in monumental honours. ('Who wrote Cavendish's Life of Wolsey?' p. 28.) The Earl of Northumberland's letter denying his contract with Anna Boleyn, is given in the Appendix (No. II.) From Mr. Nelson's "History and Antiquities of the parish of Islington" we learn, that the ancient mansion belonging to the Earl of Northumberland was in existence till within a few years, when, being in a tottering condition, it was taken down. This mansion was situated at the north-west corner of Newington Green: it was in form quadrangular, composed chiefly of wood and plaister, having a square court in the center, and communication to the various apartments all round by means of small doors opening from one room to another.

[The letter (Appendix, No. II.) to which this note refers, is dated from Newington Green, proving this mansion to have then been the residence of Percy.]

When it became the property of Henry VIII., that monarch is said to have passed a portion of his time in that agreeable retreat, and his resorting to this place still traditionally exists—a pleasant path, which winds from the south-east corner of the green to the turnpike-road, by Balls' Pond, having been immemorially called "*King Harry's Walk.*"

[1] Anna Bullein's engagement with Piercy was forbidden upon the strength of an old prerogative, both then and long exercised by the kings of England, in not permitting any of the nobility to contract marriages, and make alliances with one another, but by their consent. (Heylin's Reformation, P. 2. p. 86.)

The eventful life of this Lady has engaged the pens of the poet, the novelist, and the dramatist. Quadrio mentions a history—"d'Anne Boulen, Reine d'Angleterro, en Vers," existing in the library of St. Germain de Prés. (Storia e Ragione d'ogni Poesia, T. 6. p. 108.) The editor has in his possession a copy of a Ms. from the Vatican library, being a detail of the loves of Anna Boleyn and Percie, stated to have been related before Queen Elizabeth. It is in Italian, and apparently translated from a French

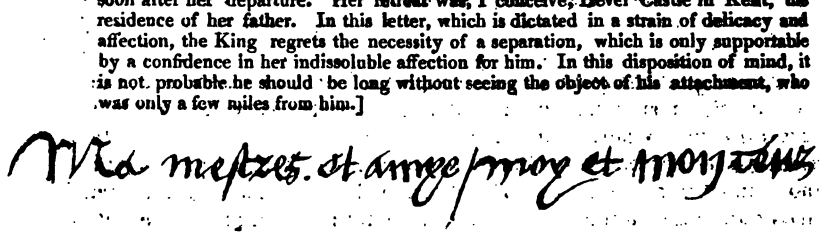
troublesome matters brought unto a good stay, and all things done that before were devised, Mistress Aune Bulleine was revoked unto the court, whereat she florished after in great estimation and favour; having alwaies a privy grudge against my Lord Cardinall, for breaking off the contract made betweene my Lord Piercy and her, supposing that it had bin his devised will, and no other, nor yet knowing the King's secret mind thoroughly, who had a great affection unto her, more than she knewe. But after she knewe the King's pleasure, and the bottom of his secret stomache, then she began to looke very haughty and stoute, lacking no manner of jewells or rich apparel that might be gotten for money. It was therefore judged by and bye through the court of every man, that she being in such favour, might worke masteries with the King, and obteine any sute of him for her friend.

"All this while, she being in this estimation in all places, it is no doubt but good Queen Katherine, having this gentlewoman dayly attending upon her, both hearde by reporte, and sawe with her eyes, how it framed against her good Ladyshippe: although she shewed neither unto Mistress Anne Bulleine, ne unto the King, any kinde or sparke of grudge or displeasure; but accepted all things in goode parte, and with wisdome and great pacience dissimuled the same, having Mistress Anne in more estimation for the King's sake, than she was with her before, declaring herself to be a very perfect Grisell, as her patient actes shall hereafter more evidently to all men be declared." (Cavendish, p. 368.)

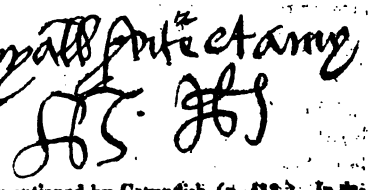
original. It is in the strain of the love tales which abounded in the reign of Louis XIV.; possesses no merit, and only proves the popularity of the story. (Ex codice Chartac. in 4to. Biblioth. Vatic. Capponian. No. 188. Incipit:—"Ancor che il Duca di Alansone...")

## LETTER I.

[Anna Boleyn was at court early in May. "For there is a letter, late in the Earl of Oxford's library, from Fox to Gardiner, at Rome, dated May 4th, 1528—wherein he writes of his landing at Sandwich two days before—his coming that night to Greenwich, where the King lay—his having been commanded to go to Mrs. Anne's chamber in the Tilt-yard [1]—and declaring to her their expedition in the King's cause, and their hastening the arrival of the legate, &c." (Introduction to these letters in the Harleian miscellany.) This arrival corresponds with Fox's departure from Rome, which would doubtless take place on the immediate appointment of the legate, which was on the 12th of April: she left the court soon after his return, and this letter was written soon after her departure. Her retreat was, I conceive, Hever Castle in Kent, the residence of her father. In this letter, which is dictated in a strain of delicacy and affection, the King regrets the necessity of a separation, which is only supportable by a confidence in her indissoluble affection for him. In this disposition of mind, it is not probable he should be long without seeing the object of his attachment, who was only a few miles from him.]



[Ma mestres et amye | moy et mon ceur] s'en remestet en voe mains vous suppliant les avoyre pur recomander a vōre bōne grace et que par absens vōre affection ne leur soit diminué | car pur augmenter leure peine ce seroit grand Pitié car l'absence leure fait assès et plus que J'aimes je eusse pense | en nos faisant remetevoir ung point de astronomie qui est telle | tant plus loing que les Juors sont tant plus eloigné est le Solelle | et nonobstant plus farvent | ainsi fait il de nōre Amoure. per absence nous sumus elōnies et neunmains elle garde sa farveure o moins de nōre Choste | Aiant en espoire la paraylle du vōre vous assurant que de ma part l'anuye de l'absence deia m'est trope grande | Et quant je pense a l'augmentation de il selluy que par force faute que je suffre | il met presque intollerable si n'estoit le ferme espoire que Jay de vr̄e indissoluble affection vers moi | et pur le vous rementevoire alcune fois cela et voiant que personellement ni puis estre en vr̄e presens | chose le plus appr̄tiante a cella qui m'est possible au present je vous envoye | c'est a dire ma picture myse enbrasseletts a toute la Device que deia saves me souhaitant en leure plase quant Ill vous pleroit | c'est de la main de



[1] The Tilt-yard of Greenwich Palace is mentioned by Cavendish (p. 412.) In describing the festivities provided for the French Ambassador and suite, he says,—"Then was the banquetting chamber in *the tilt yard at* Greenwiche furnished for the entertainment of these strangers, &c."

## LETTER II.

[Between the first and second Letter an interview had apparently taken place, and the Lady in consequence had consented to return to court: but he now upbraids her with having changed her mind, declining to re-appear either without her mother, or in any other manner. The bearer of this missive must have been a person of condition, as she is referred to him for confidential information relative to the writer.]

A Ma Mestres

Pur ce que il me semble

[Pur ce qu'il me semble] le Tems estre bien longe depuis avoire euye de v̄re bon Santé et de vous | Le grande affection que j'ay vers vous ma persuade de vous envoyere ce porteure pur estre meulx assertene de vo̅re Sante et Voloire | et pur ce que depuis mon partement de avec vous on m'a averty que l'opinion en quoy Je vous laissoye est de tout asture chayngé et que no voulies venire en Court ni avec Madame vo̅re mere ni aultrement ausi | Laquel report estant vrayi je ne saroy asses emarvelliere veu que depuis je massure de vous n'avoire james faite faute | et il me semble bien petite retribution pur le grande Amour que je vous port de me eloiniere et la Parrole et la Personage de la Fam du monde que plus j'estime | et si vous me aimes de si bon affection comme j'espere je suis sure que la eloign̄ment de nos deux parso̅nes vous seroyt ung peu ennuieuse toutefois qu'il nappartient pas tant ala Mestres co̅me au Surviteur panser bien ma Mestres que l'absens de vous fort me grefe esperant qu'il ne pas vo̅re volonté que ainsi ce soit | mais si je entendoy pur Verité que volonterement vous la desiries je non puis mais fere si non plaindre ma mauvais Fortune en relatant peu a peu ma grande folie | et ainsi a faulte de Tems fay fin de ma rude Lettre suppliant de doner foy a ce porteur en ce quil vous dira de ma Part | Escryt de la main du tout vo̅re sourvteure |

[Signed as before.]

## LETTER III.

[Though not authorised to change the order, yet from the progress of the subject it appears that this should have been placed after the 5th, where the reader will find some observations upon it.]

L'ennuye que j'avoye du dubte de vo̅re Santé me trobla et egarra peucup et neulz estre gers quiete sans avoire sue la Certeynte mais puisque nancors navez rien sentu jespere et me tiens pur assure que ill se passera de vous come jespere quil est de nous car nous etant a Walthan deux Vushyres deux verles de Chambre, Vo̅re frere master Jesonere ont tombe malade et sont atsture de

tout sains et depuis nous nous sumes reboutes en nõre mesons de Hondson la ou nous nous somes bien troves sans occune malade pour steure dieu soyt loué et je pense que si vous vous voles retirez du lieu du Surye cõe nous fimes vous le passeres sans dangrez et aussi ung aultre chose vous peut comforter car a la Verité come il desit peu ou nulles fame ont ste malady e que encore plus est nul de nr̃e Cort et peu aillieurs en meurit parquoi je vous supply ma entiere aimee de non avoire point de peure ni de nõre absens vous trope ennyere Car ou que je soy võre suis et nonobstãte il faut accune fois a telles fortunes obayere Car qui cõtre fortune veult luter en telle endroit en est bien sovent tant plus eloiné parquoy recõforte vous et soyes hardy, et vidiez le mall tant que vous pourres, Et jespere bientote de vous faire chanter le renvoye | nn̄ plus pour asteur de faute de Temps sinonque je vous souhait entre mes bras pour vous oster ung peu de vous deresonable pansęs. Ecrispte de la main de celluy qui est | et toujours sera võre | immuable

[Signed as before.]

[To be continued.]

A

# SHORT DISCUSSION

OF THE

# SPANISH QUESTION.

ORIGINAL.

LONDON.

1823.

THE following Tract was written the first few days after the arrival of the decision of the Congress of Verona, which suddenly roused the feelings and excited the indignation of every man in this country, while reading the revolting document, by his fire-side.

The principles and pretensions of the Continental Sovereigns, and the mode by which they gave discretionary power to the Ultra Ministers of France to draw on the resources of their dominions for means of desolating the territory of our faithful allies, were alike calculated to excite a spirit capable of deranging their projects.—Following accounts, however, allayed the agitation, by the hope that all hostile views were laid aside; and these sheets were thrown by, as no longer required for any useful purpose.

But as it now appears that a plan is on the carpet, for suspending intercourse with Spain, and thus declaring her beyond the pale of public law, it may not be unadvisable to call the attention of the British public to the consideration of the question altogether, and to direct their reflections to a few leading points, from whence they may pursue more lengthened trains of thought than newspapers have space to give expression to.—There is but one check to a coalition of the Sovereigns of the Holy Alliance against whatever may excite their animadversion—and that is, the public opinion of Great Britain; against which, when well awakened, neither Kings nor Ministers can long pursue an aggressive system.

But it must not be forgotten, that that opinion owes its weight to the steadiness and consistency of its movements: were it to be readily excited, it would quickly re-act and lose its efficacy. There is no intention of agitating or inflaming the public against those Powers in alliance with this country; it is only intended to call their minds with earnestness to a subject of paramount importance, which affects the honor, independence, and prosperity, the security of their most valued allies, and the tranquillity of Europe both now and for the future.

The views of Government and of the Opposition are united on this question, and the public voice is only wanting to give the remonstrances of our Ambassadors their proper weight in those quarters where they appear to have been hitherto disregarded.

*January* 1, 1823.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

A

# SHORT DISCUSSION,

*&c. &c.*

---

PHILIP II. of Spain possessed the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, the whole dominions of the house of Burgundy, the Milanese, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the whole of the new world then discovered, the settlements on the coast of Africa and in India established by the Portuguese, the islands in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic. His army, by its discipline and steadiness, acquired a distinction under the name of the Spanish Infantry, which still is dwelt on in every estimate of the military capabilities of Spain; his generals were worthy of a comparison with the most distinguished Captains of the present age; and the regular supply of gold and silver from his American dominions at a time when other nations had little means of procuring them, bestowed a power of conducting distant operations and combined military movements, not possessed by any other State. At home he ruled with an authority unlimited and unquestioned; his foreign relations were undisturbed by the pretensions of any rival potentate; the character of a tyrant bestowed by Nature, rendered available for the subjection of others, all the means of tyranny at his disposal; and to sum up all, he carried the cross on his banner, and declared himself the Champion of the Catholic Church.

Whatever the material weapons of man could effect against the progress of an opinion, would have been effected by Philip II. It is well known how long he combated his revolted subjects of the Netherlands with all his means, and how baffled all his efforts were for their reduction. Nevertheless, his father was enabled to suppress an extended and organized rebellion in the heart of Spain, while he was surrounded with difficulties, and in a remote country.

In entering on the consideration of the present subject, it will be particularly useful to reflect upon the two historical facts just mentioned, the victory ultimately gained by the insurgents of the Netherlands, in spite of every difficulty, and the suppression of the Holy Junta in Spain, about the same period. To a contemporary politician it might have appeared that the one must fail, and the other might succeed, because he could not have perceived the essential difference of the causes of those movements. But historical experience enables us to know that political convulsions which owe their origin to conflicting interests, may be subdued by arms, however formidable in their aspect: for parties fight each other, each rests secure in the affections of his followers, as they are only maintaining their own cause; it is a simple question of force. But in the contest between brute strength and mental energy, in which it is attempted to restrain the mind of man, after it has fully recognised its objects and its powers, an estimate according to the rules of war and politics is as fallacious as it would be to compare the elephant and his rider by their weight. In such a war it is impossible to calculate the effect of armed multitudes, because there is perpetual danger that the individual will which ultimately guides them, will escape control.

In reviewing the different opinions which have agitated the public at different periods, with this distinction constantly present to the mind, we shall be enabled to account for the various success which has attended the propagators and maintainers of them. Some flourished for an age, and perished of themselves; others, by the aid of influence and power, were kept alive for periods long or short, and died by general neglect when such support no longer was afforded;—some lived by party spirit; some by the bigotry and fanaticism of their professors:—but those new views and modes of thinking which naturally arose from the progress of the human faculties, and the desire of improvement implanted by Providence in the minds of men of every age and nation, have never been subdued. They have been suppressed and smothered, like the early doctrines of Christianity, only to break forth again with a power beyond control. What length of time did the Patricians struggle against such an opinion in Rome, and how often did they apparently extinguish it! What contests, frequently successful, between the feudal lords and their revolting vassals! How many wars, with different results, against the opinions of the reformers in religion! But we now know that the opposition to those opinions only caused a gratuitous addition to the miseries of humanity, and that their triumph was secure, however long the contest may have been continued. But the conclusion will be very different with

respect to those new views which owed their origin to caprice, or casual circumstances: these, indeed, have worked in a contracted circle with the fury which marks fanaticism in all its movements—the crusades may be adduced as instances. But such opinions can never extend calmly and invincibly, like the unquestionable deductions of the understanding: the one may be compared to the currents of the atmosphere, the other to its all-pervading power.

It has been a sort of fashion amongst politicians to date the origin of the revolutionary principle which now agitates Europe, from the resistance of the UnitedStates to the mother country, and to believe that France may attribute her Revolution to the part she took in the contest that ensued. This is a very superficial and short-sighted view of the subject.

Why should the people of North America have so strenuously asserted their rights, and have refused to accept the conditions under which the colonies of other Powers were content to live?—Or why should not those other colonies have made the same resistance? Because the people of the North had carried those opinions with them; they were the cause of their emigration; and though first awakened by religious persecution, were ready to change their form, at the approach of any power under the semblance of tyranny, and to assert whatever right appeared to be invaded. The other colonies remained in their original apathy and ignorance, uninfluenced by the doctrines of the reformation. It was the spirit of inquiry and free-thinking disseminated by this mighty change, which gave new views and new political desires to the inhabitants of the United States. But whence arose this mighty change itself? Was it the profligacy of a Pope, or the treachery of a Council, or the energy of one man, that produced so great a revolution in government, religion, in public institutions and private sentiments?—Surely we must go still further back, and attribute the preparation for so great a change, the readiness to fly to arms at the first sound of any tocsin, to the gradual but sure effect of the intercourse, the commerce, the collision of opinion, the intellectual speculation, the spirit of adventure, which were perhaps first excited by those early wars against opinion, the crusades, and were strengthened and matured by the succession of discoveries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which opened new views, and placed new objects within the reach of man.

If Statesmen will not take a comprehensive view of human affairs, and direct their conduct by those universal principles which regulate the course of events in every age; if the sources of knowledge, and the recorded result of a multitude of experiments lie vainly open to them; in the name of Heaven, what claim do they possess to any superiority over those rabble councillors who now

pretend to direct the public opinion?—If the business of Government consists in Congresses, speeches, declarations of war, and invasions of territory, at the mere will of persons in authority, an Executive Directory of Hunt and Cobbett and their fellows will be quite as capable of managing the public business as the most enlightened Statesmen:—the forms of diplomacy must be abandoned, and the style of energetic common sense be substituted for the courtly repetitions which perplex and shroud the meaning of well-educated envoys; but the direction of the public force will be quite as efficient, and the national character as proudly maintained. The true business of Government is of another character—its object is to avert those calamities which arise from the collision of interests and passions, not to cherish and promote them. A true Statesman will employ the emulation and rivalry of nations as instruments of happiness and improvement; and the courage, activity and productive power which bad governments apply to the gratification of their own puny animosities, will in his hands constitute a fund for lessening the misery and enlarging the enjoyments of all men and all nations.

It has been necessary to dwell for a few moments on general views, before proceeding to the particular question which now agitates the public mind, because there are large bodies of well-meaning and excellent persons who think every thing under the name of liberty and reform, essentially the same in character with those jacobinical principles so justly entitled to their abhorrence. It is only necessary to exhibit to their view the true state of the question to obtain their co-operation; and if it be approached with an understanding capable of deciding for itself according to the merits of the case, there will appear but little doubt that the same persons who now propose the invasion of the Spanish territory, would have persecuted the Protestants at Rochelle, rebelled against the authority of William the Third in England, and that they would re-establish the Bastile in France—if they dared.

But what is the nature of this revolutionary spirit which renders Spain an object of jealousy and apprehension to surrounding nations? It is not the desolating fury of Jacobinism tearing down the sanctuaries of religion and the law; for the national Church has been made co-existent with the new Constitution, and the law has gained the new support of public opinion;—nor is it a war against the rank and riches of the State, against security of property, or political distinction; for every order is alike protected under the law. It is not a new attempt of visionary and speculative men to throw the elements of society into confusion, for the purpose of re-modelling them by rule and compass; for the Constitution is that originally framed under the auspices

of Great Britain, according to the fundamental laws and recognised institutions of the Spanish Monarchy. It is not a proselyting spirit which sends its missionaries to preach new doctrines; and sow the seeds of mutual hatred amongst the subjects of other States; for it renounces all attempt at foreign interference, and possesses neither language nor literature to diffuse its doctrines.—It bears no resemblance in any feature to those principles which agitated Europe at the beginning of the revolutionary war, except the one of change—it is simply the movement by which a generous nation endeavors to attain her true position amongst civilised communities. Her neighbors, once as far inferior as they now surpass her, have risen to eminence in science, arts, and literature, in agriculture and manufactures, in policy and legislation—in every thing which enlarges the intellect, increases the enjoyments, and guaranties the security of men:—but her institutions have prevented her from running the same race—she has been held back like a solitary ship by an unwieldy anchor, while her companions of the fleet are proudly borne along the tide to wealth and glory. Is it criminal to feel her degradation, and emulate the prosperity thus presented to her view?—She shows no jealous hostility to her precursors, nor pursues unwarrantable means of following in their career—her conduct is open and unequivocal, founded on the indisputable right of an independent nation. She respects the established institutions of every State, and upholds her own;—the law is omnipotent in judging the excesses of the passions;—no spirit of revenge is exhibited in the moments of triumph and exultation, though many violations of faith have arisen to awaken it;—the humanities of civilised warfare are exercised towards the vanquished;—there is no general confiscation, no proscription, no licence amongst a victorious soldiery, no door closed on reconciliation;—the majority of the people have declared their will, and the minority are required to obey it. This is the spirit which "threatens the security of surrounding nations, and may ultimately endanger the tranquillity of Europe."

But the Inquisition, which formed an integral part of the old government, is abolished; the overgrown monastic establishments have been pruned; the extensive right of commonage, by which a few corporations and individuals were empowered to hold extensive territories in a state of waste and depopulation, has been modified.

Here are the three measures which have given rise to the Regency of Urgel, the army of the Faith, and the decision of Verona. Those Sovereigns of the Continent who professed the most liberal sentiments as individuals, at the peace of Paris, have never ceased to uphold those institutions which watched the pro-

gress of that contraband of knowledge and information, which must sooner or later curtail their power. They feel their true position, and tremble at every agitation of the public mind, like Pluto in the combat of the Gods, lest the horrid secrets of his dominions should be displayed to Earth and Heaven.

But will the British public reprobate the conduct of the Spanish authorities, because they have thought fit to remove those abuses which served as a reproach to every Christian in his intercourse with Pagans or Mussulmen, and to every subject of a Monarchy when conversing with Republicans? Surely the doctrines of Christianity as preached in these dominions, will never sanction the invasion of any country for the purpose of maintaining the atrocities of the Spanish Inquisition; nor will the professors of the reformed religion lament the extinction of those licentious seminaries of criminal indulgence, whose notoriety obliged their ancestors to secede from the Church; nor will the benevolent philanthropist who glories in the equal privileges of rich and poor in his own country, complain that the worst species of forest law, which subjected whole districts to the caprice of an individual, has been abolished.

But let us suppose, for a moment, that the tendency of the public measures in Spain is as hostile to other nations as the enemies of the new order of things pretend. Is there any probability that the whole power of the united Sovereigns will be able to subdue the spirit which enacts them? We have seen it struggling with obstacles, dangers, sufferings, despair, and death;—its votaries subdued by foreign tyranny, abandoned by their allies, persecuted by the Sovereign who owed his throne to their exertions;—Porlier executed in the North, Elio revelling in the South; the scaffold raised in each province, and spreading its ominous shadow over every cottage of the realm; the unresisted satellites of bigotry and despotic power stalked again abroad in all the pageantry of the middle ages, and the very mob, corrupted by its ignorance, applauding its oppressors:—yet the same spirit lived, and was transmitted from the dying to their offspring, like those imperishable traditions which record the former glories of a declining people. Let Spain then be invaded.

Can the divided Ministry of France, obliged to struggle with the Chambers and the Press, direct the operations of the war like the genius of Napoleon, single in its conceptions, unfettered in the disposition of its means, and holding in complete subjection the tongue, the pen, the wealth and services of every Frenchman? Will their Courtier Generals prove as efficient as those Marshals who owed their rank and titles to a tried pre-eminence? Can their young battalions stand the disheartening warfare of the stiletto

and the knife, like the flinty veterans inured to the costume and warlike habits of all nations? Will the cry of Waterloo and Vive le Roi excite their courage like that of Austerlitz and Jena, and the fortunes of Napoleon; or will the desire of replacing the derided relics of the Spanish altars be as powerful a moral stimulus as the ambition of rendering France the mistress of all nations?

But Napoleon's genius, and his unfettered power, his Marshals, veteran troops, and animating war-cries, aided by a moral sentiment of the most powerful influence on the minds of Frenchmen—failed. They could not enforce even a temporary abandonment of those free principles which had awakened the long-slumbering Spaniards.

Let us now proceed to view the subject, exclusively as it affects Great Britain: and first with reference to her national honor. It is known to Europe that the establishment of a popular government in Spain was promoted and assisted by every means at the disposal of this country. Our envoys, ambassadors, and military commanders communicated officially with the different Juntas, and co-operated with them in exciting a national and independent spirit amongst the people.

It can never be pretended that we acted only for the purpose of restoring Ferdinand to the throne with his original powers, for the public documents of the government which we acknowledged, declared unequivocally the views of its members. The supreme Junta of Spain, in its proclamation dated from Aranjuez in October 1808, removes all doubt on this head; it proceeds thus: "The neglect of the last government, (if it can be called a government, which was one continued and monstrous dilapidation) had exhausted all the sources of prosperity, had obstructed those canals which brought life and food to all the members of the State; dissipating the treasure, disorganising the public force, and consuming the resources." In another place it addresses the people thus (after stating that the defence of the kingdom was the first care of the Junta in order of time): "But, Spaniards, there is another, as necessary and primary as that, without attending to which the Junta would fulfil but half its duties; this is the great reward of your enthusiasm and sacrifices. Political independence is nothing without felicity and internal security: turn your eyes to the time when, oppressed and degraded, ignorant of your own strength, and finding no asylum against your evils, either in the institutions or the laws, you held foreign dominion less odious than the wasting tyranny which internally consumed you. The dominion of a will always capricious, and for the greater part unjust, has for your calamity lasted long enough in Spain; your patience, your love of order, and your loyalty, have been long enough abused; it is time

that the voice of the law only should be heard, founded on public utility." Another passage runs thus: "Yes, Spaniards, the great day is drawing near, when, according to the uniform desire of our beloved King (! ! !) and of his loyal people, the Monarchy will be established on solid and durable bases; you will then possess fundamental laws which will be beneficial, friends of order, restrictive of arbitrary power." * * * "The Junta, which holds in its hand the supreme direction of the national forces, in order by all means to insure its defence, felicity and glory; the Junta, which has already publicly acknowledged the great influence a nation ought to have in the government, which alone and without any assistance has done every thing for the King and his Government; the Junta solemnly promise you, that you shall possess that country you have invoked with so much enthusiasm, and defended or rather conquered with so much valour."

It would be a waste of time to transcribe the multitude of similar passages to be found in the public documents of the different Juntas, existing under British auspices at that period—the principle was universally recognised, that a limited hereditary monarchy should be established in Spain, and the Constitution of the Cortes, sanctioned by the public voice, should be adopted by the legitimate King. But upon the settlement of Europe, when Ferdinand the Seventh was re-established upon his throne, as the head of an independent nation; it was no longer competent to Great Britain to interfere in the internal policy of his kingdom; he was left to pursue his course according to his own views—he refused to accept the Constitution, and was supported in his refusal by a large body of his subjects: our government refrained from any expression of their opinion—and they acted wisely, for a difference of political sentiments is no sufficient ground for interfering in the internal concerns of an independent nation. But if we now allow to other governments, that power of dictation which we refused to exercise in a much juster cause ourselves, and calmly look on, while our allies invade and desolate that country by whose co-operation we were enabled to baffle and defeat our enemy—if, while our acts and influence were notoriously the causes of that invasion, (by fostering and maturing the constitution which now excites the jealousy of the continental Sovereigns) we sneak aside and tranquilly behold the ruin of a noble people, urged forward by ourselves to their destruction—the British honor must become a hacknied phrase, like Punic faith, to express the last degree of perfidy and baseness. Or if we who proclaimed ourselves to the world, as the champions and assertors of every invaded right, during twenty years of danger to ourselves from such invasion, shall voluntarily resign this lofty character when we are

no longer to be rewarded for its exercise—what mercenary slave could be accused of a more revolting conduct?

Let us not refer for subjects of indignant declamation to the corruption of courts, at any former period, or the arrogance of commonwealths; let the acts of France under the Convention, the Directory, and the military tyranny, be forgotten—a fruitful theme remains in the pretensions of that oligarchy who now assume the sovereignty of the European states.

But the independence of Great Britain is no less involved in the issue of this question, than her national honor. There cannot be two codes of public law in Europe—if nations hitherto considered independent, be formed into one great federal republic, directed by hereditary monarchs, as its executive council, Great Britain in common with the rest, must send her envoy periodically to their appointed congresses, to bring back a rescript for the management of her internal affairs. If their authority be legitimate, why should we refuse to obey it? if not legitimate, for what reason should Spain be subject to its control? Can a homage be exacted from one European state, and a privilege be conceded to another, according to the custom of the Turkish government to its several provinces? If not, by what means are we secure, that those who expostulate upon the conduct of Riego, may not also remonstrate upon that of Hunt?

Not only is the honor and independence of this country prospectively endangered by a mistaken view of this subject, but her character as a leading power has been affected by the proceedings at the Congress of Verona. While our Foreign Minister attended on the Sovereigns to sanction their aggressions upon the territory of their neighbours, and to dispose of the defenceless portions of Europe at their caprice and suggestion, we were honored with the respect and attention due to our commanding station. But when it appeared that public opinion was beginning to set strongly against their policy, and that a British Minister could no longer act in unison with their pretensions, these august allies began to change their tone, and to intimate in terms tolerably unequivocal that the concurrence of Great Britain was not an essential preliminary to their hostile movements against other states. The note of the Marquis of Londonderry was disregarded, and even the personal character of the Duke of Wellington has been unable to give effect to the remonstrances of his Government against the intended system of aggression.

It should be carefully borne in mind by all who enter upon the consideration of this question, that the grand alliance was formed by the influence of this country, for a specific object—to overthrow the tyranny of Napoleon over independent governments. It was

not because the people of France thought fit to call this despot to the throne, that we lavished such unheard-of treasures upon the Continental Sovereigns, and enabled them to arm and clothe the barbarous hordes of their remote dominions; it was because no state could reckon upon its internal security, nor venture to renew pacific relations, while a power existed exempt from the control of public law, which held itself absolved from treaties when they no longer served its interest or ambition, and sent its mandates to Sovereigns accompanied by a force prepared to invade their dominions. Now, if this grand alliance, having gained the object of its union, by rallying the public opinion of all nations round its standard, shall forget its purpose, and attempt to constitute itself a power exempt from the control of law; if after having roused the indignation of its subjects by detailed accounts of seizures, exiles and proscriptions, for political opinions, it proceed itself in the same course, and wage a war against improvement, in whatever corner of the globe it may present itself, will not the names of Palm, and Wright, and Enghien, pass again from mouth to mouth, and rouse the deluded people of the continent to atrue sense of their condition?

It is the interest of Great Britain, of France, of Europe, of the world, that the pretensions of the Sovereigns at the congress of Verona should be crushed by public indignation—that free governments should be obliged, by the unanimous voice of their subjects, to take a stand upon the broad principles of public law, and to unite in defence of the menaced victims of a lawless authority. There is a power of barbarism and a power of civilisation now in Europe, prepared for rancorous hostility, if events should bring them into too close contact; there are materials ready to excite them both; there is ambition, too, abroad; a contest once begun may compromise the happiness of the existing generation. It is the duty of Great Britain to prevent it, and she has the power to do so.

But by what means? by a simple declaration of her determined purpose. Let it not be supposed that this confident belief in our ability to controul the counsels of the continent, arises from an arrogant opinion of our superior power. We ought long to hesitate, and submit to many minor disadvantages, before deciding upon an act of apparent hostility against France, or her allies, if any question were to divide the views and interests of these countries and Great Britain. It would be the prudent course in such a case, to measure well our means before committing them against those powerful resources which France is able to call forth in a national war. But in a contest similar to that we now contemplate, in which Great Britain would call out the spirit of European

freedom to fight under her banners, and protect the dearest interests of men from the assaults of despotism and a degraded superstition in their last convulsive effort to enchain the faculties of mankind, in such a contest we should command the subjects of our declared opponents, and could not fail to excite within the heart of their dominions, a spirit much more dangerous to their repose, than that they fear in the Peninsula. We have proceeded perhaps too long upon a principle of policy unsuited to the new position of the world; and the new forms of political society, which the progress of the human mind has given birth to; and the consequences have neither been favorable to our character nor influence. The absolute monarchs most favored by this system appear little grateful; and the free states, remaining unacknowledged, and therefore half proscribed, resent our coldness, and have lost a portion of that warmth with which they offered to place all their wealth within the range of British commerce.

It is time to retrace our steps, and the moment is favorable: a treaty with the representative government of Spain could only be formed in connexion with a recognition of American independence; for it would be absurd to protect those against aggression who maintain an antiquated pretension to exercise a tyranny over others.

---

An attempt has here been made to show, that the progress of those opinions, which do not owe their origin to the peculiarities of nations in their habits and manners, nor to the casual excitements of unconnected events, but which arise naturally in the human mind from that desire of improvement implanted by Providence in us all, can never be controlled by force;—if it were possible to extinguish such opinions, the wars of Philip the Second, the anathemas of Leo, and the sufferings of modern Spain, would have been able to suppress them. It has next been proved, that the spirit of change which now pervades the Spanish nation has nothing in it that ought to excite the fears of Sovereigns or their peaceful subjects—that it is unattended by any of those pernicious doctrines which awakened the fears of all established governments at the opening of the French revolution, and is simply a desire of attaining by legitimate means, those blessings of rational liberty and personal security, which the assembled potentates agreed to confer on France, and without which no Englishman would yield allegiance to his Sovereign.

But even though it were pernicious, there are grounds for thinking that it can resist whatever power may be brought against it.

After this, the subject led to an exclusive consideration of British interests, and the manner in which they may be involved by

the decision of the Spanish question: it was viewed with reference to our national honor, our independence, and our character as a leading power; and these appeared by argument imperatively to demand, that Spain should not be subjected to the interposition of an armed foreign dictator in the management of her internal affairs.

It only remained to impress upon the British public, the propriety of uniting to resist the new pretensions of a coalition of absolute monarchs, who have a common fear and a common object, and who are subject to no control in their united aggressions, but the public opinion of this free country.

Whatever may be the result of the negociations pending, this country has but one honorable course before her—the decided maintenance of the rights of Spain against the aggressive pretensions of the continent. And this policy no less consists with her honor than with her interest, for the subjection of the Peninsula to the influence of France, during the period of her military occupation, would derange our general political and commercial relations, and render a series of precautionary measures necessary, which would prove highly injurious to Great Britain. When wars are once begun, disaster serves to stimulate the vanquished; and it is a feeble hope, that France would soon be forced to sign a peace. It is true, she would most probably be baffled in her expedition against Spain, but what new objects of hostility would then arise, to transfer the theatre of war to other countries, and complicate again those interests which another quarter of a century may not be long enough to disentangle. All Europe ought to think of this, and place before its view the mighty changes which another lengthened war would certainly give rise to. The dynasty of France is not yet firmly seated upon its throne; it has a feeble scion to uphold it, and there is a pretender in the hands and under the control of its natural enemy. The Austrian dominions contain the seeds of civil war within them, and even at this moment require the force of one portion to be employed in the coercion of another.

The Prussian states consist of many conquered provinces, which still retain their former predilections, and have not yet begun to coalesce with their victorious fellow-subjects; the middle classes are known to seek a change of institutions; and the seminaries cannot be prohibited from instilling the detested doctrines of the Spanish Constitutionalists into the minds of the rising population. Russia is still barbarous, and secure; she alone may act with impunity, as executioner of the sentences of death promulgated against the people of the Peninsula.

But her government should recollect, that while barbarism im-

poses difficulties on one kind of revolution, the Russian annals prove that it can facilitate another.

Let us then cherish the hope, that more reflection will teach all those engaged in the negotiations upon this subject, that war will bring home danger to the aggressors as well as to the victims, and that it is no longer possible for one nation to impose the chains of servile acquiescence on another. If too, the Spanish government could be persuaded by their friends to yield a little of the letter of their constitution, while they maintain its spiritand reject the semblance of dictation, the interests of humanity would be more consulted. For there are defects of principle in this constitution, which must ultimately produce intestine disorder.

It was a maxim of our celebrated champion of public liberty, that "it is better to concede a little to a friend, than a great deal to an enemy." By yielding to the reasonable suggestions of an amicable government, the Peninsula may be freed from that great sacrifice, which a war, with whatever result, must impose upon itself, as well as on its enemies.

# RESOLUTIONS

RELATIVE TO

# THE NATIONAL DEBT,

AND

# OPERATIONS OF THE SINKING FUND:

ORDERED TO BE PRINTED

BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, JULY, 1822;

BEING PARLIAMENTARY PAPER N°. 557.

[Moved *pro forma*, with the view of their being entered on the Journals of the House, *Jovis* 25° *die Julii*, 1822.—*See Votes and Proceedings of the House of Commons of that date.*]

WITH ADDITIONAL

# NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

LONDON:

1823.

# PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS, &c.

## No. I.

THAT the National Debt of Great Britain, unredeemed on the 5th Jan. 1793, was 239,350,148*l.*;[1] consisting of 227,989,148*l.* of funded, and of 11,361,000*l.* of Exchequer Bills,* at an annual charge of 9,203,974*l.*[2]

## No. II.

That, from the 1st Feb. 1793 to the 5th Jan. 1817, including 600,000*l.* for the service of Portugal, 6,220,000*l.* for the service of Austria, and 69,250,000*l.*† for the service of Ireland, and guaranteed by England (and exclusive of 2,500,000*l.* for the service of the East India Company in 1812), there has been raised by Loans and the funding of Navy, Victualling, Transport, and Exchequer Bills

[1] Parliamentary Paper, No. 35, of 1819; page 3*—page 9.

[2] Vide Vol. 12, Finance Reports, folio edition, page 1.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Interest in perpetuity on Funded Debt | 7,831,837 | 6 | 2 |
| Terminable Annuities (various) 704,740*l.*, terminable in 1860 | 1,373,751 | 2 | 6 |
| Charges of Management | 120,277 | 15 | 7 |
| Making a Total of | £9,325,866 | 4 | 3 |
| On Unfunded Exchequer Bills, Appendix 7, of No. 35. | 297,445 | 16 | 1 |
| | £9,623,312 | 0 | 4 |
| Deduct Redeemed and Expired Annuities, as per col. 5, of Parliamentary Paper, No. 35, of 1819, page 3 | 419,338 | 0 | 0 |
| Net Charge for the year 1793 | £9,203,974 | 0 | 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| † Vide page 8, No. 145, of 1822 | 64,750,000 |
| In 1811 raised for Ireland, but not charged | 4,500,000 |
| | £69,250,000 |

in Great Britain, the sum of 584,874,557*l.*;[1] and that during the same period, there has been an increase in the issue of Exchequer Bills unfunded, and outstanding on the 5th Jan. 1817, to the amount of 33,289,300*l.*;[2] making a *total sum raised* in the 24 years of no less than 618,163,857*l.* funded and unfunded, independently of advances made by the Bank, and remaining unsettled on the 5th Jan. 1817.

## No. III.

That there was paid into the Treasury, on account of the 584,874,557*l.*, as stated in the preceding resolution, the sum of 484,359,480*l.*[3] in money; that the Bills funded amounted to 86,183,176*l.*; that the loan of 4,600,000*l.* raised for the service of Austria in 1795, is stated not to have been directed to be paid into the Exchequer; and that the Bank of England retained out of the subscriptions to the Loans of 14,500,000*l.* and 1,620,000*l.* in 1797, the sum of 4,648,731*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*, making the total sum of money received and accounted for, on account of the 584,874,557*l.*, to amount to 579,791,388*l.*;[4] leaving a deficit of 5,083,169*l.* retained for discount on prompt payment, and for expenses of receiving at the Bank.

[1] Sum funded as per col. 1 of Parliamentary Paper 145, of 1822 ..... 584,874,557
Excess of Exchequer Bills ..... 33,289,300

Total Sum raised ..... £618,163,857

[2] Vide Parliamentary Paper, No. 35, of 1819, page 9:
Amount of Exchequer Bills, on 5th Jan. 1817 ..... 44,650,300
Do. Do. Do. 5th Jan. 1793 ..... 11,361,000
Excess of Exchequer Bills, issued and outstanding .. ..... £33,289,300

[3] Vide Col. 2 of No. 145.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cash paid to the Treasury ..... | | 487,646,178 |
| From which deduct Debentures, 1813 .... | 786,698 | |
| ——————Loan to E. I. C. 1812 .. | 2,500,000 | |
| | | 3,286,698 |
| | | £484,359,480 |
| Add | | |
| Bills funded (vide col. 1.) ..... | | 86,183,176 |
| Austrian Loan of 1795 not paid into the Exchequer .. | | 4,600,000 |
| Retained by the Bank, 1797, part of Loans of 14,500,000*l.* and 1,620,000*l.* . . . . . | | * 4,648,732 |
| | | £579,791,388 |

[4] Vide col. 2 of No. 145, of 1822.

* Vide page 144 of vol. 13 of Com. Reports, folio edition.

## No. IV.

That, for the sum of 579,791,388*l.* of money received and accounted for, as stated in the preceding resolution, from the 1st Feb. 1793 to the 5th Jan. 1817, there has been created Capital in Stocks of various denominations, to the amount of 879,289,943*l.*,[1] at an annual charge for interest in perpetuity to the amount of 29,289,668*l.*; and of 230,000*l.* of Annuities, from May 1795 to May 1819; and of 654,695*l.* Annuities from various dates, all terminable in 1860: making a total annual charge for Interest and Annuities of 30,174,363*l.*[2] (exclusive of about 160,000*l.* per annum for management) which sum of 30,174,363*l.*, equal to 30,040,445*l.*[3] in perpetuity, converted into a 3 per cent. Capital, is equal to 1,001,348,166*l.*, being at the rate of 172*l.* 14*s.* of 3 per cent. Capital for every 100*l.* of the 579,791,388*l.* money received, or 100*l.* 3 per cent. Capital for every 57*l.* 18*s.*[4] in money.

## No. V.

That, if the conversion of the 4 and 5 per cent. Capitals is made at the average relative prices they bore to 3 per cents. at the time they were funded, the total amount in 3 per cent. Capital will be 975,784,592*l.*, instead of 1,001,348,166*l.*, as stated in the preceding resolution.

| | |
|---|---|
| The 49,982,119*l.* of 4 per cents. were funded at an average of 100*l.* Capital for 82*l.* money, the relative current value of the 3 per cents. being 67*l.*, which gives of 3 per cents. . . . . | £61,172,133 |
| The 120,557,471*l.* of 5 per cents. were funded at an average of 100*l.* Capital for 90*l.* money, | |

[1] Vide col. 3 of 145; viz. ..

| | |
|---|---|
| 708,750,353 | of 3 per cents. |
| 49,982,119 | of 4 per cents. |
| 120,557,471 | of 5 per cents. |
| £879,289,943 | .... Total. |

| | |
|---|---|
| [2] Interest, as per col. 5 ..... | 29,289,668 |
| Annuities for 25 years, as per col. 6 ..... | 230,000 |
| Do. terminable in 1860, do. ..... | 654,695 |
| Total annual charge, as per col. 7 .... | £30,174,363 |

| | |
|---|---|
| [3] Various Capitals 879,289,943*l.* at a charge in perpetuity of | 29,289,668 |
| Annuities terminable in 1860, 654,695*l.*, equal to .... | 617,377 |
| Do. for 25 years, equal to ..... | 133,400 |
| Total of charge in perpetuity..... | £30,040,445 |

equal to 1,001,348,166*l.* of 3 per cent. Capital.

[4] Equal to 5*l.* 3*s.* 7½*d.* per cent. Interest.

| | |
|---|---|
| the relative current value of the 3 per cents. being 60*l.*, which gives of 3 per cents. . . | 180,836,206 |
| The amount of 3 per cents. funded . . . . . | 708,750,353 |
| The 884,695*l.* of terminable Annuities, reduced into a perpetual Annuity of 750,777*l.*, equal to 3 per cent. Capital . . . . . | 25,025,900 |
| Total 3 per cent. Capital . | £975,784,592 |

making a difference of . . . . . £25,563,574 of 3 per cent. Capital, which is an equivalent for paying a higher rate of interest on the 4 and 5 per cents. than in the 3 per cents.; and there has been paid on the total amount of the 4 and 5 per cents. funded, an annual sum increasing to 766,907*l.* per annum on the 5th Jan. 1816, which in 14 years, at 5 per cent., is equivalent to the difference of Capital created in funding in the 4 and 5 per cents., instead of in the 3 per cents.

## No. VI.

That during the 24 years from the 1st Feb. 1793 to the 5th Jan. 1817, in which the 579,791,388*l.*, as stated in the 3d Resolution, was received and accounted for, there was paid to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund in money, the sum of 188,522,340*l.*;[1] and the expense of the office of the said Commissioners during the same period, was 62,698*l.*;[2] making the amount paid to the said Commissioners, 188,585,038*l.*,[3] in money, by raising of which, an annual charge in perpetuity of 9,771,063*l.*,[4] was created, equal to 325,702,116*l.*[5] of 3 per cent. capital.

## No. VII.

That, with the 188,585,038*l.*, as stated in the preceding Resolution, the said Commissioners have purchased capitals of various denominations, to the amount of 302,911,955*l.*,[6] the annual dividends on which are 9,168,233*l.*,[7] which sum, converted into a 3 per cent. capital, is equal to 305,607,766*l.*, being at the rate of 162*l.* 1*s.* of 3 per cent. capital for every 100*l.* of the 188,585,038*l.*

[1] Vide col. 8 of No. 145. [2] Vide Parliamentary Paper, No. 39, of 1821.

| | |
|---|---|
| [3] Cash paid to Commissioners | £188,522,340 |
| Expense of Office | 62,698 |
| Total Cash | £188,585,038 |

[4] If 579,791,388*l.* : 30,040,445*l.* : : 188,585,038*l.* : 9,771,063*l.*
[5] If 579,791,388*l.* : 1,001,348,166*l.* : : 188,585,038*l.* : 325,702,116*l.*
[6] Vide col. 9 of No. 145, of 1822. [7] Vide col. 11 of No. 145, of 1822.

money paid to the said Commissioners, or 100*l.* of 3 per cent. capital, for every 61*l.* 14*s.*[1] in money.

## No. VIII.

That the amount of *annual charge created* in perpetuity, by raising the 188,585,038*l.* money, was 9,771,063*l.*, whilst the *annual charge redeemed* by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund with that amount, was only 9,168,233*l.*, being 602,830*l.*[2] of annual charge in perpetuity less redeemed than created, equal to 20,094,333*l.* of 3 per cent. capital; showing that the debt was created between 1793 and 1817, at the rate of 172*l.* 14*s.* of 3 per cent. capital for every 100*l.* in cash; and that the amount redeemed in the same time, was at the rate of 162*l.* 1*s.* of 3 per cent. capital for every 100*l.* cash, being a loss of 10*l.* 13*s.* of 3 per cent. capital on every 100*l.* of money expended by the Commissioners.

## No. IX.

That, independent of the operations of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, the following Reductions of the National Debt and Annual Charge have taken place between the 5th Jan. 1793, and the 5th Jan. 1817; viz. that 25,290,994*l.*[3] of 3 per cent. Capitals have been cancelled, by the proceeds of the sale of land-tax, the annual dividends on which amount to 758,729*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*; and that 2,363,420*l.*[4] of 5 per cent. capital was paid off with money charged in the Finance Accounts in the Public Expenditure, under the head of Miscellaneous Services, the dividends on which

[1] Equal to 4*l.* 17*s.* 2¾*d.* per cent. Interest.

| | |
|---|---|
| [2] Charge in perpetuity incurred ..... | £9,771,063 |
| Do. redeemed ..... | 9,168,233 |
| Less redeemed than created..... | £602,830 |

[3] Vide Annual Finance Accounts, 5th Jan. 1815, page 224 and 5.
Up to that date the Stock for Land-Tax redeemed stood in the names of the Commissioners, and from that time it has been cancelled annually, viz.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st Feb. 1815 ..... | £24,960,313 | 10 | 7 | at Int. | £758,809 | 8 | 1 |
| Do. 1816, 3 p. cts. | 194,743 | 8 | 8 | do. | 5,842 | 6 | 0 |
| Do. 1817, 3 p. cts. | 135,937 | 4 | 11 | do. | 4,078 | 2 | 0 |
| Totals .... | £25,290,994 | 4 | 2 | do. | £758,729 | 16 | 1 |
| 5 per cents. of 1797 paid off..... | 2,363,420 | 0 | 0 | do. | 118,171 | 0 | 0 |

[4] Vide Parliamentary Paper, No. 162, of 1822.

amounted to 118,171*l.*; and that 3,449,955*l.*[1] of 3 per cent. Capitals were cancelled under the Act of 48 Geo. 3, cap. 142, (by conversion into 225,254*l.* Life Annuities,) the dividend on which amounted to 103,498*l.* 13*s.*; and that 539,244*l.*[2] of various Capitals remained unclaimed for 10 years and upwards, prior to the 5th Jan. 1817, the dividend on which amounted to 17,235*l.*; and that 523,493*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.*[3] of Life and other terminable Annuities created prior to the 5th Jan. 1793 had fallen in, expired or remained unclaimed for 3 years and upwards at the 5th Jan. 1817, making, with the charges of management, (on the capitals cancelled) of 17,237*l.*, a total diminution in the annual charge under these several heads of 1,538,365*l.*;[4] but as 225,254*l.* of Life Annuities were created by the extinction of the 3,449,995*l.* of 3 per cent. Capitals under the Act of the 48 Geo. 3, c. 142, the actual diminution of annual charge for the year 1817 would have been 1,313,111*l.*,[5] if there had been no Sinking Fund.

## No. X.

That the total revenue of Great Britain in the 24 years between the 5th Jan. 1793, and the 5th Jan. 1817, from taxes alone, in-

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [1] 3 per cent. Capitals, cancelled for Annuities, by 48 Geo. 3, c. 142 Vide Finance Accounts, 1817. | 3,449,955 | 0 | 0 | Int | 103,498 | 13 | 0 |
| [2] Unclaimed Dividends on 5th Jan. 1817, Finance Accounts do. | 539,244 | 0 | 0 | do. | 17,235 | 0 | 0 |
| [3] Annuities expired and unclaimed up to 5th Jan. 1817 ..... do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | do. | *523,493 | 19 | 5 |
| Charges of Management, at 562*l.* 10*s.* per million on Capitals cancelled as below ..... | | | | do. | 17,337 | 0 | 0 |
| [4] Total Capitals cancelled | £31,643,613 | 4 | 2 | | £1,538,365 | 9 | 0 |
| Deduct Amount of Annuities, created by 48 Geo. 3, up to 5th Jan. 1817 ..... | | | | | 225,254 | 0 | 0 |
| [5] Total diminution of Annual Charge on 5th Jan. 1817 | | | | | £1,313,111 | 9 | 0 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| * Unclaimed Exchequer Annuities, page 225 of Finance Accounts, 5th Jan. 1817 ..... | £28,838 | 7 | 0 |
| Expired on 5th April, 1803, and to 5th Jan. 1808, page 229 ..... | 494,655 | 12 | 5 |
| Total .... | £523,493 | 19 | 5 |

cluding the small branches of Hereditary Revenue, and incidental resources, amounted to the sum of 1,114,318,563*l.*[1] sterling.

## No. XI.

That the total Expenditure of Great Britain, for the same period, viz. from the 5th Jan. 1793 to the 5th Jan. 1817, for interest on the debt as it stood on the 5th Jan. 1793 (but excluding all charge for Loans since 1793), and for expenses of Civil Government, for the Navy, Ordnance, Army (ordinary and extraordinary), Miscellaneous Services and Charges of Management, and including 58,164,716*l.*[2] for subsidies to Foreign Powers, amounted together to the sum of 1,240,480,963*l.* But as the sum of 3,711,786*l.*[3] is charged in the Miscellaneous Expenditure, although short credited by the Treasury in the receipt of the loans, and 786,698*l.*, the principal of debentures received in 1813, and not credited in the amount of income in the 10th Resolution, it makes the actual Expenditure only 1,235,982,479*l.*

## No. XII.

That, as the Revenue of Great Britain was 1,114,318,563*l.*, as stated in the 10th Resolution, and the Expenditure 1,235,982,479*l.*, as stated in the 11th Resolution, the excess of Expenditure in that period was 121,663,916*l.*[4]

[1] Vide Commons Reports of 1797, vol. 12, folio edition, for 1793, 4, 5, and 6.
Vide vol. 13, page 2, for 1797.
Vide Accounts in the Journal Office, for 1798 and 9.
Vide Annual Finance Accounts for 1800 to 1817.
Vide Parliamentary Paper, No. 412, of 1815, the specific Accounts for 1793 to 6, therefore assumed equal to taxes and loans for that period.
For 1797, 8, and 9, as in 10th Resolution.
Vide Annual Finance Accounts, from 1800.

[2] Vide Parliamentary Paper, No. 293, of 1822.

In this Sum is included,

| | |
|---|---|
| [3] Paid to the Bank for discount on Loans ..... | £3,335,512 |
| Do. do. for receiving do. ..... | 376,274 |
| | £3,711,786 |
| Principal of Debentures paid off by 53 Geo. 3, c. 41 and 53, in 1815 and 1816..... | 786,698 |
| | £4,498,484 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [4] Expenditure ..... | £1,235,982,479 | 11th Resolution. |
| Revenue ..... | 1,114,318,563 | 10th Resolution. |
| Excess of Expenditure..... | £121,663,916 | |

## No. XIII.

That, in addition to the Expenditure of 1,235,982,479*l.* for Great Britain, as per 11th Resolution, there was remitted from England to Ireland, between the 5th Jan. 1797 and the 5th Jan. 1817, the sum of 68,930,595*l.*, making the total Expenditure for Great Britain, 1,304,913,074*l.*;[1] and that in addition to the Revenue of Great Britain, of 1,114,318,563*l.*, as stated in the 10th Resolution, there was received from Ireland the sum of 52,245,471*l.*, making (exclusive of Loans) the total income of Great Britain, 1,166,564,034*l.*; and by the addition of 16,685,124*l.*,[2] being the difference between the sums remitted to, and from Ireland, makes a total excess of Expenditure over Income of 138,349,040*l.*[3]

## No. XIV.

That as the reduction of 1,313,111*l.* of Annual Charge, as stated in the 9th Resolution, was effected without any aid of the Sinking Fund, the same reduction might have taken place from the Annual Charge of 9,203,974*l.*[4] as it stood on the 5th Jan. 1793; and that, had the 138,349,040*l.*, the excess of Expenditure in the 24 years from the 5th Jan. 1793 to the 5th Jan. 1817, as stated in the preceding Resolution, been raised by taxes within those years, instead of by loans, the total amount of Capital of Debt unredeemed on the

[1] Vide Annual Finance Accounts.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Expenditure | £1,235,982,479 | |
| Remitted to Ireland | 68,930,595 | |
| | | = 1,304,913,074 |
| Revenue of Great Britain | 1,114,318,563 | |
| Received from Ireland | 52,245,471 | |
| | | = 1,166,564,034 |
| Excess of Expenditure | | £138,349,040 |

[2] Remitted from England to Ireland. Vide Annual Finance Accounts ..... £68,930,595
Remitted from Ireland to England ..... 52,245,471
£16,685,124

[3] Vide concluding observations.

[4]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Annual Charge, 5th Jan. 1793 | £9,203,974 | —Vide 1st Resolution. |
| Reduction as per 9th Resolution, up to 5th Jan. 1817 | 1,313,111 | |
| Charge as it would have been in 1817, if no Loans had been raised | £7,890,863 | |

5th Jan. 1817, would have been only 207,706,535*l.*,[1] and the Annual Charge, including Management, only 7,890,863*l.*, instead of being 817,415,237*l.*[2] of Capital, and 30,628,234*l.* of Annual Charge, as it stood on the 5th Jan. 1817.

## No. XV.

That it appears by the preceding Resolutions, that, in consequence of not raising the Supplies within the year, by taxes, to the amount of 138,349,040*l.* in the 24 years, being an average of 5,764,543*l.* per annum, a debt of 609,708,702*l.*[3] of Capital has been incurred, at an increased Annual Charge of 22,737,371*l.*,[4] thereby occasioning taxation to the extent of upwards of 58 millions per annum; whilst from the 5th Jan. 1817, about 33 millions only would have sufficed.[5]

## No. XVI.

That, by the union of the Exchequer of Ireland with that of Great Britain, on the 5th Jan. 1817, a farther Annual Charge of 1,323,775*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* was added to the annual charge of Great

[1] Capital, funded and unfunded, 1793 ..... £239,350,148
Capitals cancelled up to 1817 .. 31,643,613—Vide 9th Resolution.

Capital as it would have been .. £207,706,535

[2] Vide Finance Accounts, pp. 224 and 5, ending 5th Jan. 1817:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Capitals various .... | £772,764,937 | at an annual charge of .... | £26,650,959 | 4 | 5 |
| Terminable Annuities of various denominations ..... | | | 1,657,904 | 6 | 10 |
| Life do. 48 Geo. 3. c. 142 ..... | | | 225,254 | 13 | 0 |
| Charges of Management to the Bank .. | | | 278,189 | 2 | 3 |
| Unfunded Debt .... | 44,650,300 | .. charge .. | 1,815,926 | 17 | 8 |
| Total Capital .. | £817,415,237 | at an annual charge of | £30,628,234 | 4 | 2 |

[3] Capital of Debt as it stood on 5th Jan. 1817, funded and unfunded ..... £817,415,237 at charge of £30,628,234 4 3
Do. as it would have been, as per 14th Resolution ..... 207,706,535 do. 7,890,863 0 0
£609,708,702 charge [4] £22,737,371 4 3
Increase of Charge by Loans.

[5] Vide concluding Observations.

Britain, then amounting to 30,628,234*l.*,[1] (as stated in the 14th Resolution) by the incorporation of 28,739,869*l.*[2] of capital funded and unfunded, created in Ireland, making the total Amount of Debt, funded and unfunded, of the United Kingdom, on the 6th Jan. 1817, to amount to 846,155,106*l.*,[3] and the Annual Charge to 31,952,009*l.*

## No. XVII.

That, from the 5th Jan. 1817 to the 5th Jan. 1822, there was raised, *by Taxes*, in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the sum of 296,454,538*l.*;[4] and the expenditure during

[1]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Charge on the Debt of Great Britain | £30,628,234 | |
| Do. of Ireland | 1,323,775 | |
| Total Charge of United Kingdom on 5th Jan. 1817 | £31,952,009 | Sterling. |
| Proportion of Charge on unfunded | 2,081,157 | |
| Do. funded | £29,870,852 | |

[2] Vide Parliamentary Paper, No. 35, of 1819:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Funded Debt, unredeemed, Ireland, in British Currency, on 5th Jan. 1817 | £23,435,254 5 3* | at an annual charge of | 1,058,545 |
| Unfunded | 5,304,615 0 0 | at a charge of | 265,230 |
| Funded and unfunded | £28,739,869 5 3 | at an annual charge of | £1,323,775 |

* By Irish Finance Accounts on 5th Jan. 1817, p. 94,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The total Capital of Irish Debt is stated at | £34,047,870 15 5 | |
| Redeemed | 8,812,662 12 7 | |
| Unredeemed capital in Irish Currency | £25,235,208 2 10 | |
| equivalent in British Currency | 28,295,992 | |

[3] Capital of Great Britain, on 5th Jan. 1817, Funded and Unfunded ..... £817,415,237—14th Resolution.
Do. of Ireland, Funded and Unfunded 28,739,869 vide [2].
Total of the United Kingdom £846,155,106

[4] Vide Annual Finance Accounts, 1817 to 1821, both inclusive.

| | Total Gross Income of the United Kingdom, (Drawbacks excepted.) | Expenditure of the United Kingdom. |
|---|---|---|
| 1817 | £57,650,589 | 58,544,049 |
| 1818 | 59,667,941 | 57,872,428 |
| 1819 | 58,680,252 | 57,392,544 |
| 1820 | 59,769,680 | 57,476,755 |
| 1821 | 60,686,076 | 57,639,893 |
| Income | £296,454,538 | Exp. £288,925,669 |
| | 288,925,669 | |
| | £7,528,869 | Excess of Income in 5 years. |

the same period, for Civil list, pensions, and other charges on the Consolidated fund, and for expenses of the Navy, Ordnance, Army (Ordinary and Extraordinary) Miscellaneous services, and charges of Collection, and for interest and management of Debt, as stated in the preceding resolution, amounted (including 2,155,468*l.*[1] paid for Russian loan and to Holland) to 288,925,669*l.*, leaving an Excess of income over expenditure, in the 5 years, of 7,528,869*l.* 14*s.*

## No. XVIII.

That, notwithstanding the Excess of Income of 7,528,869*l.* as stated in the preceding resolution, a further funding of 90,761,920*l.*[2] has taken place, for which an additional Capital of debt has been created between the 5th Jan. 1817 and the 5th Jan. 1822, of 116,600,235*l.*,[3] at anannual Interest in perpetuity of 3,773,354*l.*,[4] and that the said Capital of 116,600,235*l.* has been created by 19,999,920*l.*, raised by Loans in Money; by 34,262,000*l.* Exchequer Bills issued, and afterwards funded; and by 36,500,000*l.* borrowed from the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund: and that for the 19,999,920*l.* raised by Loans, the sum of 19,814,944*l.*[5] was paid into the Treasury, leaving a deficit of 184,976*l.*, retained by the Bank for discount on prompt payment, and for receiving the same; and that there is also charged 14,109*l.*, under the head of Miscellaneous Services, in the Finance Accounts

[1] Vide Parliamentary Paper, No. 293, of 1820.

[2] Vide col. 1 of 145, of 1822:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| By loans in money | | | £19,999,920 |
| By Exchequer Bills | | | 34,262,000 |
| By Commissioners of Sinking Fund | | | 36,500,000 |
| | | | £90,761,920 |
| Deficit retained by the Bank for transfer | £184,976<br>14,109 | = | 199,085 |
| Net Amount of Cash | | | £90,562,835 |

[3] Vide col. 3 of Parliamentary Paper, No. 145. of 1822.

[4] Vide col. 5 of ditto.

[5] 1818, for transfer of 27 millions, 3 per cents. to

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3½ per cents. | £ 2,999,920 | Cash | £ 2,971,819 | 19 | 4 |
| 1819 capital | 12,000,000 | | 11,862,340 | 7 | 6 |
| 1820 | 5,000,000 | | 4,980,783 | 15 | 1 |
| | 19,999,920 | Received | £19,814,944 | 1 | 11 |
| | | Short credited | 184,976 | | |
| | | Net | £19,999,920 | | |

of 1819, as paid to the Bank of England for transferring 27,000,000*l.* of 3 per cents. to 3½ per cents.; making the net amount of money received and accounted for to be only 90,562,835*l.*, creating an annual charge for interest in perpetuity of 3,773,354*l.*; which sum converted into a 3 per cent. Capital, is equal to 125,778,466*l.*, or 138*l.* 17*s.* of 3 per cent. Capital for every 100*l.* of money, or 100*l.* of 3 per cent. Capital for every 72*l.* of money.

## No. XIX.

That, during the period of five years, from 5th Jan. 1817 to 5th Jan. 1822, in which 3,773,354*l.* New Annuities were created for 90,562,835*l.* money, there has been paid to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, the sum of 82,021,555*l.*;[1] and the expense of their office, during the same period, has been 32,203*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.*,[2] making the total amount of 82,053,758*l.*; with which the said Commissioners have purchased 110,489,252*l.*[3] of various stock, the dividends on which amount to 3,338,857*l.*;[4] which sum, converted into a 3 per cent. Capital, is equal to 111,295,232*l.* or 135*l.* 13*s.* of 3 per cent. Capital for every 100*l.* of money, or 100*l.* of 3 per cent. Capital for every 73*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* of money paid to the said Commissioners.

## No. XX.

That, in borrowing the sum of 82,053,758*l.* paid to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, there were created, and added to the Debt, capitals equal to 113,960,608*l.*[5] of 3 per cent. at an an-

[1] Vide col. 8 of No. 145. of 1822.

| | |
|---|---|
| Paid to the Commissioners of Sinking Fund . . | £82,021,555 |
| Expense of Office . . . . . | 32,203 |
| | £82,053,758 |

[2]

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| In 1817 | £4,853 | 17 | 11 | |
| 1818 | 6,399 | 12 | 10 | |
| 1819 | 7,240 | 4 | 8 | |
| 1820 | 7,108 | 6 | 9¼ | |
| 1821 | 6,601 | 0 | 0 | |
| | £32,203 | 2 | 2¾ | Vide No. 39 of 1821. |
| | 62,698 | | | from 1793 to 1816. |
| | £94,901 | 2 | 2¾ | |

[3] Vide col. 9. No. 145. [4] Vide col. 11. do.

| | Money. | 3 per cents. | | Money. | 3 per cents. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [5] If | 90,562,135*l.* | : 125,778,466*l.* | : : | 82,053,758*l.* | : 113,960,608 |
| | But 82,053,758*l.* has redeemed only | | | | 111,295,232 |
| | Occasioning a loss of 3 per cent. capital equal to and a Dividend of £79,961. | | | | £2,665,376 |

nual charge in perpetuity of 3,418,818*l.*,[1] whilst the Commissioners redeemed, during the same period with that sum, Dividends or Annuities in perpetuity, to the amount of only 3,338,857*l.*,[2] equal to 111,295,232*l.* of 3 per cent. Capital; occasioning thus, by the operations of the Sinking Fund, a loss of 79,961*l.*[3] of perpetual Annuity, equal to 2,665,376*l.* of 3 per cent. Capital, showing that the Debt created, between the 5th Jan. 1817 and 5th Jan. 1822, was at the rate of 138*l.* 17*s.* of 3 per cent. Capital for every 100*l.* of money; and that the amount redeemed in the same period was at the rate of 135*l.* 13*s.* of 3 per cent. Capital for every 100*l.* of money, being a loss of 3*l.* 4*s.* of 3 per cent. Capital on every 100*l.* of money expended by the Commissioners.

## No. XXI.

That the total sum funded in Great Britain in the 29 years from the 5th Jan. 1793 to the 5th Jan. 1822, amounted to 675,636,477*l.*;[4] that the total sum received in money, and accounted for was 670,354,223*l.*,[5] at an annual aggregate charge of 33,813,799*l.*,[6] viz. of 33,063,022*l.* for interest in perpetuity; for 884,696*l.* of terminable Annuities, converted into 750,777*l.* of perpetual Annuities; the 230,000*l.* on the same terms as perpetual Annuities were created in 1795; and 654,696*l.* at 18.86 years purchase, and the whole into a 3 per cent. Capital, equal to 1,127,126,633*l.*, being at the rate of 168*l.* 1*s.* of 3 per cent. Capital for every 100*l.* of money received; or 100*l.* of 3 per cent. Capital for every 59*l.* 10*s.* of money, equal to 5*l.* 10*d.* per cent. interest.

## No. XXII.

That the total sum paid to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, during the said period of 29 years, from the 5th Jan. 1793

| | Money. | | Dividend. | | Money. | | Dividend. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [1] If | 90,562,835*l.* | : | 3,773,354*l.* | : : | 82,053,758*l.* | : | 3,418,818*l.* |

[2] Vide col. 11.

| | |
|---|---|
| Dividend on borrowing | £3,418,818 |
| [3] Do. redeeming . . | 3,338,857 |
| Difference in Dividend | £79,961 |

[4] Vide col. 1. No. 145 of 1822. [5] Vide col. 2. No. 145 of 1822.

[6] Col. 5. ..... £33,063,022 perpetuity.
Col. 6. ..... 133,400 of Do. for 230,000*l.* of 25 years.
Col. 6. ..... 617,377 of Do. for 654,696*l.* terminable in 1860.

£33,813,799

Equal to a 3 per cent. capital of 1,127,126,633*l.*

to the 5th Jan. 1822, amounted to 270,543,895*l.*,[1] and the expenses of their office during the same period were 94,901*l.*,[2] making a total charge in money paid to the said Commissioners, of 270,638,796*l.*; by raising of which an annual charge in perpetuity of 13,651,477*l.*[4] was created, equal to 455,049,262*l.*[5] of 3 per cent. capital.

## No. XXIII.

That, with the 270,638,796*l.*, as stated in the preceding resolution, the said Commissioners have purchased Capital, of various denominations, to the amount of 413,402,207*l.*,[6] the Annual Dividends on which are 12,507,090*l.*;[7] which sum, converted into a 3 per cent. Capital, is equal to 416,903,000*l.*, being at the rate of 154*l.* 1*s.* of 3 per cents. purchased with every 100*l.* of money paid to the said Commissioners, or 100*l.* of 3 per cent. Capital, for every 64*l.* 18*s.* of money, equal to 4*l.* 12*s.* 5½*d.* per cent. interest.

## No. XXIV.

That the amount of *annual charge created* in perpetuity, by raising the 270,638,796*l.*, was 13,651,477*l.*, whilst the annual charge redeemed by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund with that

[1] Vide col. 8 of No. 145. Cash paid ..... £270,543,895

[2] Vide No. 39 of 1822. Expenses of Office ..... 94,901

Total sum paid to Commissioners S. F.... £270,638,796[3]

| Money received | 3 per cents. | Money paid to Com. | 3 per cents. |
|---|---|---|---|
| If 670,354,222*l.* : | 1,127,126,633*l.* : | : 270,638,796*l.* : | 455,049,262*l.*[5] |
| Dividend. | | Dividend. | |
| [4] 670,354,222*l.* : | 33,813,799*l.* : | : 270,638,796*l.* : | 13,651,477*l.* |

[6] Vide col. 9, No. 145, 1822.* [7] Vide col. 11, No. 145, 1822.

* Of this Amount the following Sums have been cancelled by Act of 53 Geo. III. c. 95, and subsequent Acts:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 53 Geo. III. c. 95. | 1813 ..... | £153,576,500 | |
| | 1814 ..... | 38,944,561 | |
| | 1815 ..... | 51,271,467 | |
| | 1820 ..... | 47,930,611 | |
| | 1821 ..... | 21,729,166 | |
| | Total | 312,452,305 | 3 per cents. |
| | 1814 ..... | 7,796,400 | 4 per cents. |
| | 1813 ..... | 142,600 | 5 per cents. |
| | Total | £321,391,305 | |

The Dividends on which amount to 9,722,565*l.*; the remainder stand in the names of the Commissioners.

amount, was 12,507,090*l.*, being 1,144,387*l.*[1] of annual charge in perpetuity, *less redeemed than created*, equal to 38,146,262*l.* of 3 per cent. Capital; showing that the proportion of the debt raised for the Sinking Fund between 1793 and 1822, was created at the rate of 168*l.* 1*s.* of 3 per cent. Capital for every 100*l.* money received; and that the amount redeemed in the same time, was at the rate of 154*l.* 1*s.* of 3 per cent. Capital for every 100*l.* money paid, being a *loss* of 14*l.* of 3 per cent. Capital, on every 100*l.* money expended by the Commissioners, equal to 8*s.* 4½*d.* per cent. per annum.

## No. XXV.

That, independent of the operations of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, a reduction took place, between the 5th Jan. 1817, and 5th Jan. 1822, of 3,583,497*l.*[2] of Capital, and 211,222*l.* of Annual Charge, thereby reducing the Funded Debt as it stood on the 5th January 1817, to 792,616,695*l.*,[3] at an annual charge of

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In borrowing | created 3 per cent. capital. | at an annual charge of |
| [1] 270,638,796*l.* ..... | 455,049,262*l.* ..... | 13,651,477*l.* |
| But has redeemed only | 416,903,000*l.* ..... | 12,507,090*l.* |
| Less redeemed than created | £38,146,262 | £1,144,387 |

[2] Cancelled, and expired in five years:

| | Capitals. | Annuities. |
|---|---|---|
| 230,000*l.* Annuities expired in 1819 ..... | | £230,000 |
| For Land-tax cancelled | £ 528,094 16 8 | 15,842 16 9 |
| 3 per cent. per 48 G. 3, c. do. | 2,916,560 | 100,143 3 7 |
| Unclaimed Capital ..... | 138,842 | 4,445 4 0 |
| Exchequer Annuities expired.. | | 15,789 1 1 |
| Ditto unclaimed for 3 years | | 30,710 9 6 |
| Totals | £3,583,496 16 8 | £396,930 14 11 |
| Deduct increase of Charge, payable for Annuities, by 48 Geo. 3. ..... | | 185,711 |
| Actual reduction from the Debt, as it stood on 5th Jan. 1817 ..... | | £211,221 14 11 |

| | Capital. | Interest. |
|---|---|---|
| [3] Funded in 1817, in Great Britain, as per 14th Resolution ..... | £772,764,937 | £28,812,307 6 6 |
| ——— Ireland, as per 16th Resolution ..... | 23,435,254 | 1,058,545 |
| United Kingdom | 796,200,191 | 29,870,852 6 6 |
| Decrease as above ..... | 3,583,496 | 211,222 |
| Funded Debt, as it would have been on the 5th Jan. 1822 ..... | £792,616,695 | £29,659,630 |

29,659,630*l.*; instead of its being 795,312,767*l.*,[1] at an annual charge of 30,015,786*l.*, as it really stood on the 5th Jan. 1822, being 356,153*l.* increase of charge per annum, more in 1822 than it would have been if the Sinking Fund had been abolished on the 5th Jan. 1817.

## No. XXVI.

That the Unfunded Debt of the United Kingdom, in Exchequer and Treasury Bills, on the 5th Jan. 1817, was 49,954,915*l.*,[2] and on the 5th Jan. 1822, it was 32,671,731*l.*, showing an apparent reduction of 17,283,184*l.*;—But, as the excess of Income, in these 5 years, amounted to 7,528,870*l.*,[3] and the deficiency of the Consolidated Fund was, on the 5th Jan. 1822, 8,232,458*l.*[4] amounting together to 15,761,328*l.*,[5] it leaves only an apparent reduction of 1,521,856*l.*[6] to meet the increase in the annual charge of the

[1] Vide Finance Accounts, 5th Jan. 1822, pages 178-9.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Interest in perpetuity | 27,875,841 | 19 | 1 |
| Terminable Annuities | 1,451,205 | 13 | 4 |
| Annuities by 48 Geo. 3 | 410,964 | 19 | 6 |
| Charges of Management | 277,773 | 0 | 4 |
| Total Charge of Funded Debt, as it really stood on the 5th Jan. 1822 | £30,015,785 | 12 | 3 |

Vide Annual Finance Account:

| | |
|---|---|
| Unfunded Debt Great Britain, 5th Jan. 1817 | £44,650,300 |
| Do. Irish | 5,304,615 |
| | 49,954,915 |
| Unfunded Debt Great Britain and Ireland, on 5th Jan. 1822, (vide p. 187, Finance Accounts) | 32,671,731 |
| Apparent Decrease of Unfunded Debt, as per Finance Accts. | £17,283,184 |

[3] Vide 17th Resolution.

[4] Vide Parliamentary Paper 23, of 1821; and Finance Account, 5th of Jan. 1822:

| | |
|---|---|
| Deficiency of the Consolidated Fund on 5th Jan. 1822 | £8,842,330 |
| Do. Do. 5th Jan. 1817 | 609,872 |
| Deficiency in the 5 years | £8,232,458 |

[5] Excess of Income, as per Resolution No. 17. £7,528,870
Deficiency of Consolidated Fund as above 8,232,458

[6] Apparent decrease of Unfunded Debt, as note [2] above £17,283,184
Accounted for, as per note [5] above 15,761,328

| | |
|---|---|
| Decrease of Unfunded Debt | 1,521,856 |
| Against Increase of 356,153*l.* of annual Charge on the Funded Debt equal to a 3 per cent. Capital of | 11,871,766 |

Funded Debt, of 356,153*l.*, equal to 11,871,766*l.* in 3 per cent. Capital.

No. XXVII.

That on taking a retrospective view of the operations of the Sinking Fund, from the 5th Jan. 1793 to the 5th Jan. 1817, it is conclusive, that no reduction of the Debt was effected thereby; because, as the expenditure in each year exceeded the income derived from taxes, the money applied by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund must have been first borrowed; and, as has been shown by the 4th Resolution, that 100*l.* of 3 per cent. Capital was created for every 57*l.* 18*s.* of money borrowed, whilst the Commissioners, on an average of that period, paid 61*l.* 14*s.* money for every 100*l.* of 3 per cent. Capital redeemed, as will be seen by the 7th Resolution; by which it appears, that the public paid 5*l.* 3*s.* 7½*d.* per cent. on an average for all the money borrowed in that period, whilst the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund have been receiving only 4*l.* 17*s.* 2¾*d.* making a loss of 6*s.* 4¾*d.* per cent. on the whole amount expended by them during that period; exclusive of large *bonuses*, by payments of dividends, and by exemptions from the income tax thereon, before all the instalments on the several loans were paid up—*Amounting in the aggregate to the enormous sum of* 15,000,000*l.*

No. XXVIII.

That as the expenditure for the service of Great Britain, during the 24 years from 5th Jan. 1793 to the 5th Jan. 1817, (including the charge on the Debt as it stood on the 5th Jan. 1793) exceeded the income derived from taxes by the sum of only 138,349,040*l.*,[1] as stated in the 18th Resolution: and, as 618,163,857*l.*[2] was raised during that period, by Loans and Exchequer Bills, it is conclusive that, by the system of borrowing that has been pursued, the sum of 479,814,817*l.* has been incurred as a Debt, during that period, on the sum of 138,349,040*l.*,[3] in the proportion of 291,229,779*l.*[4] for interest, annuities and charges, and 188,585,038*l.*[5] paid to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund.

[1] Vide concluding observations.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [2] Funded | | £584,874,557 |
| Increase of Unfunded | | 33,289,300 |
| | | £618,163,857 |
| [4] For Interest, Annuities and Charges | | £291,229,779 |
| [5] To Commissioners of Sinking Fund | | 188,585,038 |
| | Amount raised | 479,814,817 |
| [3] To cover excess of Expenditure | | 138,349,040 |
| | Total sum raised | £618,163,857 |

## No. XXIX.

That the system of borrowing, during the said 24 years, created a necessity for borrowing, progressively increasing in proportion to the sum borrowed; and consequently, by having first borrowed the sum of 188,585,038*l.* for the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, it has entailed a burthen in perpetuity, considerably exceeding the 602,830*l.* of annual charge incurred by purchasing Stock on worse terms, than those at which it was created during that period; as stated in the 8th Resolution.

## No. XXX.

That the deduction in the preceding Resolution will be confirmed, by ascertaining, year by year,[1] what sum would have sufficed to have met all the demands of the State in each year, on precisely the same scale of expense with which it has been supported, had not the system of the nominal Sinking Fund been maintained; by which mode of proof it will be seen that about 360,000,000*l.* would have sufficed to have been funded, instead of 584,874,557*l.*; as stated in the 2d Resolution.

## No. XXXI.

That as the 584,874,557*l.*, funded from the 5th Jan. 1793 to the 5th Jan. 1817, created an annual charge of 30,174,360*l.*,[2] whilst the 188,584,038*l.* paid to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund redeemed only 9,168,233*l.*[3] of annual charge, the sum of 21,006,130*l.*[4] is left as the annual increase of charge on 396,289,519*l.*[5] applied as stated in the margin; whilst the sum of 360,000,000*l.* would have sufficed to have been funded, as stated in

[1] Vide concluding paragraph of observations.

[2] Vide Resolution 4. . . . . £30,174,360

[3] Vide Resolution 7. . . . . 9,168,230

[4] £21,006,130

[5] Total funded £584,874,557
Deduct 188,585,038 paid to Commissioners of Sinking Fund.

£396,289,519 Balance of Amount funded.
Add 33,289,300 Bills unfunded.

£429,578,819 applied as follows:

Viz. £291,229,779 for Interest and Charge on new Debt.
138,349,040 for excess of Expenditure. Vide 13th Resolution.

£429,578,819 Total increase, on account of the excess of Expenditure, of £138,349,040 in the 24 years.*

* Vide concluding observations.

the preceding Resolution; and supposing that amount to have been funded at the same rate as the 584,874,557*l.* instead of 21,006,130*l.* it would have created an annual charge of only 18,572,673*l.*, being 2,433,310*l.*[1] per annum less, and leaving the annual charge on the funded Debt for the year 1817, at only 27,437,542*l.*, instead of 29,870,852*l.*; as stated in the note to the 16th Resolution.

## No. XXXII.

That taking the charge for the Funded Debt as it stood on the 5th Jan. 1817, at 29,870,852*l.*,[2] the Revenue of the United Kingdom, derived from taxes, from the 5th Jan. 1817 to the 5th Jan. 1822, actually exceeded every expense of the State, (the charge for the Sinking Fund excepted) by the sum of 7,528,870*l.*;[3] but had the annual charge for the Funded Debt been only 27,437,542*l.*, as stated in the preceding Resolution, the excess of Revenue would have considerably exceeded 7,528,870*l.*; and had that excess been applied to the purchase of Stock, at the prices which have prevailed during these five years, and the Stock been cancelled as it was purchased, the total excess of Revenue in the five years would have amounted to about 21,000,000 of money, redeeming about 28,000,000 of 3 per cent. Capital, and thereby diminishing the charge by about 840,000*l.* per annum, and have left the charge for 1822, at only 26,386,320*l.*, instead of 30,015,786*l.*, as stated in the 25th Resolution; making an excess of annual charge, of no less than 3,629,466*l.*, in perpetuity, more than it would have been, if there had been no Sinking Fund.

## No. XXXIII.

That, as the price of all commodities is uniformly governed by the demand, if 360,000,000*l.* *only* had been borrowed instead of 584,000,000*l.*, it is fair to conclude, that the rate of interest at which the lesser amount might have been obtained, would have been considerably lower; and taking it only at the rate of one half per cent. lower, it would have made a difference of 1,800,000*l.* per annum, which, added to the 2,433,310*l.*, as stated in the 31st Resolution, amounts to 4,233,310*l.* per annum; and if taken at 3 qrs. per cent. lower, it would have made a difference of 5,133,310*l.*, equal to 171,110,333*l.* of 3 per cent. Capital, and consequently have left the annual charge for 1817, at only 24,737,542*l.*, instead of 29,870,852*l.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [1] £21,006,130 | by | £396,289,519 |
| 18,572,820 | by | 360,000,000 |
| £2,433,310 | | £36,289,519 |

[2] Vide note to 16th Resolution.
[3] Vide 17th Resolution.

## No. XXXIV.

That, if the annual charge of the Funded Debt is taken at 24,737,542*l.*, on the 5th Jan. 1817, as stated in the preceding Resolution, the excess of Revenue would have been still greater than stated in the 32d Resolution; and had that excess been applied to the purchase of Stock, at the prices which have prevailed during these five years, the total excess of Revenue would have amounted to about 33,000,000 of money, redeeming about 42,000,000 of 3 per cent. Capital, and thereby diminishing the charge by about 1,260,000*l.*[1] per annum, and leaving the total charge for 1822 at 23,266,320*l.*,[2] instead of 30,015,786*l.*,[3] as stated in the 25th Resolution, making an excess of annual charge in 1822 to the amount of 6,749,466*l.*, equal to 224,982,200*l.* of 3 per cent. Capital.

## No. XXXV.

That, as the total amount of Debt unredeemed on the 5th Jan. 1793, was only 239,350,148*l.*, at an annual charge of 9,203,977*l.*, as stated in the 1st Resolution, from which reductions have taken place between that date and the 5th Jan. 1822, to the amount of 35,227,109*l.* of Capital, and 1,524,333*l.* of annual charge, as stated in the 9th and 25th Resolutions; whereby the Debt on the 5th Jan. 1822, had the 138,349,040*l.*,[4] as stated in the 15th Resolution, been raised by taxes between the 5th Jan. 1793 and the 5th Jan. 1817, would have been only 204,129,039*l.*, at an annual charge of 7,679,641*l.*, as far as regards Great Britain; and adding the 28,739,869*l.* amount of Capital, and 1,323,175*l.* of annual charge thereon, incurred by Ireland, previous to the union of the two Exchequers, on the 5th Jan. 1817, and brought into the general account on that date, as stated in the 16th Resolution, the total amount of Debt for the United Kingdom on the 5th Jan. 1822, would have been 232,862,908*l.*, at an annual charge of 9,003,416*l.*, instead of its being 795,312,767*l.* of Funded Debt, at an annual charge of 30,015,786*l.*, as stated in the 25th Resolution, and of unfunded to the amount of about 41,000,000*l.*, as stated in the 26th Resolution, at an annual charge of about 1,300,000*l.*; making the aggregate of Debt 836,312,767*l.* and the aggregate annual charge 31,315,786*l.* being an increase of capital of 603,449,859*l.* and 22,312,370*l.* of annual charge; whereby it is conclusive that notwithstanding

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [1] From . . . . . | | £24,737,542 |
| Deduct . . . . . | £1,260,000 | |
| as per note 1st Resolution 25 | 211,222 | 1,471,222 |
| Leaving Charge for 1822 [2] . . . . . | | £23,266,320 |
| Instead of . . . . . | | [3] 30,015,786 |

[4] Vide concluding observations.

270,543,895*l.* is stated to have been applied towards the reduction of the National Debt, between the 5th Jan. 1793 and the 5th Jan. 1822, not only has no reduction been effected therein, but on the contrary, it has actually been increased to the amount above stated, of 603,449,859*l.* at an annual charge of 22,312,370*l.*; hereby demonstrating that the Sinking Fund system was founded in fallacy, and has been maintained by delusion.

## No. XXXVI.

That, whether the Financial System of the Country be regarded, in reference to the increased burthen of 1,144,387*l.* per annum, occasioned by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, in merely purchasing Stock on worse terms than at which it was created, as stated in the 24th Resolution; or in reference to that of 6,749,466*l.*, occasioned by the extension and complication of the accounts, in consequence of the existence of the Sinking Fund system, as stated in the 34th Resolution; or in reference to the increased burthen of 22,312,370*l.* per annum, which has been inflicted on the public since 1816, and to continue in perpetuity by not having raised about 138,000,000*l.*[1] of additional taxes, in the 24 years, from the 5th Jan. 1793 to the 5th Jan. 1817, and which occasioned taxation in 1821, to upwards of 60,000,000*l.*, whilst about 33,000,000*l.* only would have sufficed, as previously shown in the 15th Resolution; either case sufficiently shows that the Financial System of the Country is founded on erroneous principles, portending consequences as ruinous and fatal as the Sinking Fund system is demonstrated to be fallacious and delusive.

## No. XXXVII.

That, on taking a prospective view of the result of a Sinking Fund; if 5,000,000*l.* per annum are applied for 10 years, in the purchase of Stock, at the rate of 81*l.* money for every 100*l.* of 3 per cent. Capital, cancelling the Stock as it is purchased, it will afford an annual remission of taxation to the amount of 185,185*l.*, and it will redeem in 10 years 61,728,320*l.* of 3 per cent. Capital, (as stated in Parliamentary Paper No. 151 of 1822) the dividends on which will be 1,851,851*l.*, affording an aggregate remission of taxation annually to that amount, at the expiration of 10 years, effected at the aggregate expense of 50,000,000*l.* of taxes;—but, if 5,000,000*l.* per annum are employed as a Sinking Fund for 10 years, in the purchase of Stock at the rate of 81*l.* money for every 100*l.* of 3 per cent. Capital, with the dividends accruing thereon, the aggregate sums will purchase in that time 73,101,437*l.* of 3 per cents. (as stated in the Parliamentary Paper before referred to)

[1] Vide concluding observations.

the dividends on which will be 2,193,043*l.*, affording at the expiration of that time a remission of taxation to that amount, but no relief whatever in the interval of the 10 years, effected at the aggregate expense of 59,212,164*l.* of taxes.

## No. XXXVIII.

That by the preceding Resolution, it is seen, that under the operation of a Sinking Fund of 5,000,000*l.* per annum, at Compound Interest, no relief whatever from taxation will be afforded to the Country for 10 years; and without any guarantee that the exaction of so great an amount of taxes may not, under the present difficulties of the Country, occasion an increase of distress and pauperism more than equivalent to any advantages that can arise from the remission of 2,193,043*l.* of taxes per annum, at the expiration of that period:—whilst the immediate remission of taxes, to the amount of 5,000,000*l.* per annum, will afford a most important and essential relief from those burthens, which at present press so heavily on the industry of the Country.

---

The Parliamentary copy of the Resolutions contains the following literal errors and omission.—Viz. Resolution 9. Life and other terminable annuities, created prior to the 5th of January, 1793, had fallen in, expired or remained unclaimed for *thirty* years and upwards—should be *three* years. This error also exists in the votes and proceedings of the House.

Resolution 24. About the middle, the word *fund* after Sinking is omitted.

Resolution 35. About the middle.—The total amount of debt for the United Kingdom on the *5th January*, 1817, would have been 232,862,908*l.*,—should be *5th January*, 1822.—This error is corrected in the Votes.

Resolution 37. Near the bottom.—Effected at the aggregate expense of 52,193,043*l.* of taxes—should be 59,212,164*l.* This error is also corrected in the Votes.

Note also, that the 37th Resolution is susceptible of a twofold construction, viz. Instead of saying, as in the first instance, that 5,000,000*l.* per annum, applied as there stated, would afford at the expiration of 10 years a reduction of taxes to the amount of 1,851,851*l.* per annum, effected at the aggregate expense of 50 millions of taxes—as the operation would admit of a reduction to the amount of 185,185*l.* the first year, progressively increasing up to 1,851,851*l.* the 10th year, making a total reduction during the 10 years of 8,333,333*l.* (the calculation being made annually, and not half-yearly)—it may be said, that the whole operation would be effected at an aggregate expense of only 41,666,666*l.* of taxes, instead of 50,000,000*l.*; and in the other instance it may be said, on the same principle, that the reduction of 2,193,403*l.* per annum at the expiration of 10 years, would be effected

at the aggregate expense of only 50 millions of taxes, instead of 59,212,164*l.*: So it would; but then, if the interest on the amount collected in taxes to effect either operation be taken into account at 5 per cent. per annum only, (and it is worth double or treble that rate, left with the people for application,) both positions lead to the same conclusion.

In the Resolutions, as well as in the Votes of the House, the 27th Resolution is without the conclusion here printed in italics. At the time they were printed, however, to an advanced period of the session, as well as the difficulty in obtaining the particulars how some of the loans were paid in, it was not possible to complete that part of the calculations; but it has since been ascertained to amount to the sum here stated: viz. about 15,000,000*l.*; independent too of the premiums on the Omnium, which, with the exception of two or three loans, was considerable, and may be fairly stated to amount in the aggregate to 12 or 15 millions more, as a bonus to the contractors and original subscribers.—No wonder that the war had its advocates, and the country its loyalists!

The most important feature of the whole illustration, however, remains yet to be developed. On reference to Resolutions 13, 15, 28, note to 31, and Resolutions 35 and 36, it will be seen, that the calculations as to the result of the operations of the Sinking Fund are founded on the presumption of the expenditure for the 24 years, from the 5th January 1793 to the 5th January 1817, having been 1,304,913,074*l.*, and the excess of expenditure over income derived from taxes having been 138,349,040*l.*:—With the view of explaining the grounds on which this result was obtained, it is necessary to state that prior to the year 1797, no authentic accounts of either Income or Expenditure were published: in that year a Committee of Members of Parliament was appointed to investigate the public accounts, and prescribe a form by which a circumstantial and detailed account should be published annually: consequently, for the years 1798 and 1799 an account was presented to Parliament, and ordered to be printed. Though they seem not to have been distributed (as is usual at the present time) to the Members, the accounts, however, such as they are, exist in the Journals Office of the House of Commons; and since that period, commencing with the year 1800, an account has annually been presented to Parliament, of both Income and Expenditure, from which documents the amounts in the Resolutions have been taken. But as no account existed of the Income and Expenditure for the first four years of the war, viz. 1793, 4, 5, and 6, and from replies to repeated applications to obtain the accounts, it was deemed unlikely ever to obtain any; especially as a return made to Parliament, 19th June, 1815, (Parliamentary Paper No. 412) states, that "previously to the year 1798, the public accounts were not made out, or laid before Parliament, in such a collected form as to show the amount of payments made out of the Exchequer receipts;" and proceeds to state, "that such accounts could only be made up by the several departments in England and Scotland, after much investigation and labor;"—under such circumstances, for the purpose of founding the calculation, it was necessary to hypothecate the amount of Expenditure for those 4 years, at some given sum; and to avoid the possibility of impugnment for assuming an amount merely to make out a case unfavorable to Mr. Pitt's talents as a statesman, it was resolved to go to an extreme point, and the expenditure of those four years was consequently assumed at 150,000,000*l.*; but since the Resolutions were printed, a circumstantial and detailed account of both Income and Expenditure for those four years has been obtained from the Treasury, by which the Expenditure appears not to have amounted to 130, instead of 150 millions, reducing the excess of Expenditure over Income in the 24 years, below 120, instead of 138 millions. Such

being the case it necessarily alters every part of the Resolutions, which deduce conclusions from the data laid down in the 15th Resolution, and alters those conclusions to a degree very far exceeding the simple arithmetical proportion between 138 and 120. But as circumstances have not afforded an opportunity to ascertain the correct result, and as the subject is again likely forthwith to engage the attention of Parliament, and the Resolutions as originally submitted to its notice been deemed sufficient for the purpose for which they were drawn up, viz. that of unequivocally and incontrovertibly proving the fallacy and delusion of the Sinking Fund System, and the urgent and imperious necessity for its immediate abolition, both in effect and name, the Resolutions in their original form are here again submitted to the sober judgment of the intellectual portion of the British Community.

A conclusion so positive as here drawn, on the face of so many concurrent expressions of approbation in favor of the Sinking Fund System, and in the very teeth of its adoption, and present practical operation in almost every State in Europe, may seem an act of bold presumption; as far however as England is concerned in the question, the Resolutions herewith preclude the necessity of any modification of the conclusion. And although the principle on which the Sinking Fund System of England is formed, under certain circumstances, might be desirable in adoption and correct in practice; it will on that sort of investigation, which all subjects having connection with other subjects require, be found to lead to different results, according to the extent and bearing of the other parts of the Financial System with which it is operating. As a mere point of abstract calculation, it is not intended to deny, but that any given sum, at a given rate of interest, either simple or compound, at any given time, will accumulate to a sum easily to be ascertained; but that is not the question which concerns the people of England: the question which concerns them is,—whether the Sinking Fund System, as proposed to Parliament by Mr. Pitt on the 29th March, 1786, and adopted on that date, was, or was not founded in reason and common sense; and how far its operation for 36 years has been beneficial or prejudicial to the best interests of the country; and above all, how far such a System is applicable to the present day, to existing circumstances, and the peculiar and unprecedented position in which the extraordinary events of the last 30 years have placed her.

Mr. Pitt, on the date above mentioned, stated to Parliament, "That the *plan* which he had then the honor to bring forward for the purpose of paying off the National Debt, he was proud to flatter himself would entitle his name to be inscribed upon that firm monument he was about to raise *to national faith, and national prosperity!*"—Let his pride be gratified with the inscription; the enemies to his name, if there be any, need not wish any other chronicle, and his friends surely cannot refuse it; and as an accompanying tribute to the talents of his faithful followers and disciples of the present day, let the contract for the building of the *barracks* in the Regent's Park be inscribed also.

It was intended to have exhibited herewith a statement in detail, illustrative of the 30th Resolution; but from its magnitude, and the nature of its construction, it proved impracticable to introduce it.

The statement however may be had at Mr. Miller's, 69, Fleet Street, "exhibiting the amount of money raised by *funding* in Great Britain, in each year since 1792, with the amount of nominal capital created thereby, and the amount which has actually been charged for Interest on the portion unredeemed; also the excess or diminution of the issue of Exchequer Bills with-

in each year, and the total amount outstanding at the end of each year, with the amount annually charged for interest on the same; amount of income derived from taxes within each year, and the amount of Expenditure, exclusive of the charge on the money raised by funding, or the Expenditure as it would have been had the total supply been raised by taxes within each year: Col. No. 9, showing the additional amount of taxes requisite to have been raised under such circumstances, and a further statement, showing what sum would have sufficed to have been funded had no Sinking Fund System existed," &c. &c. &c.

# SKETCH

OF

## A SIMPLE, ORIGINAL, AND PRACTICAL

# PLAN,

FOR

## SUPPRESSING MENDICITY,

ABOLISHING THE PRESENT SYSTEM

OF

## PAROCHIAL TAXATION,

AND

AMELIORATING THE CONDITION

OF

## THE LOWER CLASSES OF SOCIETY.

---

"PHILOSOPHY holds her heavenly light
To Senates and to Kings, to guide their Councils,
And teach them to *reform* and *bless* MANKIND."

---

LONDON:

1823.

# SKETCH OF A PLAN,

*&c. &c.*

To the enlightened philanthropist it is unnecessary to dilate on those principles of action by which man is influenced and governed; he knows that the machine of civil society is kept in perpetual motion by the operation of the grand influential principle of selfishness, under its various modifications, refined or abased, by predisposing principles established in the mind. He traces its operation in the higher and lower walks of life, and discerns its effects alike in the natural, the moral, and the political world. The profound statesman appropriates his knowledge of human nature not only to the good of his country, but to the whole mass of congregated man. To his country he feels he owes his talents, his time, and his fortune:—to the unfortunate, the active exertions of benevolence; and to the human race unitedly, his good will.

To such individuals the following pages are addressed, and the proposed Plan submitted with the deference due to enlightened judgment and superior talents.

Society consists of gradations, and there can be no society without diversity of rank, talents, fortune, mental attainments, and personal qualifications.

The social contact does not preclude this diversity, but renders its moral existence more conspicuous by pointing out the various gradations more ostensibly than where such contact does not so obviously exist; or rather, than where government has not assumed the rank and dignity of a moral science.

The science of politics is founded on the nature of man; and the means of promoting the *ne plus ultra* of human happiness is its important and influential basis.

To the mind of sensibility and refinement no subject can be more fraught with pain than the condition of thousands of the human race, groaning under the pressure of want and misery, and

enduring the deprivations of penury in a land of plenty and opulence. To mitigate the sufferings necessarily attendant on that state of civilisation from which poverty results, is a duty connected with the cultivation and refinement produced by civilisation: to cure a radical evil, or rather a necessary consequence attendant on the present state of society, is impossible; but there are means by which even necessary suffering may be diminished, and to have recourse to these is surely the characteristic of superior intelligence.

To promote the greatest possible sum of human happiness, with the least possible portion of attendant evil, is an object worthy the attention of the enlightened philosopher and benevolent patriot. Should the suggested Plan be considered deserving the attention of such characters, the writer's aim will be fully accomplished, and the study and reflection of years be amply recompensed.

That the aggregate of evil produced by the present system of parochial taxation preponderates over the good, is a fact which observation and experience incontestably establish. To ameliorate the sufferings of afflicted humanity—to chase the tear from the eye of the fatherless, and calm the agitations of the widow's sorrows, when helpless, friendless, and destitute, they are cast on a pityless world, a prey to anguish, suffering, and want, is surely an indispensable duty of the Christian legislator; but to burden the active and industrious members of a community with the support of the idle and licentious—to take the hard-earned produce of labor, to maintain those whose self-abasement has destroyed the moral independence of the mind, is not the means of benefiting individuals, or effecting the general good of society.

To obviate some of the innumerable evils which result from the dependance of one class of society upon another, to afford employment to the indigent and industrious, to support the aged, to instruct the young, and give to the necessitous that energy and moral independence which is the soul of virtue, is the object of the following pages.

The evils which result from the existing system of parochial taxation have been so ably discussed, particularly by Mr. W. D. Bailey[1] of the Inner Temple, that to descant on them here is unnecessary. To suggest means for their redress, which are not only tangible in theory, but capable of exemplification by practice, either extensively or limitedly, and calculated to produce a considerable accession to the sum of individual happiness and the general good of society, is surely a subject the utility and importance of which must mitigate censure, if not insure indulgence.

In every county there is more or less uncultivated land, or land

[1] See a pamphlet on the Poor Laws, by W. D. Bailey, Esq.

not appropriated to agricultural purposes. It is suggested that such, or any other portion of land, be appropriated in every county for the general reception, support, and occupation of *all* the poor of the county.

That in every county an association should be formed of the benevolent and patriotic gentlemen of the county.

That money should be subscribed, or advanced, for the formation of a fund for the purposes of the said association.

That in every county three hundred acres, or any other portion of land, should be appropriated for the purpose of erecting suitable tenements for the reception of *all* the poor of the county.

That a church, school houses, manufactories, and a hospital for the sick, should be erected in the middle of the spot selected for the purpose, surrounded with cottages for the reception of the poor, and to each cottage should be annexed garden-ground sufficient to supply the family with potatoes and vegetables.

That at the commencement of the establishment of county associations, the poor be employed, first in erecting the cottages, afterwards the manufactories, &c. &c. That food and raiment be provided, and little or no wages given until the completion of the habitations, &c. &c.

That meal, milk, and soup be provided and distributed by the association.

That the children be employed part of the day in occupations suited to their strength and years, and the other part in receiving instruction.

That every able housekeeper and landholder in the county contribute a suitable sum, in money, or value in useful commodities, for the establishment and support of the county association in lieu of parochial rates.

That these rates be diminished or abolished as soon as the association shall be able to support itself; which it is conjectured it might do in about three years from the establishment of the association.

That care should be taken to preserve the strictest harmony and peace, and promote industry and general good conduct, amongst the individuals received by the association.

That the good effects of the establishment of such associations would be most beneficial to England, is obvious from the following considerations:—

First, they would be effectual in abolishing the existing evils attending the present system of parochial laws.

That instead of several places of reception for the poor in a county, and their being transferred from parish to parish, one general place of concentration would unite the whole.

That by employment being provided for *all* the indigent, mendicity would be effectually repressed.

That by the suppression of idleness, vice and folly would be diminished, and by the preservation of the mental and moral independence of the poor, aided by proper instruction, virtue and happiness would necessarily increase, and the sum of vice and misery be proportionably diminished.

That as labor is money, by the reservation of part of the labor of the poor, the expenses of the association, after its proper establishment, might by degrees be defrayed, or interest afforded for the money advanced by the BENEVOLENT PATRIOTS, who, effectually to relieve their country from its present distress, promoted the institution of COUNTY ASSOCIATIONS.

---

## OBJECTIONS.

1. IT may be objected to the suggested Plan, that a suitable spot could not be selected in many counties.

2. That the concentration of so many of the lower class of society in one particular spot, might be productive of evil, by the probable insubordination that might ensue from a greater body of men to a lesser one.

3. That it would be impossible to raise money for establishing such associations; or, if established, to effect their permanent and continual support.

4. That such associations, if established, might not be effectual in suppressing mendicity; and that the expense attending their support, when instituted, would be equal to that which is incurred by the present system of parochial taxation.

5. That from the agricultural distress of the country, it would be impolitic to increase the number of agricultural laborers; and that a market could not be easily found for manufactured commodities;—or, if found, might injure the sale of articles manufactured at private manufactories.

6. That the Plan suggested is founded on that of Mr. Owen; or is a mere chimera, that could not be reduced to practice.

7. That if practicable, the good supposed likely to result might not accrue, either from the indolence, the insubordination, or vicious propensities, of the people; or the inattention or want of energy of the proprietors, directors, or overseers.

8. That every county does not possess a sufficient number of enlightened public-spirited and patriotic persons, willing to promote the establishment of such associations.

## OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

1. To the first of these objections I reply, that government might appropriate, or the association be authorised to purchase, any such portion of land in every county as should be considered suitable to the purpose; and that as the good of the whole is the grand object of legislation, the minor interest of individuals should be subservient to the promotion of so desirable an end. That individuals possessing or holding land suitable to the purposes of the association, should have ample compensation made them for the purchase or use of the land so appropriated.

2. That the evils likely to result from the concentration of so many of the lower orders of society to one particular spot might be prevented or obviated by wise and suitable regulations:—By attention on the part of the overseers and directors to the promotion of their comfort and moral improvement; by the proper instruction of the people, and by the irresistible power of superior and enlightened intellect.

3. That it would be impossible to raise money for establishing such associations: or if established, to effect their support. This objection may be obviated by considering the vast sums subscribed for the service of the poor of other countries, without any expectation of return: whereas, by subscribing for the establishment of such associations, interest, in time, might be afforded for the money so advanced and appropriated; and the philanthropic patriot who had not the means of advancing money, might equally benefit the institution by presenting to the association materials for the erection of the habitations, manufactories, &c. or articles of food, or accommodation for the inhabitants. That 'as labor is the basis upon which all property exists,' the produce of labor must be money; and this produce being augmentative in nearly a geometrical ratio, must in time increase sufficiently at least to afford adequate interest for the money so advanced.

4. That such associations, if established, might not be effectual in suppressing mendicity, and that the expense attending their support would be equal to that which is incurred by the present system of parochial taxation. The suppression of mendicity is an object desirable in every legislation: that this object has never been effected is no proof that mendicity in civil society is incapable of suppression:[1] we have seen its extinction amongst sectaries whose social government is under wise and prudent regulations, as

[1] See the 3d Volume of the Politician's Creed, on the Establishment for the Poor at Munich.

amongst the Quakers. The moral good that can exist in a smaller, is certainly capable of existing in a greater degree, if equally influential measures are adopted. Vast sums are annually collected from parochial taxation, and subscriptions to benevolent institutions, for the support of the poor; but amongst the money raised expressly for their use, how little is exclusively appropriated to the sole purpose of providing for the poor:—parish officers, vestry clerks, vestry feasts, wine purchased for *economy* by the pipe, paupers transferred from parish to parish, &c. &c. consume large portions of the money so collected; and if the poor of a nation collectively are to be supported, their maintenance in the interior of a county, where, besides their present means of occupation, they may labor at agriculture, or in manufactories established to afford them employment, is not likely to be attended with greater expense, than from the present system; and how much moral evil might be prevented by indigent youths of both sexes being assured of finding employment adequate to their maintenance, on the spot appropriated in their own county to the reception, support, and employment of the unoccupied poor.

5. That from the agricultural distress of the country, it would be impolitic to increase the number of agricultural laborers; and that a market could not be easily found for manufactured commodities; or if found, might injure the sale of articles manufactured at private manufactories. From the present depressed state of the agricultural interest, this objection is of considerable import: but agriculture has ever been the source of wealth, and in the nature of things must constitute the solid and important basis of political revenue. The interest of commerce is connected with, and indeed greatly dependant on, agriculture.

By the adoption of the suggested Plan, the number of laborers could not consistently be said to be increased—not one additional member would be added to society – the number of needy poor would not be augmented: on the contrary, as labor is wealth, and numbers the grand source of the wealth and power of a nation, by the wise appropriation of the labor of the poor, additional wealth must accrue to the mass of society unitedly, either by the accumulation of commodities, the increase of property conjointly considered, or by the extension of the means of commerce.

The second clause of the objection, that a market could not be easily procured for articles so manufactured, is of equal weight with the former; but it is an incontrovertible axiom that what has been done may be done, and as a market has hitherto been found for manufactured commodities, it is but reasonable to infer that it would still be found, and the association might fit up vessels to

convey their articles to regions where there was the greatest probability of a ready sale: and as every individual belonging to a community is entitled to the protection of government, it is not just that any set of people should monopolise to themselves, exclusively, advantages to which the whole are equally entitled.

6. That the Plan suggested is formed upon that of Mr. Owen, or is a mere chimera that could not be reduced to practice. The Plan suggested may certainly be considered as emanating from Mr. Owen's, since the perusal of his publications first excited the writer's attention to the subject: but it is different *in toto*, both in its principles and practical results. Mr. Owen's establishment, which has been visited by the author of this pamphlet, is excellent in its kind, and the inhabitants unquestionably enjoy a greater portion of comfort and happiness than is enjoyed collectively by the individuals employed in any other manufactory. But the system is too mechanical to meet the views of the enlightened philanthropist, who considers society as a whole, whose moral improvement must be progressive, and whose subsequent good, collectively, as well as individually, depends on the degree of moral perfection attained. The actions of men should result from moral impulses, and not from mechanical causes: virtue without liberty and moral independence, cannot exist. The Plan suggested does not render men machines incapable of liberty or choice, but is only intended to supply them with the means of occupation, and to enable them to provide for themselves and families in an honorable independent manner, without enduring the degradation of being supported by the labor of their fellow-creatures. When we reflect on the good that has been frequently produced by the exertions of one benevolent character, how much, in the aggregate, might not the exertions of many philanthropists effect!

The practicability of this Plan must be obvious to all who pay the slightest attention to the subject. Suppose a gentleman of large property in any county should give fifty, an hundred, or any number, of acres of ill-appropriated land, to the poor in his neighbourhood; he first employs them in excavating stones, felling timber, and erecting habitations; then in constructing workshops and manufactories, where, when they have no other means of occupation, he takes care that they shall be provided with sufficient employment; afterwards he turns the produce of their labor into money, and in time re-imburses himself for the capital he has expended, in maintaining the people, and providing them with necessaries, at the commencement of the undertaking. Or if he does not actually re-imburse himself, he obtains at least interest for his money, and enjoys the sweet satisfaction of rescuing his fellow-creatures, to the utmost of his ability, from want, and its too generally attend-

ant vice and misery. The same plan pursued on a larger scale, would constitute the foundation of a County Association.

7. That if the suggested plan be practicable, the good supposed likely to result might not accrue, either from the indolence, the insubordination, or vicious propensities of the people; or the inattention, and want of energy, of the proprietors, directors, or overseers.

That this objection is of considerable weight the writer is ready to admit, but by no means of importance sufficient to authorise the rejection of the Plan. Knowledge is always power; and a knowledge of man is requisite to his proper government, either in greater or smaller states or societies. Man, considered collectively, is governed by the same principles that influence him individually; and in a country where the axioms of government are applied to the regulation of a great body of men, there can surely be no difficulty in instituting those wise and salutary regulations that would promote the good and welfare of a comparatively small and subordinate body of people.

We shall treat of the indolence and vicious propensities of the lower orders in the conclusion of this work; but in a patriotic and benevolent country, like England, surely little difficulty could be found in procuring in every county, a sufficient number of enlightened philanthropists to superintend the regulations of COUNTY ASSOCIATIONS.

8. This observation may be applicable to the last objection—that every county does not possess a sufficient number of enlightened public-spirited and patriotic persons willing to promote the establishment of such societies. In a country where Christianity extends its genuine influence, where literature, adorned by the improvements of science, and graced with intellect and genius, sits resplendent on the throne of reason; where man attains perhaps a higher zenith in moral and intellectual perfection, than in any other country, can such an objection be made? Or if made, shall it be unanswered by the attestation of experience, and the annals of observation? Shall it be said, that in England, a country preeminent in literature, art, and science, where liberty extends her wings, and guided by the torch of truth, enrols the children of intellect under the banners of reason, shall it be said, that patriotism unguided by discrimination, is incapable of redressing those evils that observation attests, charity pities, and benevolence sighs to relieve? Shall religion diffuse the beams of blessedness to distant regions, and refuse to extend the fostering hand of moral and mental culture to the children of ignorance, the offspring of poverty? Arise, patriots of England! examine, investigate, and judge for yourselves: say, does the present system impart to your suffering

fellow-creatures that moral independence which is the germ of virtue; if it does, cherish it as the means of imparting to your rational brethren the dignity of their intellectual nature, the zenith of their moral existence? If not, reject a system debasing to man, degrading to his rational independence, and subservient only to the promotion of idleness, dependance and mental abasement; and adopt one whose basis shall be the moral improvement of man, whose adaptation is conformable to the laws of his nature, the principles of Christianity, and the good of society.

---

## CONCLUSION.

The adaptation of law to the nature and moral constitution of man, is the only solid basis on which it can securely rest: without this adaptation, as its grand fundamental principle, it must be varying as the nature of things, and fluctuating as the exigencies of external circumstances. But when the laws of moral policy are founded on this impregnable basis, their durability is lasting as the foundation on which it rests: the nature of man is invariably the same, in every country and under every government, he considers pleasure as his greatest good, and pain as his greatest evil; he is satisfied with the negative pleasure that the absence of pain imparts, but in no instance will long sustain the infliction of suffering, when he has the power to mitigate its intensity, or lessen its durability; that a government superior to that under which we enjoy the rights of social, and civil liberty, is incapable of emanating from the united wisdom of the most enlightened statesmen, is a fact, which observation attests and experience demonstrates; but that man in his moral cultivation, and government in its most infallible axioms, has not attained the degree of perfection of which they are capable, is likewise a fact which cannot be controverted. To promote the moral improvement of man, religion lends her aid, government, sanctions its efforts, and reason attests the benignity of its influence; and shall government unaided by any divine revelation, be considered so infallible as to be incapable of improvement? In the nineteenth century such a supposition is impossible; man is too enlightened to admit as a fact, any axiom that is not capable of demonstration: the subject reverts to this simple question—Are the poor laws as they now exist, capable of improvement, or have they attained from the wisdom and experience of ages, acknowledgment of their infallibility and incapability of further improvement? if so the subject proposed for consideration in these pages is useless; but if the mechanic, groaning

under the pressure of additional labor, sighs, as he reflects that his children are deprived of comforts, perhaps of necessaries to support a body of people, equally as capable of labor as himself, and what he considers as a still greater grievance, that he who is incapable of indulging in any luxuries and superfluities, shall toil to supply parochial fêtes with viands too delicate for his own consumption; if his goods are distrained to pay those parochial rates, which his labor is unable to effect, and he and his family are unwillingly compelled to have recourse themselves to parochial aid, to relieve those sufferings eventually, which they have occasioned originally;—If these are evils deserving attention, and capable of redress, the suggested plan is certainly entitled to some consideration, as an efficient means of at once relieving the necessitous, supporting the aged and infirm, employing the healthy, instructing the ignorant, and educating the young. It may be objected that the love of idleness in the lower classes is so prevalent, that few amongst them comparatively speaking, would willingly labor, unless compelled, when they were provided by the bounty and benevolence of others, with all the comforts, conveniences and necessaries of life. To this it may be answered, in the words of scripture, that 'he who will not work, shall not eat:' appropriate rewards should be given, and regulations instituted, calculated to encourage industry, morality, and general good conduct; the cultivation of the social virtues should be particularly attended to; the genuine doctrines of christianity be taught in all their sublime and elevating purity; and the ennobling spirit of true religion, irradiated by the beams of science, diffuse around peace, happiness, and contentment. Oh! ye who, placed at the helm of affairs, have the future destiny of man under your control, remember that the present governs the future, that the good imparted to the present generation, must extend its beneficial effects to futurity; that man is an improveable being, capable of obtaining even upon earth, an elevated station in the moral and intellectual world: lend your aid, ye governors of the land, diffuse the blessings of moral independence and mental elevation to the children of penury, debasement, and servile degradation; remember that as mental independence is the characteristic of superior intellect, so moral independence is the foundation of social virtue: beware how ye nip the germ from whence the fair fruit of virtue, and its attendants, peace and happiness, must spring. Let the seeds ye sow in the nineteenth century germinate in the well-being of posterity, in the suppression of vice, and the diffusion of social order, industry, and plenty: elevate the standard of man, raise your suffering fellow-creatures to the moral elevation of their nature; suffer not a species of slavery to exist in England which ye nobly repel in distant realms; become the benefactors of your

species, the promoters of religion, of happiness, and virtue. Let succeeding ages record, that to the present patriots of England they are indebted for the happiness which springs from moral and mental culture, from useful occupation, and its attendants, comfort and plenty.

If the suggested Plan be considered worthy attention, the emanations of superior intellect will easily improve upon the hints which have been respectfully given to the advancement of human felicity, the suppression of mendicity, the promotion of the moral independence of the poor, the diffusion of general well-being, and the extension of individual, and consequently of national, prosperity and happiness.

'Philosophy extends her heavenly wings,
And soars to bless the moral creature Man;
Views nations rise to excellence and bliss,
From one pure germ of genuine PATRIOTIC ZEAL!'

A

# LETTER

TO THE RIGHT HON.

## GEORGE CANNING, M. P.

&c. &c. &c.

ON THE

## POLICY OF RECOGNISING

THE

## INDEPENDENCE

OF THE

## SOUTH AMERICAN STATES.

---

BY JOHN LOWE,

AUTHOR OF LETTERS TO THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY
AND SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.

---

LONDON:

1823.

A

# LETTER,

*&c. &c.*

---

Sir, It is one of the privileges of Englishmen freely to address men in office when they have grievances to state, or when they conceive errors to exist, which affect the interests of their country. I address you, Sir, therefore, with the assurance that you are ever anxious to attend to the interests of the commercial community, which, from your long intimacy with them, you, perhaps, more than many others, understand.

My objects are to press upon you the importance of acknowledging, without delay, the independence of the S. American States, in order that we may derive our full share of the benefits of their progressive improvement; and to show you that our commerce with Europe is so circumscribed, that we cannot defer, without serious prejudice, a measure which would not only insure its existence, but its increase.

It would be unnecessary to attempt to show, that prosperity in any class of society must produce a corresponding state in the other classes. It is with nations as with individuals; wealth must create demand, and this will produce industry: where this is not the case, errors must manifestly exist in the system, and all will retrograde, if all attempt to live in independence. Indigence, misery, and despair, will be the inevitable consequences; and ignorance and demoralisation will supplant freedom, until the quiet pursuits of life shall be disturbed by the inroads of tyranny or arbitrary power. Former ages exemplify this truth; but, if we want any further proof, we shall find it in those countries where the arts and religion are not known beyond the providing for existence

by the chase, or the intuitive perceptions of a future state; or, where the first advances to knowledge have generated bigotry and superstition. The characteristic feeling of commerce is a love of gain; and it is that principle which leads to bold enterprise and action. It has done more to civilise the world than all the efforts of men, who, from religious zeal, have penetrated the regions of barbarity, and traversed the lands of the Brahmin and the Turk, to plant the standard of the cross, at the peril of their existence. The science of commerce administers universally to our wants; and there is, in truth, no object in the policy of states, whether for ambition, power, or aggrandisement, which does not involve measures to influence it by improvement, or the contrary. The arts can only progress with freedom of commerce; they have a tendency to preserve, if not produce, a free government, and cannot permanently prosper under a bad one.

With Englishmen the question of trade involves considerations of such magnitude, that we enter on it with those feelings which men must have when they are considering of their means of existence; *for England cannot exist in prosperity without commerce, much less support the burdens which press on her, and which form the legacies of those wars which are only just terminated.*

One of the motives which was powerfully set forth during the late contentions, to excite this country patiently to bear the sacrifices it made, was to subvert a power whose professed object was to destroy our trade and rob us of existence as a nation. The inroads made on the peace and tranquillity of other nations, disturbed all those pursuits which contributed to the happiness of individuals; and nations submitted to a disgraceful yoke, until it became so galling as to excite a spirit, which seemed, until then, to lie dormant. England alone, at one period, maintained her station, when all around seemed to fall into a chaos of disorder, confusion, and tyranny. The sons of Britain bled profusely in the cause, and shed a lustre over the annals of England, not to be tarnished by envy, nor sullied by detraction. When peace was proclaimed, we were intoxicated with joy, and our ideas centred in the gratifying prospect of harmony and good-fellowship: we hoped that, as we had been fighting for the same cause, we should, at least, remove the evils which an unnatural war had inflicted on us. *These hopes have ended in disappointment;* and although promises were made, by continental governments to their people, the system now pursued contains only this difference from that of Bonaparte, that he professed to reign arbitrarily, and the present governors add to the same system all the bitterness of disappointment and broken faith. In Prussia, a constitution was distinctly promised to the people. Lately, when a king and a people entered into mutual

and sacred conventions, with tranquillity and apparent good-faith, each seeming to rejoice that laws are enacted to secure the due liberties of the other, armies are poured down on them from the north, and a synod of emperors and kings is held to direct the weak mortals whom they govern, and to prevent their minds from wandering into the mazes of forbidden knowledge.

This is precisely the tyranny of Bonaparte, with more form, and, like it, it must and will have an end. If the war was continued with a view to any public good, what has occurred in peace to lessen the evils which it professed to remedy? And can that, in commerce, be called public good which would place nations, like the stars in the hemisphere, existing, but having no communication with one another? England cannot, surely, be a party to an alliance for so unhallowed a purpose, so completely at variance with all our notions, the spirit of our government, and all that we consider necessary to our happiness. Enjoying as we do the benefit of equal laws, jealous as we are of unrestrained power, and, I may add, successful as we are in establishing a sense of mutual right, without impairing the dignity of the aristocracy, we are, in this country, too apt to measure the justice of these complaints abroad by what it would be in England. Even the high party of this country, knowing by experience, the laws and their administration in foreign states, would shrink at the simple notion of being a link in a chain forged to subvert every rising spirit which would demand, without violence, a participation in social rights. The despotic ideas which govern the continent induce governments to look on Englishmen, when amongst them, as dangerous to their policy; and the liberal productions in this country, calculated to enlighten the mind, correct the feeling, and give value to our political existence, are condemned as violent and seditious. The free expression of thought which we enjoy, would be considered, by them, without more licentiousness than we have in the use of it, as the shield of treachery and insubordination.

Englishmen may differ in shades of opinion, but all are unanimous in one strong wish,—that men should be protected in the fair exercise of the only privilege which can give life value, and sweeten existence by a due share of liberty. Our aristocracy is not the less respected, or is its dignity diminished, by being forced to sustain a comparison with the lower orders; and the homage we pay to it arises from a pure respect for rank mingled with all our rights, and adding to its lustre, by intelligence, talent, and common feeling. Do you feel, Sir, that, because you are the Minister of such a people, your office is less honorable than if you were the instrument of arbitrary power? Do you not, on the contrary, feel, that *a*

*dependence on public opinion gives to it a splendor which it would otherwise not have?* The freedom of our institutions is a positive good, and it would be palpably inconsistent in us to be one of an alliance to make war against opinions and the promulgation of laws and institutions like our own.

We fought, Sir, for objects wholly different from those which appear to characterize the end of the war; the valorous spirit was not exercised, sacrifices were not made, our treasures were not emptied, to change one tyranny for another.

If all this be true, Sir,—if it be inconsistent in Englishmen to enthral others, is there any thing which can imperatively call on us to sacrifice, on the score of policy, any positive good which is at present within our reach?

I have thus far attempted to show, on general grounds, that we have no interest to seek in politics with the continental powers, which would not be quite consistent with our own institutions: and let us now slightly glance at our position in a commercial point of view.

It is very true that we have ourselves, by adopting a limited system, brought on many of the evils of a restricted commerce; but the virulent commercial jealousy which exists of us abroad, has subverted that beautiful order which Providence seems to have ordained by the varieties of climate and soil, and the forge and the smith are placed where only the ploughshare and the husbandman ought to be known. The war of commerce has been carried to a length quite inconsistent with sound policy and that good feeling to which we looked forward with delight: from the north to the south, trade in our manufactures is quite as difficult as it was during the worst period of Bonaparte's reign; and as it was then, so it continues to be almost universally, a commerce of contraband. Without claiming any thing as gratitude for our services and sacrifices, have we even so much freedom for our trade as enables us to send our manufactures to market with fair competition? We have shown no wish to overwhelm the industry of our neighbors, and have sought no preference, except that to which more art, more perseverance, or the advantages which Providence has granted us, might fairly intitle us.

Bonaparte attacked our commerce as our vital part, and inflicted on us such misery for a time, as threatened us with that horrible state of things, when the relations of life become a dependence on one another, by making us only debtors and creditors; the rich fearing to become poor, and the poor without any cheering hope of amelioration; and yet, during his sway, more of our manufactures found their way to the continent than now, when in a state of peace, when we are laboring under difficulties brought on us by

our exertions to establish the liberties of those foreign states who, with inveteracy, enact laws as injurious in their effects as those of Bonaparte himself.

We have annually from Russia a tariff, showing how the government is striving to exclude us, in opposition to its own real interests. In Prussia, it is no better: in Austria, a few nobles, giving dignity to the humble occupations of manufacturers, by taking their calling, have influenced their government to prohibit our goods; and they have been able to effect what all the weight of our councils could not prevent. We sacrificed to that country one of the most valuable branches of our exports, by suffering it to extend its laws with its dominion over the most luxuriant and wealthy part of Italy; nay, it has not only shut us out of the Piedmontese States, but extended its influence, to our prejudice, in the kingdom of Sardinia, introducing its inferior manufactures to supplant those we were in the habit of supplying them with. With the extension of its influence, it has inherited the curses of its new subjects; and all under this government are held in a state of captivity, which can create as little respect for the people as for the governors. The people of Austria are distinguished for excellence of character and disposition, but they are vilified by oppression; and countries which have unfortunately fallen under the imperial government, are withering to decay, and poverty and misery, as in Venice, must follow as a consequence. In France, Spain, and Portugal, the same difficulties to our trade exist; we cannot send a piece of calico, or expedite a ship to any of their ports, without difficulties, or such enormous duties, as almost amount to a prohibition: with the last, indeed, we have the semblance of treaties, and an agrement was made in one of them, that our goods should be admitted into the island of Madeira, under the same duties as goods coming from Lisbon—with a clause intended to protect our manufactures from French competition, as a compensation for the advantages we grant in the import of their wines; and yet, even Portugal, in this diminutive trade, keeps no faith: for the customs of that place admit French manufactures to such an extent, that we are no longer able to continue the exports of many articles with any success. We are made, Sir, the stalking-horse of these *friendly* powers; they use us when they want us, and they hesitate not to injure us, if their interests should seem to require it.

The system is already far advanced, and those who have had an opportunity of knowing the continent well must be convinced, that we have no hopes of recovering that trade with it which we formerly possessed; so far indeed from ever being likely to return to the same demand for our manufactures, exports of the same

description have been made to new countries, in competition with us, and efforts are making, under the auspices of governments, to extend the competition as far as may be. Of their success we are not yet competent to judge; but when we reflect, that the products of the new world will be mainly consumed on the continent, it behoves us to strain every nerve, to throw in the weight of our capital, our industry, our enterprise, and all the facilities which we can give to trade, to retain that pre-eminence *which is necessary to our existence,* and which we have been accustomed to consider as our own.

It is not long, Sir, since the cries of our manufacturers resounded through the nation; and you cannot have forgotten the alarm which the plots of starving individuals created; they were not relieved by any increased demand from the continent; no relaxation in the restrictions which existed called forth new demands, or opened old channels; and it is frightful to contemplate what had been our position, had we not found a demand from the E. Indies and S. America.

Is then the policy of the continental powers such, as to afford us any hope? Are our relations with the continent of such a nature, as to administer permanently to our existence and our happiness as a state? And ought we, for one moment, from a feeling of delicacy, or mistaken policy, to place our trade in jeopardy, or lose any possible advantage by hesitations to embrace an opportunity of cultivating an advantageous connexion? That must be a mistaken policy, which is founded on a deference to power which does not exist; to wishes that can never be accomplished. Can Spain exercise power over the S. American states with effect, or reobtain ascendancy by a wish? She is not likely to acquire by words what her arms could not effect; nor will she wash out the recollection of the atrocities she has committed, or subdue the spirit of independence, by simply saying, that she will retain her title to the sovereignty of these distant lands. When we look back to the years, during which she has exercised her power,—when, in that very period, Europe exults in the progress which civilisation has made; when we see all men enjoying, more or less, the benefits of liberal notions, then turn to the vilified state in which the provinces of S. America have remained under their influence; shall we not rather exult, on the score of humanity, that the yoke is broken, and that millions of men are likely to be added to the pale of civilised nations, and to become worthy of all the blessings of liberty, and enjoy all the advantages of rational civil institutions?

The general feeling which pervades those countries is one calculated to inspire us with attachment, and to excite in us, on all

accounts, a lively interest in their fate. The climate being tempered by all seasons, the soil being fertile in the produce of almost every article, the people not deficient in common intelligence,—offer every material for cultivation, and promise advantages, both politically and commercially, against which nothing in our European commercial or political relations can, as regards us, be put in comparison; it depends, therefore, on ourselves not to sacrifice our prospects, and to give employment to our capital, exercise to our industry and perseverance. Delay is pregnant with danger; time will give these new states more strength; they will feel less wish for our friendship in proportion as they have less need of it, and they cannot be supposed to entertain the same sense of gratitude for an act which is more the consequence of deliberate policy than of an ingenuous love of free institutions and of all the good which must accrue to them and us from their freedom and prosperity. It is not more than 44 years ago when the population of the United States did not exceed 2,400,000 souls, and that country possesses no capabilities which S. America has not in a very superior degree. The latter produces the same articles and many others; and when we reflect on the extensive provinces which are imperfectly cultivated, the prospects of trade, with an increased population, become cheering. In that country there is no idea of rivalling our manufactures; no interest to do so; no jealousy of our prosperity; and neither their interests nor feelings are incompatible with our own. We have been so little acquainted with the interior of these countries that we have been more accustomed to regard their names almost as connected with fable; it is only since we have heard of efforts for freedom that we have divested our minds of the notion that the inhabitants of the South were people little better than savages; and are only now learning that they are men like ourselves, and possessing the same feelings. The triumph of commerce is complete in the prospect of diffused happiness; and regions which have been covered with a veil of darkness are now likely to be laid open to our enterprize and to become markets for our industry. A very short time ago Santa Fé, a town which is now the seat of the government of a free people, was scarcely known; and, even now, the ignorance concerning that country is so great, that many regard the efforts making to bring them from oblivion as fruitless or foolhardy.

The trade of the W. Indies, which of late years has been to a considerable extent, has been mainly supported by a contraband with many of these countries; and, in proportionas facilities increase for a direct trade, this must gradually decline, and Jamaica and St. Thomas will, like Heligoland and Malta, during the late

war, be reduced to their native consumption. Taste for articles is acquired by custom; and commerce is governed much by habit and usage; once in a channel, it is difficult to alter its course, and we cannot help feeling some alarm that the alacrity with which *other nations may cultivate these new states may deprive us of many advantages which we might still secure.* The readiness with which individuals have come forward to assist them by loans must create good feeling, and it would intitle us to some consideration in commercial arrangements. These loans operate in favor of our commerce, and unless a country grown grey in luxury, weakened by debts, and overcome by redundant population, can be said to offer better security than one without debt, rich in production, and growing in population, they rest on a surer foundation than those contracted for countries who offer nothing but bonds as security, and who are compelled to raise new loans to pay the interest of old ones. These new countries may be yet in some uncertainty as to their governments, but it is certain that no European power will again subjugate them; they will gradually consolidate their plans; honorable dealing will be their interest, whatever may be their principles; and, when other governments recognise their titles, they will gradually take consistence and become stable. The loans for S. America are laid out in our ships, and our manufactures, and to employ a great deal of our population. They are applied to secure the countries, and, by giving security, to give industry worth, and by it create demand. Not so with the continental loans;—they are money absolutely abstracted from trade; a fictitious value is given to capital which diverts it from any employment which can possibly benefit this country; and if war should ensue, or revolutions take place, we shall soon discover that we have been resting on a broken reed. You, Sir, must know better than many others how far it is probable that the people on the continent will long continue to submit to remain in their present state; but those who have had opportunities of judging, look with alarm at the spirit which is fostered in Russia, Prussia, and in many parts of Germany and Italy. The complaints become loud. Light the torch and it will blaze with a rapidity which nothing but concessions will be able to arrest.

The interests of Englishmen are already embarked with those of S. America. We are in the same vessel with them:—the winds which blow adversely for them will be unpropitious to us, and the reefs on which it will split will endanger ourselves. Our existence is greatly involved in theirs; and we cannot look with indifference at the neglect of any measure which would increase their happiness or their security. It is worthy of a great nation—it would administer to the best and dearest feelings of Englishmen.

—to aid a people struggling for freedom, and to foster a spirit like our own. We have been foremost in the defence of social rights during war, and we ought not to be backward in cultivating the tranquil spirit of peace. In looking at the New World, and reflecting on our important trade through the W. Indies, we are naturally directed to Colombia, and we are struck with admiration at the rapid progress of a country in civilisation which was so lately involved in revolution. It has elicited characters which would not disgrace the best periods of history; and there are many examples of forbearance and devotion to the cause of freedom which would grace the pages of Roman history. The country is blest with almost every advantage which Nature could bestow on it; and as it offers in abundance numerous articles of commercial interest, it affords the prospect of a prosperous population, which will render connexion with it advantageous and desirable. The peculiar position of Darien, which is under the government of Colombia, from its being a narrow neck of land, would render the undertaking of cutting a canal to unite the Atlantic and Pacific Seas easy, with proper aid, and its accomplishment would be of such stupendous importance to commerce that it would do honor to the age, and it would be one worthy the assistance of our countrymen, and would be honorable to Government to grant it its countenance and support. The country of Mosquto, hither to so little known, would, by its contiguity, obtain importaince, and its riches would be discovered and applied to the useful purposes of intercourse; for we now know that its capabilities are great, if properly developed. The provinces of Nicaragua and Guatimala have long been famed for their riches, and we should have the advantages of approaching them by a more facile communcation. The king of Mosquito is personally friendly to every thing which would promote commerce and civilisation, and it is with this object that he has lately granted a whole tract of country, called Poyais, to a British subject, who is takingactive measures to promote colonisation and to cultivate the country. I speak with reserve of a country with which I may be thought to have a personal interest; but, on examining its peculiar position, and on knowing that its boundaries are mountainous, its soil rich and productive, and its climate highly salubrious; you cannot regard, without interest, the establishment of a British colony in a situation so well calculated to promote the ends of commerce. We must not be led away by the prejudices or partial representations of men who have interests in the neighbouring settlement of Honduras; for the fact will turn out that that country will dwindle into insignificance in proportion as Poyais will attain strength; and one day the whole coast of Mosquito will assume

an importance, from its own resources and its peculiar position, which must be very great, *merely* as constituting the channel of communication with the Pacific. Samples of aloes, white pepper, gum, and gold, in addition to the articles which are the known produce of Poyais, are here, and have been examined by men of science, who have declared them to be of value.

Going round the southern hemisphere every thing invites us to active exertion in commerce; and if you will examine the exports which have already taken place, you will be struck with the prospect of the advantages which we must derive from being able to deal with them as with nations duly recognised; for trade must labor under some irregularities; confidence will be tardy until this is done. Within a very short period the sendings to Colombia have been considerable, and they would have continued with much greater activity but for the numerous difficulties which the commerce has had to contend with. Besides two previous cargoes, amounting to upwards of 70,000*l.*, I have myself expedited, for various interests, to Maraycabo two cargoes, amounting, together, to nearly 60,000*l.*, and, but for the enormous premiums of insurance which the insecurity of the navigation, arising from pirates, has induced, another cargo, which has been partly in readiness for some time, would have followed immediately. We cannot reflect on such impediments, so unexpected during peace, but with feelings of intense pain; and when we read the numerous accounts, verified on all sides, of the cruelties committed on helpless and unarmed individuals, by a race of marauders as formidable as any power could be in war, as Englishmen, cherishing the remembrance of the exploits of our brave tars, and proud of their glory, we are astounded at the fact that we are liable to such barbarity; and we are ashamed to hear that we are compelled to seek protection from flags, whom we should rather have expected to find seeking shelter under our wing, not granting a precarious and poor security to our property. We have suffered so much that we forget that we ought never to have been laid open to such violence, and we are grateful for the promise of protection: we sincerely hope that those expectations will not be destroyed by an inefficiency of force to accomplish them. The premiums we are compelled to pay to the W. Indies are so heavy, as to deduct so much from any possible profits, that the trade must, on this account alone, diminish, and the effects must very soon be sensibly felt in the falling off of demand for our manufactures.

In the absence, too, of an enlarged system to give to our trade with S. America consistency and complete facility, we are grateful for the concessions made to give to it some latitude by admit-

ting their flags in our ports; but, since we do not at once recognise the independence of these new states, I presume, we could scarcely blame them if they should adopt retaliatory measures, to prevent our ships from coming to their ports, or their produce from coming to England. With the probability, or, at least, possibility of such a measure we cannot help regarding any thing which would prevent us from receiving, directly or indirectly, their produce, as calculated rather to injure our trade than benefit it. By 12 C. II. c. 18. s. 14, it is provided, 'That it shall and may be lawful to and for any of the people of England, Ireland, Wales, Islands of Guernsey or Jersey, or Town of Berwick-on-Tweed, in vessels or ships to them belonging, and whereof the master and three-fourths of the mariners, at least, are English, to land and bring in, from any of the ports of Spain or Portugal, or Western Islands, commonly called Azores, or Madeira, or Canary Islands, all sorts of goods or commodities of the growth, production, or manufacture, of the plantations or dominions of either of them respectively.' And by 3 Geo. IV. c. 42. s. 4, it is enacted, 'That, from and after the passing of this Act, so much and such parts of the said recited Act of the 12th year of Charles II. for the encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation, shall be repealed, as relates to the importation of any of the commodities of the Streights, or Levant Seas, or to the importation of all sorts of goods or commodities of the growth, production, or manufacture, of the plantations or dominions of Spain or Portugal respectively, from any of the ports of Spain or Portugal, or Western Islands, commonly called Azores, or Madeira, or Canary Islands, and so much and such parts of the said Act is and are hereby repealed accordingly.'

To render such provisions effectual we ought to apply similar legislative measures to Germany, France, &c. but we must bear in mind that we have hitherto been mainly the channel of supply of their articles, and the S. Americans have it in their power to deprive us entirely of the trade, and to give it a direction without our intervention. As individuals, we trust to the enlarged and liberal views of those governments not to do so; but no legislative or political feeling here gives us any good reason to insist on its being otherwise.

To sell largely, Sir, we must buy largely.—Trade cannot exist as an export only, and if it be an object worthy the attention of Government to give extension to our manufactures, facility must be largely given to enable us to deal as buyers as well as sellers. I would implore you to contemplate the period to which I have ventured to allude, when our manufacturing interest was so depressed; and to reflect that that valuable trade, which we, of late,

have had with the W. Indies, is dying away from an uncertain reliance on a direct opening with the Main; so long as this is in jeopardy, confidence cannot be wholly restored, and operations to both will be partial until decisive measures are adopted to put us on a substantial and firm footing. Reflect, too, that nothing can so materially contribute to the relief of the landed interest as a diffusion of wealth amongst all other classes; and that, with an increase in the sale of woollens and calicos, a proportionate one will follow in the consumption of all the produce of the soil; nothing can permanently relieve it but this, and a decline of commerce would be attended with evils too dreadful to contemplate.

It cannot be necessary for merchants to importune you, who know their interests, to protect them. Commerce is the guardian angel of all our prosperity, wealth, and happiness, and its voice is loud in demanding freedom, without which it must die.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient and very humble Servant,

JOHN LOWE.

*To the Rt. Hon. G. Canning, M.P. &c.*

# REMARKS

ON THE

# BRITISH QUARANTINE LAWS,

AND THE SO-CALLED

# SANITARY LAWS OF THE CONTINENTAL NATIONS OF EUROPE,

ESPECIALLY THOSE OF

# SPAIN.


BY CHARLES MACLEAN, M. D.

KNIGHT OF THE SPANISH ORDER OF CHARLES III.; MEMBER OF THE MEDICAL ACADEMIES OF MADRID AND BARCELONA; COMMISSIONED BY THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT TO INVESTIGATE THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF THE FEVER OF BARCELONA, IN 1821.


"In the fourth volume, the reader will find a retraction of the author's former opinion of the Yellow-fever spreading by contagion. He begs forgiveness of the friends of science and humanity, if the publication of that opinion has had any influence in increasing the misery and mortality attendant upon that disease. Indeed such is the pain he feels, in recollecting that he ever entertained, or propagated it, that it will long, and perhaps always deprive him of the pleasure he might otherwise have derived from a review of his attempts to fulfil the public duties of his situation."

RUSH'S MED. ENQ. AND OBSERVATIONS, PREF.

ORIGINAL.


LONDON.

1823.

# REMARKS,

*&c. &c.*

---

THE code of Quarantine laws in England, and of Sanitary laws in the nations of the continent of Europe, is, perhaps, without exception, the most gigantic, extraordinary, and mischievous superstructure, that has ever been raised by man, upon a purely imaginary foundation. All these codes being in principle similar, I shall here limit my observations to the English regulations of quarantine, and to the Spanish sanitary laws, as affording examples of the whole.

The regulations of the English code, as it at present exists, will be found comprehended in a collection of articles, published by the King's printers, under the title of "An Act, passed the 12th of March 1805. (45 Geo. III. cap. x.) for making farther provision for the effectual performance of quarantine; and also an order in Council, dated 5th April 1805.: with reports from the Board of Health." The Act consists of 44 clauses; the order in Council of 50 articles; and these, together with the two reports of the Board of Health, occupy 143 large 8vo pages. They seem to have been principally founded upon the sanitary regulations of the continental nations of Europe, and upon Russell's "Treatise of the Plague," published in 1791, comprehending, with Appendix, about 750 large 4to pages, which, in the preface, he modestly characterises as only "improvable *hints*."

The project of a code of sanitary laws, presented last year by their committee of public health, to the Spanish Cortes, (now finally rejected, principally in consequence, as I have reason to know, of my representations to that body,) consists of 400 articles, condensed into 64 close octavo pages, of which an examination will be found in my "Sketch of Proceedings in Spain, in illustration of the invalidity of the doctrine of Pestilential Contagion, and of the pernicious effects of quarantine or sanitary laws, &c."

The professed object of the laws in question, very different, as I shall show, from their real object, is to prevent the exportation, importation, and spreading, of epidemic diseases, by the action of

a supposed specific *virus;* no means having been adopted to ascertain the existence of the alleged evil, previous to the application of the supposed remedy. Its existence was indeed implicitly taken for granted; and reversing the usual mode of philosophising, which fixes the *onus probandi* upon the parties affirming any proposition, those who have denied the truth of this doctrine, or who have refused to believe it without evidence, have been required to prove a negative. In matters of science, according to the maxim, that "de quid non apparentibus, et de quid non existenbus eadem est ratio," absence of all proof of existence ought, in fairness, to be deemed sufficient proof of non-existence. But, as if pestilential contagion, instead of a matter of fact, were only a matter of faith, it has been represented as safer to believe than not to believe in its existence, without any reference to its truth or falsehood.

This doctrine throughout has been nothing but a series of gratuitous assumptions, each surpassing the other in absurdity. The number of the affected has been assumed as evidence of propagation from person to person; the fact of contact as evidence of contagion; and the cessation, or diminution of sickness, as evidence of the efficacy of sanitary precautions. With power always on their side, the adherents of pestilential contagion have been enabled to maintain their positions, without the trouble of adducing any valid proof, unfairly throwing the *onus probandi*, as I have said, upon their adversaries. Their endless assumptions it has been equally impossible to prove or to disprove. Disputes on controvertible assertions have necessarily terminated without any satisfactory conclusions: and their uniform results have been uncertainty and distraction, to which it did not appear that there would for a long time be an end, unless, in respect to the existence of contagion, we could succeed in proving a negative, by showing the impossibility of the affirmative. This task I have undertaken and accomplished. In my "Suggestions for the prevention and mitigation of Epidemic Diseases," &c.; in my work, entitled, "Results of an Investigation, respecting Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases, including Researches in the Levant concerning the Plague;" and in my "Sketch of Proceedings in Spain, in illustration of the invalidity of the doctrine of Pestilential Contagion, and of the destructive Effects of Quarantine or Sanitary Laws," &c. I have repeated, with additional force, my demonstrations, first promulgated in 1796 in India, of the impossibility of the existence of pestilential contagion; showing farther, that that doctrine, in an accredited form, was first promulgated, for political purposes, by the authority of the see of Rome, in 1546-7, under the pontificate of Paul III.;

and that the immediate occasion of this pious fraud, was to create a pretext for the translation of the Council of Trent to Bologna.

Thus the professed object of all codes of quarantine or sanitary laws, when submitted to strict examination, has been found to have no existence. It has also been farther shown, that, even, if pestilential contagion did undoubtedly exist, these laws would be still unjustifiable; as well as, that they are, in either case, highly detrimental to many of the best interests of communities. In instituting a code of laws so extensive, as it were upon trust, i. e., without any previous inquiry into the validity of the doctrine upon which they were professed to be founded, into the existence of the evil which they were proposed to remedy;—in afterwards continuing, at an immense expense and injury to the public, to maintain those laws, without any adequate examination of their merits; and in even resisting or evading a full and fair investigation of the subject, after strong grounds had been laid for disbelieving the existence of the evil which they professed to obviate, and for considering them in their operation highly injurious to communities, we find reason to conclude, that on the part of governments, there exists a distinct interest in favor of those enactments, independent of their effects upon the health, welfare or prosperity of communities. This is a matter which cannot admit of a doubt; and, in order that nothing relating to this investigation might be left incomplete, I have clearly shown wherein this interest consists.

My object here, is merely to give a general view of what those regulations are, *for preserving the health of communities*, of which the maintenance is so dear to certain governments, and so expensive and injurious to nations. They consist of—1. Measures for preventing the exportation of pestilential contagion; or Bills of health:—2. Measures for preventing the importation of pestilential contagion; or Quarantine and Lazarettos:—3. Measures for preventing the propagation or spreading of pestilential contagion; or lines of circumvallation, ditches, cordons of troops, shutting up the sick in their houses, compelling them to leave their homes, immuring them in pest-houses, and, in general, all modes of separation, seclusion and restriction. These measures were first adopted in Venice, in the 16th century, and afterwards successively in other Christian countries. The regulations of quarantine, which actually exist in Great Britain, and the project of a code of sanitary laws, presented to the Spanish Cortes last session, by their committee of public health, but not then discussed, and subsequently rejected, may serve as examples of them all.

## BRITISH QUARANTINE LAWS.

### I.—MEASURES FOR PREVENTING THE EXPORTATION OF PESTILENTIAL CONTAGION; OR BILLS OF HEALTH (PATENTS.)

Bills of health are certificates, granted to ships, sailing from places subject to pestilence, declaring the state of the public health, as to pestilence, at the period of their departure, for the purpose of regulating the duration of their quarantine at the port of their arrival. They are either clean, foul, or suspected. The operation of these certificates will be found particularly described in my "Results of an Investigation respecting Epidemic Diseases," &c.

Whatever may have been the precise period, at which the practice originated of obliging ships to provide themselves with certificates of health, it is certain that it could not have commenced previous to the middle of the 16th century, i. e., previous to the existence of the ideas upon which such a precaution was founded. The first mention which I find of bills of health, is in Morryson's Travels (p. 241, 243), which state, that an English traveller, who was at Aleppo in 1596, had a clean patent, Syria being then free from the plague. The Levant company, in their answer to the commissioners of customs, dated March 14, 1720, declare, that, up to that period, their ships "not having been obliged to perform quarantine in England, the sole intent of the certificate or bill of health, was to serve them in the Mediterranean." The regulations of the Levant Company, concerning bills of health, are detailed in Russell's "Treatise of the Plague," p. 344. That writer, partial as he was to these institutions, acknowleges them to be defective and insecure (p. 362.) If such precautions, indeed, could ever be of any utility, they would, in respect to the Levant, necessarily be always precarious in their operation, from the uncertainty of the information, upon which they are founded; sickness being concealed, feigned, or exaggerated, according to the presumed interests of the Reporters, who are generally natives, and for the most part commercial speculators. Mr. Green, for many years Treasurer of the Levant Company, in his evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, in 1819, says, "the bills of health are determined by the foreign consuls at Smyrna, upon the report of a number of Greek merchants, who form a committee for the purpose. These merchants carried on principally the trade between Smyrna and Holland, that is, several were concerned; it was their interest to establish foul bills of health, in order to keep the trade to themselves, because English

ships could not come to England without going first to Malta or Leghorn, or some other Lazaretto in the Mediterranean, to perform quarantine of ninety days. In the mean time, the Greeks loaded cotton, wool, and other goods, and all the articles which constituted the chief object of the trade, in ships which they sent to Holland." (Report, 4th July 1819, p. 35.)

## II.—MEASURES FOR PREVENTING THE IMPORTATION OF PESTILENTIAL CONTAGION; OR QUARANTINE AND LAZARETTOS.

"We may as well build a wall to keep out larks, as barracks to keep out plagues." Distinct notions of the Plague, London, 1665. p. 73. "No quarantine has been till now (1720) laid on ships or goods from Turkey, a trade which has been carried on for about 140 years without any ill consequences, which we hoped would have exempted us from this act." Levant Company's Petition to His Majesty in Council, dated 31st. of January 1720.

"It is not to be denied, that, as matters stand at present, quarantines, without being *so secure a defence as is commonly imagined*, are *a certain heavy tax upon commerce*; the *benefit* they promise to the *state* is *very precarious*, the *detriment* to the *merchant* is *real*." Dr. P. Russell's Treat. of the Plague, p. 466,7.

In 1511, we find the first mention of any commerce from this country to the Levant Seas. (And. Com. II, 22.) "From 1511 to 1534, diverse tall ships of London, and of Southampton and Bristol, had an unusual trade to Sicily, Candia, and Chios, and sometimes to Cyprus, and to Tripoli and Bareuth in Syria. . . . In 1535, a ship of 300 tons, with 100 persons, from London, made a Levant voyage, then thought dangerous, in eleven months," Id. Ibid. p. 60. It was 210 years after the commencement of this commercial intercourse, and 140 years after the establishment of the Levant Company, before any precautions of quarantine, in respect to Turkey, were adopted in England.

In the 16th century, but at what precise period I have not ascertained, quarantine and Lazarettos were first introduced into the Venetian States, and afterwards successively into the other States of Italy. In 1669, they were adopted in France, in consequence, I presume, of the terror inspired by the plague in London, in 1665, of which cases continued to occur sporadically for several years.

Until 1710, no precautions by act of parliament were adopted in England, to prevent the introduction of pestilence from foreign countries. From the preamble to the first quarantine act, passed in the 9th. of Queen Anne, it appears that orders had pre-

viously been issued by her Majesty in Council, respecting the performance of quarantine, being probably the first official interference in England, in respect to the importation of contagion from any foreign country. The immediate occasion of it was the prevalence of pestilence at Dantzic, and various places on the shores of the Baltic. Upon this occasion, sheds were erected for airing goods at Hoo Fort.

The act of 1710 expressly empowered the Crown, in case of any foreign places being infected, to issue such orders for the performance of quarantine, *as might appear necessary*. It was intitled "An act to oblige ships coming from places infected, more effectually to perform their quarantine," and had no reference to the trade or shipping of the Levant, which were not comprehended in these regulations until the succeeding reign.

It was upon the occasion of the plague at Marseilles, in 1720, that the subject came again before parliament; and, in January 1721, an act was passed "for repealing the act of Queen Anne, and for the better preventing the plague from being brought from foreign parts into Great Britain, or Ireland, or the Isles of Guernsey, &c. *and to hinder the spreading of infection.*" The continuance of this act was, by a clause added by the Lords to a subsequent act, limited to the 25th of March 1723.

Against the passing of this bill a petition was presented by the Levant Company in the following terms:

"To the honorable the Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, the Humble Petition of the Governor and Company of the Merchants of England trading to the Levant seas:

"*Sheweth*—That whereas there is a bill now depending in the Honorable House, for altering and amending the laws for obliging ships coming from places infected to perform their quarantine, and for preventing the spreading of infection, wherein there are some clauses, which your petitioners humbly apprehend will put an entire stop to the future carrying on their trade, which principally consists in the exportation of the woollen manufactures of this kingdom, and the importation of raw silk and Mohair yarn.

"Your petitioners therefore most humbly pray that they may be heard by themselves, or by their counsel, against the said clauses, before the said bill passes into a law.

"And your petitioners shall ever pray. 13th January 1720. Presented the same day, Sir Gerard Conyers being Deputy Governor."

The obnoxious clauses of the bill, alluded to in this petition, were, I apprehend, those, which conferred on the Crown the power to suspend trade, and to destroy property. Whether, in virtue of this bill, commerce has ever been formally and generally suspended, I am not aware; but the other exceptionable clause

has, in more than one instance, been acted upon. There is one case of this destruction upon record, even antecedent to the act. By an order of Council, dated the 4th of March 1720, the ships Bristol Merchant, and Turkey Merchant, were ordered to be burnt, as appears by a petition presented to His Majesty by the Levant Company, dated the 2d of May 1721. And, in June 1721, we find that £.23,935 were voted, in a committee of supply, to the owners of the ships and goods so burnt. (Russell's Treatise, p. 423, note.) In 1800, the ships Aurora, Mentor, and Lark, from Mogadore, were destroyed, with their cargoes, pursuant to an order in Council of the 7th of January 1800. (Append. to the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons respecting the contagion of the plague, 4th July 1819.) Mr. Green, in his evidence, conjectures that the value of these vessels and their cargoes, which the treasury had to make good, must have exceeded £.20,000. (Report of 1819, p. 41.)

In a petition, dated the 31st of January, and presented to his Majesty in Council in February 1720, the Levant Company make the following very pertinent remarks.

"The dominions of the Grand Signior are of so vast an extent, that the plague may be in one part, and no way dangerous to another. But this act, as we humbly presume, may oblige all ships coming from Turkey to perform quarantine, though even from places not infected, since it must be concluded that there is a constant correspondence through the whole empire, which has been scarce ever known to be free from infection in every part of it. We most humbly hope that the good state of health, at any port in Turkey where our ships shall lade for England, being certified by your Majesty's ambassador at Constantinople, or the respective consuls, may be sufficient to prevent any ship, goods, wares, or merchandises, accompanied by such clean patents, from performing quarantine, provided the ship's company and passengers are found to be perfectly free from any contagion, after a voyage of seldom less than three months, but oftener four or five,[1] since in Italy, where the rules of quarantine are most strictly observed, the merchant is generally possessed of his goods in less than that time after the ship's departure from Turkey.[2]

[1] At that period the Levant Company's ships usually sailed in fleets; by which, and the then state of the art of navigation, it happened that their voyages were of much longer duration than at present.

[2] In Holland, where quarantine is scarcely more than *nominal*, the detention of the Levant goods, after their arrival in port, is so trifling, as to enable the Dutch merchants to anticipate the English in their own markets. This evil is in vain attempted to be obviated on the part of the British government, by restrictive laws on the indirect importation of Levant goods from Holland and other places.

"No quarantine has been till now laid on ships or goods from Turkey, *a trade which has been carried on for about* 140 *years*[1] *without any ill consequences*, which we hoped would have exempted us from this act."

But terror and fashion being predominant, and the Levant Company being considered as interested parties, their just representations were disregarded.

The plague of Marseilles, in 1720, gave occasion to the passing of two other acts of parliament in England, the following session; the one, "to enable His Majesty effectually to prohibit commerce *for the space of one year*, with any country, that is, or shall be, infected with the plague, and for shortening the continuance of an act passed in the 7th year of His Majesty (the quarantine act);" the other "to prevent the clandestine running of goods, and the danger of infection thereby; and to prevent ships breaking their quarantine." The one was passed on the 12th of February, and the other on the 7th of March 1722. The latter had, in the preceding session, been rejected by the Lords.

Power had been before given by the quarantine act, to prohibit, in times of pestilence, vessels of less burden than twenty tons, from sailing out of any port in Great Britain, &c., except under certain conditions. By the present act, foreign spirits were prohibited from being imported in vessels of less burden than forty tons; and ships departing without license from places appointed for quarantine, were forfeited, and the commanders fined two hundred pounds. (Russell's Treat. p. 444.)

This power of suspending trade *for the space of one year*, virtually amounted to an almost unlimited power over the affairs of commerce; since, as pestilence always exists in some of those parts of the world, with which we have commerce or intercourse, there would never want colorable pretexts for enforcing such regulations, as far as the exercise of them, at the same time that it was conducive to the unavowed views of government, might not be too glaring a despotism. Whether a power of this description is such as it is safe or proper to lodge any where, even supposing the danger, against which it is meant to provide, were not imaginary, I have elsewhere examined.

All these acts of the 7th and 8th of Geo. I., being temporary, terminated in two or three years; and, upon the expiration of the

[1] From the period of the existence of the commerce of the Levant Company; but it is certain that there had been intercourse between the two countries from 1511, as I have stated, or for 210 years, sufficient to have introduced the plague annually into England, if it had been capable of being exported and imported.

quarantine act, in March 1723, that of Queen Anne of course revived, and continues to be still in force. (Russell's Treat. p. 464.)

In May 1728, the 1st of Geo. II., an act was passed exactly under the same title as the former, excepting so far as regards the repeal of Queen Anne's act. Most of the smaller clauses relating to the quarantine of ships were the same, some nearly verbatim with those of the 7th of Geo. I. A few were however omitted; and the power of prohibiting commerce for the space of one year, which, in 1721, had been the subject of a separate act, was included in this. (Russell, p. 444.) Persons contravening this act were declared guilty of felony; ships and goods were forfeited, and the importers fined in *treble* their value. (Id. p. 445.)

This act, like those of 1720 and 1721, being only temporary, was permitted to expire in 1731; but, in 1733, pestilence again prevailing in some foreign places, it was renewed, and directed to be continued in force for two years from the 2d of June 1733, and from thence to the then next session of parliament. (Id. p. 445.) The title is, "An act for reviving so much of the act made in the 1st year of His Majesty's reign, intitled &c. as relates to the performing quarantine, and the preventing the spreading of infection, and to enable His Majesty to prohibit commerce with any country or place, infected with the plague, for a certain time therein limited." (Id. 445,6.)

From 1735 to 1753, the act of Queen Anne, which had no reference to the intercourse with Turkey, was the sole quarantine law in force in Great Britain. It does not, however, appear, that, during this interval, the Levant Company availed themselves of the exemption from quarantine, to which they became entitled by the expiration of the temporary laws which I have enumerated. In the mean time happened the plague of Messina, in 1743. His Majesty being abroad, the Lords of the Regency ordered all ships from the Mediterranean, bound to the river Thames, to do quarantine in Stangate Creek only. (Id. p. 446.)

In September 1743, the clerk of the Scipio fire ship was committed to the Marshalsea prison, by a special warrant from the Lords of the Admiralty, for six months, pursuant to the sentence of a court-martial, for not performing quarantine agreeably to the directions of the Lords of the Regency. The boatswain of the same ship was tried at the same court-martial, and condemned to die, for leaving the ship, and not performing quarantine. (Id. p. 446.)

In April 1753, on a proposition for enlarging the trade to the Levant seas, the subject of quarantine again came under consideration; and a bill passed the legislature, intitled, "An act to oblige

ships more effectually to perform their quarantine; and for the better preventing the plague being brought from foreign parts into Great Britain or Ireland, or the Isles of Guernsey, &c. &c." It commenced from the 1st of March 1754, and its continuance was left indefinite. It is remarkable, with regard to the title, as well as the preamble of this bill, that the words, "and for preventing the spreading of infection," are entirely omitted. This is the 26 of Geo. II. c. 6.

The bill "for enlarging the trade to the Levant seas" contained two clauses respecting quarantine: the one, enacting "that all rules, orders and regulations, made for preventing infection, shall be and remain in full force and virtue, as if this act had never passed;" the other, "that no goods or merchandises, *liable to retain the infection of the plague*, and coming from the Levant, without a clean bill of health, *shall be landed in any part of Great Britain, &c. &c.;* unless it shall appear to the satisfaction of His Majesty, his heirs, or successors, or of his or their Privy Council, that the said goods or merchandises have been sufficiently opened and aired in the Lazarettos of Malta, Ancona, Venice, Messina, Leghorn, Genoa, and Marseilles, or one of them." (26 Geo. II. cap. 12.) It does not appear that quarantine or Lazarettos were yet established at Gibraltar.

Dr. P. Russell has observed, in his Treatise on the Plague, p. 447, that quarantine had never before undergone such deliberate discussion in parliament as at this period. Until 1753, the subject was never taken up by the legislature, but when it was pressed upon them by some immediate urgency, and when the intensity of actual alarm necessarily led to the adoption not of the soundest measures. Unhappily, upon this occasion, the absence of the usual alarm did not lead to the adoption of measures less unsound: for, the existence of contagion being as usual taken for granted, without inquiry, the foundation of the proceedings being, as formerly, erroneous, none of the regulations emanating from them could be correct. The act now deliberately passed was but a repetition, with some trivial variations of those of 1720, 1728, and 1733, as these were almost mere transcripts of the quarantine regulations of foreign states.

The result of this deliberate discussion was, as must always happen when false premises are assumed, instead of improvement, a farther progress in error. Hitherto passengers in ships from Turkey were permitted freely to land in the first port which they made in the Channel. But, by the act of 1754, they were made amenable to the quarantine laws, and to such orders as they might receive from the proper officers. The quarantine which passengers are now obliged to perform consists, with foul bills of

health, of forty-four days, exclusive of probationary days, by which the sum total is from fifty to sixty days. But according to the early contagionists themselves, this ordeal is superfluous: and even Dr. Mead has admitted, that, "if there be no sickness in the ship, he can see no reason why the men should perform quarantine." (Discourse, p. 77.) And if there be no necessity for the performance of quarantine, on the part of the persons who have imported goods from Turkey, what can be the necessity that it should be performed by the goods? If these goods have not been known to propagate sickness among the persons who have taken them on board, and discharged them, how can they reasonably be supposed capable of propagating it ashore, after debarkation?

Muratori, another decided contagionist, applying his observations to Italy, says: "no one has produced a true and solid reason why *forty days* of quarantine should be necessary for expurgation. But, taking it for granted that infection cannot remain above *fifteen days*, *twenty days* quarantine is sufficient for *persons*. As to goods and other things, *however highly infected*, their expurgation may be completed in *twenty-four hours*, insomuch that they may be *handled with perfect safety*." lib. i. c. 12.

If, in Italy, which is less than half the distance from the Levant, twenty days be deemed sufficient quarantine for the expurgation of persons, and twenty-four hours for the purification of goods, I am utterly at a loss to conceive upon what rational grounds, according to their own doctrines, the partisans of contagion can recommend *any* quarantine to be performed in England, either upon goods or persons. Let it also be recollected that this law was enacted, after an experience of nearly 250 years, from the first intercourse with Turkey, during which, passengers if they desired it, were constantly landed in the first port in the channel, and without any mischief ensuing.

It is the nature of accredited error to increase in force, and to extend in mischievous consequences. "At Marseilles formerly (i. e. from the establishment of quarantine in 1669 to 1720, or for fifty years) passengers, with clean patents, performed a quarantine of five or six days only; but at present (1720) it is prolonged to *twenty*, and *for passengers from Constantinople to twenty-eight days*." Traité de la Peste, t. ii. p. 178. It might be difficult to determine whether the quadrupling the period of quarantine generally, or rendering that on passengers from Constantinople longer than on persons coming from other places, be the greatest absurdity. This latter is presuming that contagion increases in strength in proportion to the distance, which it has travelled, or that the contagion of the metropolis is more inveterate than that of the provinces. It would be less irrational to infer that passen-

gers from Smyrna should be rendered liable to a quarantine of longer duration than those from Constantinople in the inverse proportion of the distance. "Mais on ne finirait pas, si on voulait ramasser toutes les contradictions où le systême de la contagion a engagé ceux qui le soutiennent." Senac p. 182.

In 1754, soon after the quarantine act of the 26 of Geo. II., the sloop Fawey, Isaac Clemens, from Algiers, was sunk at sea, by order of Council. (Ingram's Historical Account, p. 197.) Thus the power of sinking ships, as well as burning goods, was exercised. Upon the Levant trade being laid open that year, it was thought necessary to enact that no ships, but with clean bills of health, should be received in England, excepting such as had previously performed quarantine in the Mediterranean, as if *contagion*, did such a thing exist in respect to pestilence, could be more readily conveyed in private ships, than in ships belonging to a company!

During the pestilence of 1743 at Messina, it was first proposed to build regular Lazarettos in England; but the measure was not carried into effect. In the same year, a bill for laying open the Levant trade passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Lords, probably apprehending that greater danger would exist of introducing infection under a free trade.

In 1752, when the measure of laying open the Levant trade, which passed into a law the following year, was again agitated, the subject of Lazarettos was revived. Chetney-hill was thought a proper site for such an establishment; and plans of a Lazaretto, with estimates of the charge of building, and of maintaining the same, were requested in an address to His Majesty, to which a gracious answer was returned: but nothing was in consequence done. Journals of the House of Commons, vol. 26.

In the year 1757 or 1758, an epidemic prevailed in England, and the country was alarmed by reports of the plague prevailing in Holland. Dr. Alexander Russell was consulted by Lord Chatham, then minister of state, and took a journey to Holland, in order to ascertain the truth of this matter. This affair appears again to have revived the subject of Lazarettos. A copy of a memorial, apparently drawn up by the desire of Lord Chatham, was found by Dr. Patrick Russell amongst his brother's papers; and a letter to that minister, which seems to have accompanied the memorial, dated the 28th of March 1758, which may be found at p. 438 to 440 of his Treatise of the Plague.

In 1764 the subject was again introduced into the House of Commons; and, in March 1765, in a committee of supply, £.5000 were granted to His Majesty towards building a Lazaretto

Here the matter appears to have rested until 1772, when an act was passed explanatory of the 26th of Geo. II., and empowering

the Lords of the Treasury to purchase lands, &c., directing the £.5000 already granted to be applied to the payment of the same, and the deficiency to be made good by duties levied on merchandise. By this act, a power was given to erect and establish permanent Lazarettos for the reception of persons and goods; but its provisions were not carried into effect. The agitation of the question at this period appears to have been occasioned by the raging of a pestilence, in 1770, in Wallachia, and some parts of Poland: for, we find, that on the 5th of October of that year, an order was issued for the performance of a quarantine of forty days, by all vessels, persons and goods, coming from Dantzic, or other parts of royal and ducal Prussia, or Pomerania. (Russell's Treat. p. 454.) Upon this occasion, *the power of appointing proper places for quarantine in the outports was left to the discretion of the officers of the customs:* and it was probably the inconveniences arising from the exercise of this authority that occasioned the subject to be brought into parliament.

In December 1780, the plague raging in the Ukraine and Volhinia, regular stations, seven in England, four in Scotland, and two in Jersey and Guernsey, were appointed for the performance of quarantine. (Russell's Treat. p. 454.)

In July 1783, information having been received of a pestilence having appeared on the borders of Poland, a quarantine of 40 days was again imposed on the ships of Dantzic, Prussia, and Pomerania. Neither at this period, nor in 1770, nor 1780, was grain exempted, although, in the two latter years, there was an express exemption in favor of wine and oil, which, like grain, are reckoned among the articles *not susceptible of infection.* (Russell's Treat. p. 457.) But, in consequence of a threatened famine in Edinburgh, and a memorial from that city, the restraint of quarantine was, on this occasion, directed to be taken off all vessels laden solely with grain.

At all these periods, it was a general rule of Council to impose a full quarantine of forty days, or to take it off entirely. (Russell's Treat. p. 463.) In 1770, upon the petition of certain merchants of London, trading to Hamburgh and Bremen, the restraint of quarantine was directed to be taken off ships from these places, in November.

Adverting to the fluctuating and contradictory orders of the Privy Council, in respect to quarantine, Dr. P. Russell (p. 453—467) takes occasion repeatedly to recommend the adoption of a board of health, according to the custom of foreign nations. "The quarantine act," says he, "marking the great lines only, leaves the details and execution to His Majesty in Council; which, *different from the practice in most other countries,* constitutes the only

board of health in Britain." (p. 453.) Again: "A board, whose only business had been the regulating of quarantines, would in all probability have proceeded upon better information, would have been better prepared for the various cases that present, and would not have issued such fluctuating orders." (p. 461.) In another place he says: "Upon the whole, there appears reason for thinking, that *the management of quarantine should be entrusted to a council of health, distinct from the Privy Council.*" (p. 466.) And a little farther: "If, on the one hand, such a council, inflexible in well-founded resolutions, would be less accessible to private solicitation; on the other, the merchant would know better on what he had to depend; he would be less disposed to speculate by wavering orders, and would have less to fear the influence of powerful intercession obtaining unequal indulgencies. The inevitable hardships upon commerce, in suspected times, would be common to all, and would never be imposed but upon solid presumptions of necessity." (p. 467.)

I agree with Dr. Russell in considering the discretionary power conferred on the Privy Council by the quarantine law, as wholly unconstitutional, and altogether improper; (p. 505-6) and I farther assert that it would be so were the dangers, which it was the intention to obviate, real. But I do not, by any means, agree with him, that this discretionary power, in matters of quarantine, could be more safely entrusted in the hands of a council of health, or that such board, composed of a few individuals of inferior rank, would be either more competent to the duty to be performed, or less accessible to the operation of undue motives, than the Privy Council of the nation. Whilst the regulation of the whole external commerce of the country is, on account of a chimera, to be placed at the disposal of any tribunal, it is much better that the power of restraint should remain where it is, than descend to inferior hands. The two Russells (Alexander and Patrick, brothers) had, from their long residence in Turkey, been accounted leading authorities upon the subject of the plague. But, besides having their minds super-saturated with the general error of contagion, it is quite obvious, from what I have already quoted from Dr. P. Russell's Treatise, as well as from some passages of Dr. A. Russell's Letter to Lord Chatham, that the establishment of a board of health in London, subjected to *medical* jurisdiction, was an object which they had much at heart. This inference is clearly deducible from the following passage especially: "The whole of the health officers, throughout the kingdom, ought to be under the direction of the board of health in London, consisting chiefly of gentlemen, who have seen something of quarantine abroad, and *who would be induced by their public spirit to serve*

*without salaries.* To these should be added a *secretary*, and a *physician*, to assist in giving the proper directons, and to visit the Lazarettos *in cases of emergency.*" (p. 440.) Who were the persons in view for secretary and physician is very obvious: and it is equally evident that, with the almost unlimited discretionary powers with which it was in contemplation that they should be invested, no responsibility could be imposed, which could prevent this board, but particularly the secretary, and still more the physician, from engrossing, in such a case, an unlimited authority and patronage, amounting even to a complete despotism over the whole of the exterior commerce of Great Britain. This was certainly a gigantic project; and had it succeeded, the boundaries of contagion would probably have been extended to the Chinese and the Indian seas. But owing to the reluctance of the Privy Council to part with any share of the authority and patronage, which they had been accustomed to exercise, it happily failed. The physician too, it may be observed, was only to visit the Lazarettos, *in cases of emergency!* In this, as well as in every thing else, in which England has aped the councils of foreign, and in general slavish nations, she has done wrong. We shall see presently that Dr. P. Russell was one of the principal authors of the quarantine regulations established in this country in 1800, and afterwards revised, and, with some trivial alterations, confirmed, in 1805.

In the year 1788, an act was passed (28 Geo. III. cap. 34) "more effectually to secure the performance of quarantine, and for amending several laws relating to the revenue of customs." (Russ. p. 581.)

By an act passed in the 38th of Geo. III. c. 99, some of the regulations of the 26 of Geo. II. c. 6, for the performance of quarantine, are amended. This act (38 Geo. III. c. 99.) was intitled, "An act to encourage the trade into the Levant seas, by providing a more convenient mode of performing quarantine, &c." Its particular object was to authorise ships and vessels, *without* clean bills of health, to proceed to England, and to do quarantine there, instead of being obliged, as formerly, to perform it in some of the Lazarettos of the Mediterranean. Under the authority of this act, a committee was appointed by the Lords of the Privy Council, to consider and prepare regulations of quarantine applicable to the change of circumstances. This committee consisted of eleven members, G. Baker, L. Pepys, F. Gisborne, A. S. Hamond, Pat. Russell, Jas. Johnston, Gil. Blane, J. Robertson Barclay, Tho. Boone, E. Lee, and J. Green; the first nine physicians, and the two last Levant merchants. They made a report on the 2d of April 1800, consisting of 58 pages, founded chiefly on the 26th

Geo. II. c. 6, the 38th of Geo. III. c. 99, and the quarantine regulations established in the Mediterranean, and particularly at Venice, as detailed in Howard's account of the principal Lazarettos of Europe. This quarantine committee did not think it necessary to enter into any previous inquiry into the validity of the doctrine upon which the regulations, which they were called upon to propose, were to be founded. Taking their validity implicitly for granted, they promulgated an immense and most pernicious system upon an entirely imaginary foundation. Amongst other equally ridiculous, but expensive regulations, they recommended (art. iv.) that a frigate should be fitted up, as an hospital ship, at Standgate Creek, with a compliment of medical men; although, if they had inquired, they would have found that there are seldom any sick of any disease amongst the crews of the ships detained in quarantine; and (art. v.) that a small vessel should be fitted up at St. Helen's Pool for the reception of the sick, ill of the plague; although, if they had inquired, they might have ascertained, from custom-house returns, that no person had ever arrived, in any ship or vessel, at any period of time, in any port of England, laboring under that malady, or was afterwards seized with it whilst in quarantine, or in the course of expurgating goods in the Lazarettos.

After the usual repetition and classification, upon grounds purely arbitrary, of articles susceptible in the first degree, susceptible in the second degree, and not susceptible of contagion, the committee conclude with the following recommendation: "The committee humbly beg leave therefore to submit to the consideration of your Lordships, that it may be advisable to construct (as soon as conveniently can be) a Lazaret on Chetney hill, where land has already been purchased by government for that purpose, upon a plan capable of embracing every object: to which it may be advisable, for the more expeditious determination of quarantine questions in general, to appoint a council, or board of health, composed of competent persons, who should correspond with all British consuls in foreign parts, and to whom all quarantine questions should be referred in the first instance, for their report to the privy council; the whole will then form an establishment becoming the importance of this great commercial country, and such as will effectually provide for the security of the health of his Majesty's subjects, and in regard to matters of quarantine, will place this country in a situation entirely independent of every other state whatsoever!!!"

In conformity with this advice, an act was passed (40th Geo. III. c. 80) "for erecting a lazaret on Chetney hill, in the county of Kent, and for reducing into one act the laws relating to quaran-

tine, and for making farther provisions therein;" and sixty-five thousand pounds were granted out of the consolidated fund for carrying its provisions into effect.

This report bears marks of having been principally the workmanship of Dr. Russell, who, as having what is called *practical knowledge* of the fables and traditions of Italy and the Levant, was, as I have said, deemed high authority on the subject. One of the members (Sir Lucas Pepys) was for giving a preference to the excellent Lazaretto on the island of Minorca, then in our possession, having *double walls of thirty feet high!* This proposition, which is in reality perfectly ridiculous, would, however, have been the least unwise, had there been any truth whatever in the doctrine of contagion. It is to be remarked, that although the Privy Council, and the Legislature, thought proper to adopt the proposition of the quarantine committee, respecting the building of a Lazaretto on Chetney hill, they did not think fit to adopt that, which concerned the appointment of a council of health. This would have been, on the part of the Privy Council, to give the staff of authority out of their hands: it would have been a species of political suicide, in so far as that branch of authority was concerned.

The funds already assigned for the purpose of building a land Lazaretto, and for defraying the expense of the establishments, being found insufficient, a farther sum of thirty thousand pounds was granted by an act of the 44th of Geo III. (1804.) This completed 100,000*l.*

On the 12th of March 1805 was passed "An act for making further provision for the effectual performance of quarantine." (45 Geo. III. cap. 10.) This is the last of the extraordinary laws, which have been enacted on this extraordinary subject, as far as relates to the prevention of importation. In conformity with this law, a set of regulations for the performance of quarantine, in order to prevent the introduction of contagion into this kingdom, was promulgated by an order in council, dated the 5th of April 1805, which, with such alterations as from time to time have to the Privy Council seemed expedient, are now in force. But notwithstanding this mass of legislation, and of official regulations, and after the expenditure of probably 200,000*l.* upon a land Lazaret, the idea seems to be now wholly abandoned; for the lands and buildings of Chetney hill were in 1819, after I had proved the absurdity of the doctrine of contagion before a committee of the House of Commons, advertised for public sale, and I have understood actually sold for a mere trifle. This stoppage of expenditure has been one of the good effects already produced by my labors. But, how much wiser would it have been,

to have instituted some inquiry into the validity of the doctrine, upon which such regulations and expenditure were founded, *before* they were actually adopted! I make this remark, because it appears, from some observations of the board of health, appointed at this period, (1805) "to consider and report the measures which it would be proper to adopt, in case the plague or other infectious disease, attended with great mortality, *shall pass the barrier of the quarantine*, and actually appear amongst us," that they were not ignorant of the existence of the doctrines, which I had published, upon this subject, in 1796, in India, and which had been also republished in America, and in various parts of Europe. "*In considering a subject of this kind*," says the Board, in their second report to the Privy Council, "*it is obvious, that we must not risk the lives of our fellow-creatures, through a confidence in any speculative opinions, which want the sanction of experience.*" If the board had taken due pains to investigate the opinions, which they represent as speculative, they could not have avoided perceiving that they were, on the contrary, *conclusions logically deduced from undeniable premises*, whilst the opinions which they have chosen to take for granted, considering them as founded upon *what they call* the *experience*, (meaning the *practice*) of *ages*, are but vague or baseless traditions,—mere inventions of the most barbarous times; and that, whilst, by the practices which they recommend, sickness and death are variously multiplied amongst mankind, the results of the application of the opposite doctrines would be to decrease the ordinary sickness and mortality, to such a degree as to render pestilences comparatively trivial evils. This board was composed of the following members: A. S. Hamond, F. Milman, A. Munro, Lucas Pepys, J. Hunter, H. R. Reynolds, W. Heberden, J. N. Harness, and Jas. Hervy, secretary. Two of these, A. S. Hamond, and Lucas Pepys, had been members of the quarantine committee in 1800. Dr. Russell was, I believe, dead. The reports of the board of health were dated the 30th of April, and the 15th of May, 1805. Their merits, according to the plan which I have adopted, fall to be considered under the following head.

III.—MEASURES FOR PREVENTING THE PROPAGATION OR SPREADING OF PESTILENTIAL CONTAGION; OR LINES OF CIRCUMVALLATION, DITCHES, CORDONS OF TROOPS, SHUTTING UP THE SICK IN THEIR HOUSES, COMPELLING THEM TO LEAVE THEIR HOMES, IMMURING THEM IN PEST HOUSES, AND, IN GENERAL, ALL MODES OF SEPARATION, SECLUSION AND RESTRICTION.

"It would seem as if there was *little observable difference* in the mode of its termination (that of the plague) in cities, where puri-

fication was practised, and where it was not." RUSSELL'S TREAT. p. 282.

Thus, notwithstanding the confidence and solemnity, with which masses of regulations have been obtruded on the world, to prevent the propagation of a nonentity, even those who have most strongly recommended them, are to be found acknowleging, in point of fact, their inefficiency. But in the observation which I have quoted, Dr. Russell is quite wrong. The difference is both great and observable between cities where purification is practised, and where it is not; but it is, *cæteris paribus*, strongly in favor of those places, where no precautions are employed by public authorities, to prevent the propagation of an imaginary *virus*, and in which the doctrine of contagion, in epidemic diseases, is either not known, or not believed, by the people, or by the faculty.

"In the 16th and 17th centuries," says the same writer (Treat. p. 478), "the orders and regulations respecting the infected, seem to have been issued in royal proclamations, or by the municipal officers, in towns; and in the country, by the justices of the peace; but all under the sanction of the king in council. How it was managed in times still more remote," he adds, "does not appear." It certainly does not appear; for this very sufficient reason, that, "in times still more remote," it was not managed at all. The precautions of 1582 are, in respect to England, the earliest we find upon record; and they were not imperative, but simply recommendatory. That year being a year of plague in London, the lord treasurer sent an order to Sir Thomas Blanke, the Lord Mayor, to make a catalogue of all the victualling houses that were infected, to set up publicly, that all strangers resorting to London might avoid setting up, or lodging at those houses; and so to do, from two months to two months. (City Remembrancer, i. 263.) This is the first measure that I have met with in the shape of an official interference in England, concerning pestilence, as presumed to depend upon contagion: and, it is to be remarked, that there was here no compulsion, either in respect to shutting up of houses, or to removing of persons supposed to be infected from their houses, to be sent to lazarettos or pest houses. It was nothing but a simple warning to strangers, to avoid places supposed to be infected; and this appears to have reference, according to the ancient and proper meaning of the word, to "infection" of the air, with which contagion was never until lately confounded. It was not until 1592 that, by an order in council, issued by Queen Elizabeth, sick persons were ordered to be confined to their houses, which appears to have been the first compulsory measure of the kind. (Orders of Queen Elizabeth, in 1592.)

On the 30th of July 1603, being a year of plague in London,

an order in council was issued by King James I. against the infection of the plague, consisting of a number of articles, drawn up with great care. Advice was also published by the College of Physicians, and orders by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, by direction of the Privy Council. These were republished with very little variation, in the subsequent plagues, in 1625, 1636, and 1665. See certain necessary directions of the College of Physicians; Sundry orders of His Majesty; Select Statutes, &c., London, 1636. An order was also issued, in 1603, by the same monarch, "strictly prohibiting all ecclesiastics, and others, from publishing an opinion that the plague was not infectious, or that it was a vain thing not to resort to the infected." (Orders, Jac. I. Art. 16.)

In 1604, the year immediately succeeding, it was, for the first time, thought proper to support the royal regulations by an express statute. By this statute it is enacted, "that if any person infected with the plague, or dwelling in any infected house, be commanded by the mayor, constable, or other head officer of his town, or vill, to keep his house, and shall venture to disobey it; he may be enforced by the watchmen appointed on such melancholy occasions, to obey such necessary command: and if any hurt ensue by such enforcement, the watchmen are thereby indemnified. And further, if such person so commanded to confine himself, goes abroad, and converses in company, if he has no plague sore upon him, *he shall be punished as a vagabond, by whipping*, and be bound to his good behaviour: but, if he has any infectious sore upon him uncured, he then *shall be guilty of felony*." Blackst. Com. vol. iv. b. 4. c. 13.

This bill was passed, after some opposition, on the 16th of June, with certain amendments made by the Lords, in exemption of the Universities. Its continuance was limited to the commencement of the first session of the following parliament. But by subsequent acts it was further continued; and, in the 16th of Charles I., (1640) "from thenceforth until some other act of parliament be made touching its continuance or discontinuance."

In 1665, in October, the plague raging in London, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to prepare and bring in a bill to supply the defects of that of 1604. It passed the Commons. But amendments being made by the Lords, to which the Commons did not think fit to assent, and the session terminating, the matter dropt, and was never afterwards resumed. Consequently the statute of James I. respecting internal regulations for preventing the spreading of the infection of the plague, remained still in force.

On the subject of the projected bill, in 1665, several conferences were held between the two houses of parliament. What were

the matters agitated in them does not appear from the journals of the Commons: but from the journals of the Lords, we learn that the Earl of Bridgewater, on the 30th of October, reported to the house, "that the committee had considered the bill for making further provision for such as be infected with the plague." Their Lordships added two provisos, and proposed some alterations and amendments, which were offered to the judgment of the house. These provisos consisted in inhibiting pest houses and burying grounds to be stationed near the houses of peers, and exempting peers' houses from being shut up at the discretion of constables. (Russell's Treat. p. 583.) The Commons adhering to their former votes, the affair ended. In coincidence with the provisos here proposed by the Lords, Dr. Mead, at a subsequent period, recommended that the *rich*, who might happen to be *infected*, should be transported *to their country houses*, instead of being sent to Lazarettos; as if contagion, did it exist, would not as readily spread from the rich as from the poor! (Mead's Discourse, p. 99.) In conformity with the same principle, some modern functionaries have considered it quite harmless that they themselves should land, immediately upon arriving in port, from ships, of which the crews have been held bound to perform quarantine, as if they had the privilege of being non-conductors of that contagion, which they imagine others cannot avoid propagating. The doctrine of the original contagionists at Trent was very different. They alleged contagion had a stronger attraction for people of condition than for other persons. But all these modifications had their particular purposes to serve. See also the First Report of the Board of Health of 1805, p. 131.

The act of Queen Anne "to oblige ships coming from places infected more effectually to perform their quarantine," related to the prevention of the importation of contagion from certain places only, and did not include the commerce of the Levant, or comprehend any internal regulations for preventing the spreading of disease. But in January 1721, under the influence of the panic occasioned by the plague of Marseilles, which had just terminated, an act was passed, (7 Geo. I.) intitled: "An act for repealing an act (Queen Anne's) for the better preventing the plague being brought from foreign parts into Great Britain, or Ireland, or the Isles of Guernsey, &c. &c., *and to hinder the spreading of infection.*" This act gave power to remove persons from their habitations, and to make lines about places supposed to be infected. A petition against these clauses was presented by the city of London; and, upon the bill, which was introduced for their repeal, being in the first instance rejected, a spirited protest was entered on the journals of the Lords, by Earl Cowper, and Lords

Bathurst, North, and Grey. At length, in February 1722, an act did pass, repealing the aforesaid clauses of the act of the 7th of Geo. I., "*in as much as*" (according to the preamble of the bill,) "*the powers and authorities mentioned in the said recited act, might be very grievous to the subjects of this kingdom.*"

The arbitrary power of shutting sick people up in their houses, given by the act of James I., and that of removing them by compulsion from their habitations, conferred by the 7th of Geo. I., were equally a violation of the principles of public liberty, and of the British constitution, which would have been unjustifiable if contagion had been proved to exist, and these measures had been proved to be a remedy. Such a despotism no circumstances could justify. But, to enact laws so arbitrary, without previous proof of the existence of the alleged evil, or of the efficiency of the proposed remedy, must be admitted to be most extraordinary legislation.

Previous to 1665, several opportunities occurred of calling into action the obnoxious clauses of the act of James I.; but none since that period. By that law, it was made felony to be found abroad with an infectious (meaning a contagious) sore. What proof was required of a sore being contagious I know not. The constables were, I presume, in the first instance, to be the judges!

In 1805, a board of health was appointed, as has been already stated, in London. This board, agreeably to the instructions of the privy council, presented two reports, founded on the usual assumptions, dated the 30th of April, and 15th of May, consisting of an "outline of a plan to prevent the spreading of the plague, or other contagious diseases." The act of the 45th of Geo. III. cap. 10, and an order in council founded upon it, dated the 5th of April 1805, together with these two reports of the board of health, are the foundation of the regulations of sanitary police now in force in England. They are drawn up principally after the model of those established abroad, of which a description will be found in Howard's "Account of the Principal Lazarettos of Europe."

But neither in the act of the 45th of Geo. III., nor in the order of council of the 5th of April 1805, nor in the two reports of the board of health, of the 30th of April, and 15th of May, of the same year, is it declared that persons shall be taken by compulsion from their homes, and shut up in pest houses. The clauses, conferring this unconstitutional power, as first introduced in the act of the 7th of Geo. I., were, as I have stated, repealed by an act of the following year; and the power only remained of shutting up persons affected in their own houses, as conferred by the act of James I. (1604.) The board of health of 1805, indeed, report,

that, "after the disease has spread, the number of the sick rendering it impracticable to provide adequately for them, while they are dispersed in different parts, or to remove all the other inhabitants from every infected (meaning contagioned) house, it becomes expedient to carry the sick, as early as possible, to some temporary hospital, *unless their situation in life enable them to provide for themselves, without risk to the public, in a manner that shall be satisfactory to the magistrates.*" Besides the desperate nonsense of supposing riches to enable persons to prevent a contagion spreading from themselves, which would spread from the poor, as no law existed to authorise compulsion in this case, the plan recommended could not be carried into effect. The power of removing sick persons, by compulsion, from their habitations, and of immuring them in hospitals, or pest-houses, granted by the act of the 7th of Geo. I., was a measure so perfectly odious, even in idea, that it was, as has been stated, very shortly afterwards repealed. It was never in any instance acted upon in Great Britain, until it was revived, as applied to Ireland, by the act of the 58th of Geo. III., cap. 47, in the year 1818. To justify such a law, it would by no means be sufficient that pestilence should be proved to be propagated by means of a specific contagion: it would be further necessary to show, that all diseases so propagated are necessarily fatal. Previous to the passing of the law for the establishment of fever hospitals, &c. in Ireland, I explained at considerable length, to the various authorities engaged in the investigation, the mischievous nature of such an enactment, and did every thing in my power to prevent this preposterous bill from passing into a law. The event has confirmed the correctness of my reasoning. The failure was complete. In the hope that the authors of this absurd and destructive measure are now so heartily ashamed of it, that they will themselves be the first to propose its repeal, I shall at present abstain from all comment which might be superfluous upon so disagreeable a subject; merely observing, that, notwithstanding repeated, and urgent, and well-founded remonstrances on my part, this law, with respect to Ireland, like all its predecessors, was passed without any previous inquiry into the existence of the evil which it professed to remedy. Its existence was taken for granted, on an authority which, as I have elsewhere shown, was also assumed.[1] On faith alone, have these regulations of quarantine or sanitary laws, for upwards of two hundred years, been allowed, under various modifications, to rest.

We now come down to the æra, at which the validity of the

[1] The authority of the ancients. See my "Reasons for concluding that the doctrine of Pestilential Contagion could not have been known to the Ancients, &c." published in the London Medical Repository for February and March 1823.

doctrine of pestilential contagion was, for the first time in the history of the world, even partially submitted to a formal, although a delusive, investigation. Upon my return from Constantinople, in January 1816, after having, by actual experiment, obtained practical confirmation in what has vulgarly and improperly been termed "the Plague of the Levant," of the validity of my previous theoretical demonstration of the non-existence of pestilential contagion, I entered into correspondence with, and made reports upon the subject of my researches, to various branches of the administration. This correspondence led to a reference of the results of my researches, by the Privy Council, to the College of Physicians, in 1818; and their reports not being considered decisive of the question, the subject was, early in 1819, referred to a select Committee of the House of Commons. I shall here consider only such parts of the reports of the College of Physicians to the Privy Council, and of that of the Committee of the House of Commons, as relate more immediately to the Quarantine or Sanitary laws. On this subject, the College report, March 31, 1818: "The doctrine of contagion appears to us to be wholly 'unshaken' by any argument which Dr. Maclean has advanced; *at the same time we think it probable that some of the personal restrictions enforced in the establishments for quarantine, might be modified, without risk to the public safety.*" Here the two limbs of the same short sentence are in direct contradiction to each other. If the doctrine of contagion were confirmed, and if the usual sanitary precautions were justifiable and efficient, it could not possibly happen that these precautions "might be modified," by which the college doubtless mean being mitigated, "without risk to the public safety." On the contrary, did the public safety in any degree depend upon the precautions in question, they could not be too rigidly enforced; and in such case, instead of being modified, they ought to be carried to the highest degree of strictness of which they are susceptible. This glaring inconsistency of the College renders their opinion on this point of no value. In another place, I shall more particularly point out the invalidity and absurdity, as well as the unfairness of their reply to the Privy Council, concerning my work on epidemic diseases, as it respects the main question of contagion; intending to confine myself here to what strictly relates to the quarantine laws.

The select Committee of the House of Commons inform us, that "they abstain from giving any opinion on the nature and application of the quarantine regulations, as not falling within the scope of inquiry to which they have been directed" (Report, 4th July 1819). This seems a very inexplicable conclusion. Considering that the College, in their corporate capacity, had declared

themselves of opinion that these regulations might be modified "without risk to the public safety," and that the individual witnesses examined by the Committee, who expressed any opinion on the subject, were equally favorable to a mitigation of them; and more especially, since, as I shall presently show, some part of the evidence adduced would have justified, or rather required, the abolition of quarantine in England, as far as regards our intercourse with Turkey, even if the plague of that country were undoubtedly propagated by a specific *virus;* under these circumstances, and seeing that to ascertain the validity or non-validity, of the doctrine of contagion, in the plague, could have legislatively no result, excepting as it might affect the regulations of quarantine; it cannot but be deemed extraordinary that the Committee should have regarded these regulations "as not falling within the scope of inquiry to which they had been directed." For what other purpose was the Committee instituted? Surely it could not have been for the mere gratification of an idle curiosity that they were to occupy nearly a whole session in inquiring into the validity of the doctrine of contagion in the plague. Legislatively, what possible result could such an inquiry have, besides the confirmation, modification, or abolition of quarantine regulations? Had the Committee, according to their ideas of evidence, i. e. according to the *opinions* of all or a great majority of the physicians examined, found the proofs against the existence of contagion in the plague to be conclusive, would they not have thought it incumbent upon them to have recommended that the quarantine laws should be immediately abolished, as far as related to intercourse with the Levant? Had it, on the other hand, been proved upon evidence equally satisfactory, not only that a specific virus is the cause of plague, but that that virus is of a nature much more active, penetrating, and diffusive, than it has hitherto been represented, or imagined, by any of its partisans, would they not have thought it their duty to have recommended to the legislature to direct an increased activity and extension in regard to the ordinary measures of precaution—*more walls and higher, to shut out larks?* Or, if what the Committee have chosen to consider as the prevailing doctrine had been found to be correct, and if the *virus* of pestilential contagion had been ascertained to have precisely the properties which have been attributed to it, would they not have been bound to declare that the existing quarantine regulations ought, as the best possible code, to be faithfully and exactly maintained? Or, again, facts being adduced, proving that, even did contagion undoubtedly exist in the plague of the Levant, quarantine would, in respect to that disease, still be without an object in England, was it not their duty, as far as regards our intercourse with Turkey,

to have recommended the abolition of sanitary restrictions in this country?

Thus, then, it is evident, in direct contradiction to the terms of their report, not only that the nature and application of the quarantine regulations did "fall within the scope of inquiry," to which the Committee must have been directed; but that they constituted precisely what ought to have been its principal object. Considered in a view to legislation, it is self-evident that the proof of the existence or non-existence of contagion, in the plague, can be no otherwise of consequence than as it regards sanitary regulations. No inquiry into the validity of that doctrine could, upon any other principle, have any result. And such seems to be the impression on the mind of the Committee, when, in the very same sentence in which they make the surprising declaration upon which I have been commenting, they go out of their way to express their unqualified approbation of the regulations, of which they had just declared that "the nature and application did not fall within the scope of inquiry to which they had been directed;" "*but they see no reason to question the validity of the principles upon which such regulations appear to have been adopted.*"

I shall now show, that, instead of this unqualified approbation, which, according to their own principles, the Committee were not justified in pronouncing, they were bound, according to the facts which were elicited in the course of the investigation, to have recommended the abolition of quarantine regulations in this country, as far as regards the intercourse with the Levant, even upon the supposition of the existence of contagion in the plague.

By the uniform silence of history, in that case forming the best evidence; by the testimony of almost all the witnesses examined before the Committee; and even by official custom-house returns, it stands confirmed, that, in the memory of man, not a single person has ever arrived in this country laboring under the plague, and that not a single case of that disease has occurred amongst the expurgators of goods in the Lazarettos. The Levant Company, in their printed orders to their factories abroad, assert that the plague was never brought to England by means of their commerce. Sir James Porter (Observations on the Turks, p. 41.) goes farther. He asserts that the plague was never brought to these kingdoms immediately from Turkey, without limitation to the Levant Company's establishments. This was also confirmed, and brought down to the year 1819, by official custom-house returns from the different outports, published in the Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated July 4, 1819, of which the following are extracts: ROCHESTER. There is not any record of a case of absolute plague

in any lazarette at this port having occurred, from the earliest period that can be traced, to the present time. PORTSMOUTH. It cannot be ascertained that any case of absolute plague has ever occurred at this port, on board any lazarette. FALMOUTH. The officers at this port are not aware that any case of what is usually called plague, has occurred. MILFORD. No case of absolute plague has occurred at this port. BRISTOL. No instance is on record of absolute plague having occurred at this port, from 1619 to the present time. LIVERPOOL. The officers at this port have not any knowledge of the plague having had existence in any lazarette, or other vessel there. HULL. The officers at this port cannot find recorded in their books a case of absolute plague, in any lazarette, during the last 200 years.—Yet, with all this evidence staring them in the face; the Committee "see no reason to question the validity of the principles, upon which such regulations (those of quarantine) appear to have been adopted."

In this matter there can be no delusion: for, instances of plague, if such had occurred, could not fail to have been ostensibly recorded. What possible object, then, can quarantine have in England, with respect to the commerce of the Levant, whether the plague of that country be, or be not, contagious? Positively none. If it be not contagious, it cannot of course be either exported or imported; and, if it be contagious, its non-importation during an intercourse of three centuries, ships, goods, and persons almost constantly arriving from pestilential places, is a proof that it is incapable of being imported into England. What farther proof can be required that, with respect to the plague of the Levant, quarantine establishments are, even upon the supposition of contagion, superfluous in England? Or, is it proposed that we should wait for three centuries more before we determine the experiment to be conclusive?—It is evident, then, according to the facts proved upon this occasion, that the Committee have not done their duty, in not recommending the abolition of quarantine regulations in England, as far as regards the plague of the Levant. And, if other epidemics had been included in the scope of their inquiry, as ought to have been the case, the absurdity of these institutions, with respect to all of them, would have been rendered equally manifest.

It being clear, that an inquiry into the validity of the doctrine of contagion, in the plague, could not legislatively have any other result than as its refutation, confirmation, or elucidation might affect the regulations of quarantine, the report of the Committee, even if it had been founded on evidence, could not but have been a perfect nullity, in as much as it did not state (for it was thought unnecessary to inquire) whether, or in what degree, these regulations were found

to be efficient for their professed object. That efficiency, like the existence of contagion itself, was implicitly taken for granted. Had the plague been proved to depend upon contagion, as certainly as the small pox, it would by no means necessarily follow that sanitary restrictions would be efficient for preventing the introduction or spreading of the malady. They are found, upon the evidence of the history of epidemics, to be, in fact, wholly inefficient, as in reason they must be inferred to be, for preventing the propagation of pestilence. Upon what grounds, indeed, can precautions, which are obviously insufficient to prevent the occurrence of diseases, as small-pox, which are incapable of affecting the same person more than once, be rationally presumed to be adequate to prevent diseases, as pestilences, which are capable of affecting the same person repeatedly, even in the same epidemic, and the same season? This law of repetition, independently of the circumstance that the proper causes of pestilence are such as are insusceptible of being obviated or controled by any sanitary restrictions whatsoever, render all attempts at such methods of prevention something much worse than ridiculous. The efficiency, or non-efficiency of all such regulations, it was the duty of the Committee, instead of taking it for granted, to have expressly inquired into, even if their conclusion in favor of the existence of contagion had been undoubtedly correct. That it was the reverse of correct, I shall show in its proper place. With respect to quarantine establishments, even if they had been ascertained by the Committee to be efficient for their professed object, (that object being ascertained to have an existence) would it not still have been their duty to inquire, whether they were managed according to strict principles of economy, or whether they might not be equally well, or better conducted, at less expense, and with fewer stations; or, if they had been proved to be inefficient, or pernicious, to have recommended their immediate abolition, even if the existence of contagion had been unequivocally established?—Upon every imaginable ground, then, quarantine regulations did fall properly, and even imperatively, within the scope of inquiry, upon which it was incumbent on the Committee to have entered, if it was meant that their investigation should have any result.

What motives could have induced the Committee of the House of Commons to have formed a series of decisions so very extraordinary, and so little consistent with the evidence laid before them, it is no part of my business to explain. By what process of reasoning persons appointed to inquire into the validity of the doctrine of contagion in the plague, could have arrived at the conclusions, that it is immaterial, or that it is not their business to ascertain whether the effects of quarantine regulations, as the immediate

consequence of that doctrine, be to increase or to diminish the sum total of sickness, misery, and mortality, incidental to epidemic diseases; whether the immense sums annually employed for the maintenance of sanitary establishments, at home and in our colonies, be a necessary or a superfluous expenditure; and whether the perpetual restraints, vexations, and injuries, which such regulations occasion to commerce, navigation, individual intercourse, and the intercourse of nations, be the indispensable results of a salutary precaution, or the deleterious fruit of an imposture and chimera, I confess myself utterly unable to conceive, and have no inclination to conjecture. It is sufficient for me to have shown that their proceedings are, in point of fact, both extraordinary and unwarrantable.

---

## Sanitary Regulations of the Continental Nations of Christendom.

My time, I trust, has been much better employed than in tracing historically the progress of these institutions. They originated, as I have said, in the Venetian states, in the 16th century. Other countries copied the regulations of Venice. The quarantine laws of England, of which I have above given some account, and those of Spain, of the most recent projects of which I am now going to give a short analysis, are improvements upon the ancient codes; which entirely supercedes the necessity of my giving any description of them. The systems of England and Spain (which latter, however, may now be considered as abandoned) are but the embryo errors of other nations grown to a gigantic stature; and, therefore, in their effects on public prosperity, great evils. Whoever wishes to have a more particular history of them may consult Howard's "Account of the Principal Lazarettos of Europe."

### Sanitary Laws of Spain.

In 1821, a "Project of an original law of public health, for the Spanish Monarchy," in 207 octavo pages, was published by a commission of public health, appointed by the Spanish government, in 1820, being a collection of all the regulations on that subject that have, since the invention of pestilential contagion, been promulgated in the various countries of Christendom; it is divided into four parts.

The first part treats of the objects of the service of public health, and the authority to which it ought to be entrusted. Its express objects are, 'to prevent the communication to the Spanish dominions, in both hemispheres, of the pestilence of the Levant, that of America commonly called the yellow-fever, and all other pestilential or contagious acute diseases, which may prevail in foreign countries.' This task is proposed to be undertaken by means of a machinery, not very remarkable for its simplicity, of which a general direction at Madrid, composed of nine members, under the immediate direction of the government, is to form the centre, or moving principle. Under these directors there were to be 'juntas of health,' provincial, municipal, and littoral, throughout the land. The two latter were to correspond with the provincial junta; the provincial junta with the general direction; and the general direction with the government. The municipal and littoral juntas were of course to correspond, on sanitary matters, with the mass of the nation. No wonder that Sen. Isturiz, one of the deputies of Cadiz, should have said, on rejecting the project of the committee of the Cortes, which was very similar to this, that 'it would be establishing a sanitary nation within the Spanish nation.' Here, employment at least would be created for a great portion of the people. In times of pestilence, it would require the inhabitants of a whole province to conduct the correspondence necessary in the office of the minister of the interior only. The general direction was of course to have a president, secretary, treasurer, keeper of records, and other officers, to begin with; besides establishments, and suitable honors and rewards. This part comprehends 50 articles.

The service of health is divided into maritime and terrestrial.

The second part, which treats of the maritime service of health, is divided into five titles. The first, in thirty articles, conveys rules for exploring every acute foreign contagion at its source; and treats of bills of health, and of infested or suspected places. The second indicates the means of "observing and pursuing foreign contagion, on the passage of the vessels, persons, or goods, in which it may be transported." It gives directions respecting the manner of keeping ship's log books, and explains how clean bills of health may become touched, and touched bills suspected; and how clean, touched, and suspected bills, may become foul. The third contains 'dispositions and means for *attacking* and *destroying* every pestilential or dangerous contagion (however invisible) which may be conveyed by vessels, persons, or goods, upon their arrival in the ports of Spain.' The principal of these means are a Lazaretto of the first order at Mahón, five of the

second order at Cadiz, Barcelona, Ferrol, Carthagena, and Passages, and a Lazaretto of the third order at every other commercial sea-port town of Spain. This title contains 114 articles.[1]

Title 4 contains 'precautions of sanitary police to be taken by vessels loading and unloading in the ports of Spain, and during the voyage at sea.' It consists of 28 articles, which, among other matters of equal importance, supply directions for preventing the embarkation of rats, cock-roaches, and other insects, and for destroying them. It also creates employment for the faculty, by directing that every vessel having a crew of sixteen persons, must carry a pupil in medicine and surgery, who has attended an hospital at least for one year; and every vessel, having a crew of thirty persons, a physician or surgeon of approved Latin.

Title 5, in 38 articles, describes the penalties to be inflicted on the infractors of the sanitary maritime service—fine—dismissal from employment—three years hard labor—death!

The third part, in 8 titles, treats of the sanitary terrestrial service. The first title, in fifty articles, contains 'rules for ascertaining the appearance or existence of any pestilential malady.' Here we have an enumeration of symptoms. The second title contains 'rules and measures for isolating, restraining, and extinguishing pestilential contagion in infected communities, and for preventing its propagation to the healthy.' It treats, in 72 articles, of the mode of isolating, and *curing* the sick, and of preserving the healthy; of burying the dead, expurgating furniture and effects, and purifying houses; of dispositions relating to persons, aliments, medicines, and police; of the means of preventing the propagation of contagion; of the establishment, government, and operations of Lazarettos of observation, cure, and expurgation; of the rules which ought to be observed in the cordons of these, and of infected communities; and of the expurgation and purification of those communities. *What labor to obviate a chimera!*

Title 3, in 47 articles, treats 'of Lazarettos of observation, *cure*, and expurgation;' and, having brought the sanitary machinery to a due degree of perfection, concludes with talking confidently of '*extinguishing the cruel scourge of pestilential and contagious diseases.*'

Title 4, in 42 articles, contains 'rules to be observed in the establishment and vigilance of military cordons, in an infected population.' *Three lines of cordons!* The French 'sanitary cordon' of 1821-2, will be immortal.

Title 5, in 63 articles, treats 'of the expurgation and purifica-

[1] The five Lazarettos of the second order had been abandoned in the project of the committee of public health of the Cortes of 1822, which notwithstanding was finally rejected.

tion of infected communities:' the means, air, fire, gases, water, and other fluids.

Title 6, in 53 articles, contains 'precautions for keeping communities in health free from the contagion of the infected:'—precautions ten thousand times worse than any possible contagion.

Title 7, in 32 articles, treats of expenditure.

Title 8, in 37 articles, treats 'of the penalties to be inflicted on the violators of the terrestrial sanitary service:' fines—dismissal from employment—imprisonment—death!

The fourth part treats of the public health, or 'rules and precautions of sanitary policy in all the communities of the Spanish monarchy.' Title 1, 'Its objects and first care.' The projectors here manifest a disposition to extend their care to the regulation of matrimony, and of other public institutions. This head is again divided into urban and rural sanitary police. Title 2, in 47 articles, amonst other things, takes cognizance of manufactories. Title 3, in 12 articles, takes cognizance of canals, roads, trees, vegetables, animals, and in general all subjects of rural economy. Title 4, in 17 articles, treats of the 'means of averting *endemic* and epidemic infirmities, and of preventing the propagation of *regular* and *hereditary* contagions!' I must restrain myself from the train of observations to which this very curious title would naturally give rise, or commenting on the nature of the multifarious and delicate functions which it would confer on the general directors.

Title 5, in 36 articles, lays down 'politico-medical rules for the exercise of the art of curing.' It seems difficult to divine the connexion of this title with sanitary regulations. But nothing, it seems, is too great, or too minute for the grasp of the commission. Here they claim authority over every department of medicine.

We now come to the animal creation. Title 6, in 31 articles, contains 'precautions for preventing the communication, propagation, and re-production of the epizooties or epidemics of animals' They too, it seems, are contagious: and rules similar in principle are to be applied to them, as in the case of the human species!

Title 7, in 5 articles, treats 'of the authority of municipalities over the health police of communities, and of the jurisdiction of the municipal and provincial juntas, and of the general direction of the public health of the Kingdom." Every thing centres in the general direction, under the authority of the government. The nine gentlemen composing that direction would, in effect, have an unlimited authority—an unqualified arbitrary power—over the lives and properties of the people. Such an instrument of systematic despotism as these sanitary laws would afford, has perhaps

never yet been witnessed on the face of the earth. Over animals, vegetables, and minerals; over manufactures, commerce, and navigation; over the lives, liberties and properties of the nation, the juntas of health, the general direction, and the minister of the home department, for the time being, would possess an unlimited, and undefined and capricious authority. They would possess the right to kill, burn and destroy, on suspicion. Precautionary measures against a chimera would thus supersede, not only the constitutional laws of the state, but even the first law of nature.

I cannot but figure to myself the surprise which Hippocrates would experience, if he could rise from the grave, in contemplating a machinery of this description, got up for the purpose of *extinguishing atmospheric diseases!* Would he not be apt to think, that persons, who could institute or countenance measures, so completely destitute of reason and common sense, must be much fitter for patients than for physicians?

The preceding account of the project of the commission of government, is chiefly extracted from my exposition to the Cortes on the subject of sanitary laws, section x. The following observations on the project of the code framed by the committee of public health of the Cortes of 1822, are extracted from a critique on that project, which was also presented to the Cortes, and will be found in my "Sketch of Proceedings in Spain, &c."—The commission of government, and the committee of the extraordinary Cortes of 1821, had founded their sanitary codes on the usual belief in the existence of pestilential contagion. But the committee of public health of the Cortes of 1822, feeling that contagion was losing ground, determined to take a much wider range, and to assume a much more extended object for their code of sanitary laws. That object they stated to be "to procure for the people of Spain the highest health, and for Spain the highest salubrity." But to do this "by means of a general direction, or of any other authority, would require of course, besides super-human intelligence on their part, the subjection to the will of that authority of every agent in nature, capable of acting beneficially or injuriously on the body of man, or on the surface of the soil. In order to effect these objects, it would be necessary that the *three* members of the general direction (this committee, in their project, reduced the original number *nine* to three) should be endowed both with complete knowledge of, and complete power over, all the elements of matter—all the operations of mind—all remedies—food of every quality—drink of every species—exercise of every kind—all institutions public and private, even that of matrimony itself—arts—commerce—manufactures—navigation

—medicine—agriculture—the exact sciences—and, in general, every existing branch of knowledge, every public measure, and every act, even the most secret, of every individual. But these three great directors, it seems, notwithstanding the almost infinite knowledge and power, which they must be deemed to possess, in order to the due discharge of the functions thus allotted to them, are not to act, in all cases, according to the dictates of their own judgment; for that might possibly be not quite infallible: but by the unerring and approved regulations contained in the 400 articles of the project of the sanitary code."

This project could not stand the test of a critical examination. Its discussion was first postponed, in June 1822, to another session; and upon its being again presented and read in the Extraordinary Cortes, in October 1822, it was finally rejected by 65 votes against 48. The substance of the debate, upon this occasion, will be given in "A Sketch of Proceedings in Spain, &c." actually in the press. A farther illustration of the subject of the yellow-fever of the Peninsula is also expected, in a work about to be published, by Dr. O'Halloran, who distinguished himself by zeal and intrepidity in the investigation of the fever of Barcelona, and of which report speaks very favorably.

Whether any attempt will be made to revive the rejected project in a modified form, or in what manner the subject will ultimately be disposed of, I have not at present sufficient data to judge; but I feel confident, from the increasing knowledge and love of inquiry, which pervade Spain, that such of the sanitary laws as are still deemed to be in force, will soon be formally repealed; or that they will fall, in consequence of their demonstrated demerits, into disuse and oblivion, even if nothing more should be done to bring them into disrepute.

*London*, 7, *Salisbury Street*, *Strand*, January 3d, 1823.

# CAUTIONS

TO

# CONTINENTAL TRAVELLERS.

BY

J. W. CUNNINGHAM, A. M.

ATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; VICAR OF HARROW, MIDDLESEX; AND DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD NORTHWICK.

WOULD thou hadst hearkened to my words, and stayed
With me, as I besought thee, when that strange
Desire of wandering, this unhappy morn,
I know not whence, possessed thee! We had then
Remained still happy. PARAD. LOST, b. ix.

SECOND EDITION, WITH CORRECTIONS.

LONDON:

1823.

[PREFACE.—The following remarks are designed to apply, not so much to the class of Travellers who merely snatch from the toils of a busy and anxious life a few weeks or months to refresh themselves by a rapid glance at the scenery of the Alps or the Rhine, as to those who either *domesticate* themselves and their families in foreign countries, or so *protract their Continental visits as to allow themselves leisure to catch something of the manners and spirit of the countries which they visit.*—The very simple and obvious Cautions at the end of the volume, may not, however, be altogether without their use to the first class of Travellers; and, if so, the Author desires to confine this little book to no class of his fellow-countrymen, but to put it into the hands of all who will do him the honor of perusing it,—humbly begging them to pardon its deficiencies, and to assure themselves that they cannot, either at home or abroad, be happier or better than these few remarks are designed, under the Blessing of the Almighty, to render them.]

---

# CAUTION, &c.

THE circumstances of Great Britain with regard to the other nations of Europe, are such, at the present moment, as to demand the most serious consideration from every well-wisher to his country. Since the cessation of hostilites, our native land has been visited by a few foreigners of the very highest distinction, and by others of inferior ranks; but the whole number of visitors, especially when distributed amongst the respective nations to which they belong, has not been considerable. The want of money in foreign countries; the known expenses of English travelling; the wide difference between English and continental tastes and manners; our serious and somewhat haughty national demeanour; our indisposition to converse, upon our own soil especially, in any language but our own;—these, and various other circumstances, erect a sort of barrier between us and all foreigners whom the ardor of science, or love of vagrancy, or strong perception of the excellence and elevation of the English character do not dispose to break through every obstacle. The danger, then, arising from the influx of foreigners into our own country, does not appear to be considerable.

But, on the contrary, if we examine the list of travellers from this country to various parts of the continent, it will be found to be large beyond all previous culculation. It was stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in Parliament, that more than 90,000 persons had embarked, in little more than two years, from one port alone, of whom 12,700 remained abroad.

Now this fact, taken in all its bearings, cannot, I conceive, but be regarded as likely to exercise a considerable influence on the national character: and our countrymen, or countrywomen, who are perhaps on the wing for a continental expedition, will forgive me, if, in somewhat of our plain, home-spun English manner, I endeavour in the following remarks to point out the real nature of this influence. We belong to a great and happy country; and this greatness and happiness we owe, not certainly to any intercourse with foreign countries, but, next to the blessing of a merciful Providence, to our insular situation, to our political constitution, and to our religious and moral privileges. It is my wish to inquire, to what extent, and in what manner, the measure of our elevation and comforts is likely to be affected by our new circumstances.

To abridge my labors, I shall not think it necessary to inquire into the *advantages* of travelling. However great and numerous they may be, they appear to be fully appreciated. Hundreds embark upon the strength of them every week. They are blazoned in volumes of all sizes and complexions; they are traced in ink, sketched in mezzotinto, and painted in every hue which colors the gay banks of the 'arrowy Rhine.' No man, who can either read or hear, is at the present moment likely either to be ignorant of these advantages, or to forget them. My endeavour, therefore, will rather be, to call the attention of my readers to the following questions:—

1. Whether our numerous travellers are of a class likely to be much influenced by the scenes they visit?

2. Whether, if so influenced themselves, their influence upon their native country is likely to be considerable?

3. Whether much is to be apprehended from the actual state of foreign countries?

4. What is the precise manner in which the character of travellers is likely to be affected?

5. Whether the evil, if proved to exist, admits of any remedy?

Let not my readers, however, be alarmed at this formidable catalogue of topics, as it is my intention to be very brief on all of them. And still less let them impute what may be said, to presumption, to narrowness of spirit, to religious bigotry, to home-bred prejudices, to personal unacquaintance with every country but my own, or to a headlong determination to condemn travellers of all classes, and under all possible circumstances. I know, from personal experience, that virtue *is not confined to that happy corner of the earth where we have the happiness to dwell. I can conceive the circumstances where travelling may become a positive duty. I can as easily discern the cases in which it may be considered as*

*lawful recreation.* I wish not impertinently to scrutinise any man's principles of action, and far less rashly to condemn them. But I could also wish every man, deeply and solemnly, where the very highest interests are at stake, to examine the grounds of his own conduct. If it is true that travelling has its advantages: it is also true that it has its dangers: that these dangers are not of ordinary dimensions; that every man is not in a state to encounter them; that they are not to be encountered in a careless spirit, and without an adequate motive; and that it is a primary duty at the present moment to take these dangers into serious consideration, and to endeavour to erect some bulwark against them. Proceeding upon these principles, may I not hope for the pardon of my readers, if a few very popular topics should be handled in these remarks not precisely in the courtly manner in which it is now customary to handle them?—if I should borrow the privilege of my country, to call things, principles, and even men, where the case demands it, by their just and legitimate titles? The times have been, when this moral jealousy of continental habits and vices was neither rare nor unpopular; and it is well, however ardently we may desire the extinction of every bad feeling between ourselves and our neighbours, to keep this spirit alive. Sincerely wishing the continental powers every benefit which an improved system of thinking and acting would be likely to secure to them, I have no other desire for my own country than that she should be as great, as good, and as happy, as our laws, our government, and our religion are calculated to render her.

After this preface I shall enter upon the proposed discussion.

I. The first question, then, which we are to consider, is—"Whether our numerous travellers are, generally speaking, of a class likely to be much influenced by the scenes and individuals they visit."

This question I feel no hesitation to answer in the affirmative; and this for the following reasons:

In the first place; the great bulk of our travellers are persons not occupied by any specific object or pursuit—persons, I may say, in a somewat indolent, oscitant, unoccupied frame of mind. A part of them, at least, are forced out of their country by restlessness, by an ill-defined curiosity, by ennui, by the love of dissipation, by a spirit of wandering, by a fancied regard to works of art, by the love of novelty, by the all-governing consideration that "every body travels," by the superabundance of money, by the fond persuasion that although in their own country care is found usually to mingle a few of her bitters with the sweets of life, things are managed better on the Continent, and that sorrow and weari-

ness will not presume to climb the bold mountains of Switzerland or darken the sweet valleys of Piedmont. I am far from thinking that others are not influenced by better and weightier considerations; but persons such as I have described constitute a large part of the motley groupe.—Now, of travellers in such a frame of mind it is not hazardous to affirm, that they are in a state of all others the most susceptible of new impressions. The emigrants of other days have fled from religious persecution, or political tyranny, or revolutionary madness and proscription; or else they have been stimulated to travel by the spirit of scientific research, or commercial speculation. But, in such circumstances, men ordinarily carry about with them a subject of thought and interest vast enough to absorb the heart, to steel it against new impressions, and to attach it to the habits of the mother country. Business of itself has a tendency to fortify the mind; and, at least, leaves it little leisure to be wrought upon. Distress, in like manner, excludes men from society, disenchants the world of its attractions, occupies men with their own calamities instead of the tastes and fashions of others; and thus, in a measure, shuts out all foreign influence. But the indolent, the careless, and the mere lovers of pleasure, are apt, like a certain little sensitive animal, to take the complexion of every object which they approach. They travel, in some measure, in quest of excitement; and whatever excites, gives a new impulse, and often adds a new feature to the character. There is all the difference between the two classes of travellers here noticed, that there is between hard metal merely subjected to a momentary grasp, and metal locked up in a state of fusion in the mould. The change in the two cases will be widely different. And, thus, men deeply interested or occupied will, I conceive, in a thousand instances, return safely from scenes where the less occupied would sustain the most fatal injury.

But, *secondly*, a considerable proportion of our modern travellers are *persons in the earlier stages of life*.—Those who have been journeying on the Continent have been much struck with this circumstance. They have found the towns, villages, mountains, and dells, crowded with the *young* of both sexes. At one post they have met a party of the junior members of an inn of court solacing themselves for a winter of professional expectation at home, by a summer of professional forgetfulness abroad;—at another, a larger party of youths relaxing from the iron severity of university discipline in the beams of Italian sun-shine;—at another, a company of young ladies carrying to the cities of the South attractions which we may safely say they would rarely have found, and which we earnestly hope they may not leave, in those more relaxed regions.—Nor is this, if an evil it is to be considered, the whole of the evil. Who-

ever enters the great cities or towns on the Continent, and visits the various institutions for education, finds almost every where a small company of English boys and girls plunged into the mass of a French school in such a proportion as infallibly to secure to the party who deserve least to enjoy it, all the preponderating influence of numbers and authority. Now, can any thing be more formidable, to those alarmed at any foreign invasion of our national character? There is a sort of toughness in age, which often defies impressions of every kind. Hervey asserts, that no physician of more than sixty years of age adopted his new theory of the circulation of the blood. But, in youth, every avenue is open, and every point vulnerable. How, generally speaking, can a boy be expected to endure the laugh of a whole "institution" at his country's "prejudices?" How can it be expected, that, in ordinary cases, he shall come back to us without having a new image stamped on him, after passing through this foreign mint? How can we hope to nurse up an English spirit in these foreign cradles—to form our youths to habits of thinking and acting, which few English parents would be content to surrender, by arming them with a set of tastes and feelings the most hostile to these habits?

But more especially may we expect the influence of modern travelling, whatever be the nature of that influence, to be considerable, when we reflect that a large proportion of our travellers are *females*. Formerly, travelling was almost confined to our own sex; but now—and as far as the gratification of the party is concerned, this can be no matter of surprise—no continental party is deemed complete unless a certain proportion of the other sex be enlisted into it. More will presently be said of the precise *nature* of the influence likely to be exerted on the female character: for the present, let us confine our attention to the *degree* of this influence. And as to this point, it will not, I trust, be deemed any calumny upon that portion of our species to whom we owe so large a part of the solid pleasure and advantages of life, to affirm, that females are, on the whole, more susceptible of impression than males. It arises from that tenderness which constitutes one of their peculiar charms, that every object affects them more quickly and sensibly; that every touch, as it were, tells on their softer system. But if so, then the measure of foreign influence will increase in proportion to the number of these more impressible surfaces which are exposed to it.

Another reason for anticipating large results from this spirit of migration, is, that *travelling is not now, as formerly, confined to persons in the highest ranks of life*. Formerly, with the exception of a few merchants, scarcely any but persons of some distinction and property quitted their own country, to seek the real or supposed advantages of another. Now, although the Great travel, and

that to a wider extent than at any period of our history, the subordinate classes of society have also caught the same mania; and there is scarcely any class of persons in this realm who have not members of their own body scattered in greater or less profusion over every part of the Continent. And this will, it may be conceived, among other causes, deepen and extend the impression produced upon the mass of our travellers. Men of high rank, in many instances at least, carry abroad with them a spirit too lofty and aristocratical to submit to the control or to the impress of foreign habits and manners. Pride often does the office of a better principle, and prompts them rather to lead than be led; rather to communicate what is English, than to appropriate what is foreign. But, in the present state of things, men of lower rank and influence will, in the absence of religious and moral principle, have little to sustain them against the tide of foreign habits. They will be more tempted than their exalted countrymen, whose rank is their general and all-sufficient passport to society, to seek admission into foreign circles by undue concessions and conformity. They will feel the difficulty of exercising an authority in a foreign country, to which they could not aspire in their own. They will be likely to ape the manners of the only refined society into which they have been admitted; and thus to bring back to us tastes and vices which men of higher ranks would have disdained to import. Men of distinction will, like the Roman Emperor after his pretended victory, bring us back, perhaps, "shells," or other harmless trophies of their expedition; but our middling classes will transplant to the desk and to the counting-house the habits of those noblesse whose hollow hearts, and sceptical opinions, have, in some instances at least, assisted to hurry on the storm by which anarchy and irreligion have been conspiring to desolate some of the fairest portions of the globe.

Thus much, then, for the measure of influence which the present system of continental travelling may be expected to produce on the character of those who travel. Let us turn to the next question which it was proposed to consider—*viz.*:

II. "*Whether these various classes of travellers are likely to exert any considerable influence on the national character.*"

Here, again, I am disposed to answer in the affirmative; and to assign the following reasons for this reply.

In the first place, *almost all our travellers deign to return to us,* —When men have fled from the lash of persecution or tyranny, they have commonly felt either no very great wish to return, or no very lively hopes of accomplishing that wish. Now, in such cases, any change wrought in the habits of emigrants was of importance chiefly to the wanderers themselves, and to the country of their

adoption. Transplanted from the soil of the mother country, it was of little comparative importance to her what might be the fruit they should bear in the land to which they were removed. But in our own case, the bulk of our countrymen leave us with the fullest purpose of returning. An Englishman does not, under any circumstances, easily adopt the idea of finally abandoning the land he so dearly loves. Even those who are about to seek their fortune at the distance of a hemisphere, fully calculate upon consuming in this country the fruits they have gathered in another. And as for our modern travellers, they are as far as possible from the design of any long expatriation. They abhor the idea of not giving their country the full benefits of all their foreign discoveries. In the midst of their tour, they are consoling themselves for all their travelling perplexities, by anxiously anticipating the triumphant moment when they shall deposit upon their own shores all the riches of their diaries and theories, sights and oversights, apprehensions and misapprehensions. Nor can we desire any change in these feelings and intentions. We love them too much not to wish them back, even at the expense of all their importations. But this circumstance gives a new feature to the case. It is probable, that, except for military purposes, so large a body of travellers never, of their own good-will, issued from their own country with a hearty purpose of returning at no distant period. Soldiers, indeed, have gone abroad; but they have often embarked only to buy with their blood the liberties of their country; and have sent us back nothing but their bones to animate us, like the skin of old John Zisca wrought into a drum, to fresh struggles for the land they loved so fondly, and defended so well.—A few merchants, also, have gone abroad, but have sent us back only a dead stock of luxuries or comforts, which inflicted no further injury than perhaps a fit of the gout. But our modern travellers are not satisfied with such gifts. They mean to give us nothing less than themselves, with all the accessions to their original character, with all the "*splendida peccata*," the polished follies or iniquities, they may have collected in the various courts of Europe. Having gone through the wards of the continental hospital, they hasten back to let loose this "*nova cohors febrium*" to do its work upon the national constitution.

But, next, in order to estimate the probable influence of these travellers upon the national character, let us touch once more upon their various ranks and circumstances.

Some, we have seen, belong to a class who are for the most part *indolent and unoccupied*. From them, unless a continental journey, by reducing them to absolute poverty, should invest them on a sudden with new and extraordinary energies, little is to be feared. Should they be so changed as to begin to exert any influence upon

others, none will be more astonished than themselves. An idler thus roused and stimulated, like the tree in Virgil,

"Miraturque novas frondes, et non sua poma."

This class of persons, unless so transformed, will be characterised rather by receiving any form which society may choose to impress upon them, than by stamping it with their own seal.

Another class of travellers, to whom we have adverted, was the *young*.—These, if possessed of little influence now, will soon escape from the inefficiency of youth, and will influence the circles in which they move in proportion to their rank and attainments; and it will be no fault of the parents and guardians of many of them, if the whole of their prepossessions are not opposed to the habits and institutions of their country; if the reminiscencies of their earliest, and perhaps happiest years, do not associate themselves with foreign manners so as to leave them no taste for what is purely British.

A third class, to whom we have referred, were *females*. And when their just and natural ascendancy in refined society is considered, every change in their habits and manners must be contemplated with deep solicitude. The extent of the control exercised by the female sex on national manners, few, I conceive, will be disposed either to question, or, in the present state of our own country, to regret. While this mild authority is chiefly exercised in softening the manners and quickening the sensibilities of man—in lessening our sorrows and doubling our joys—checking our too feverish parsuit of worldly objects, and winning us back to the quiet charms of domestic life—who would be disposed to break a single link of his silken chain? And, still more, when this ascendancy is employed, as in the case of those females who are living under the deep and abiding influence of religion, in taming down the fiercer passions and more turbulent humors of man—in prompting us to acts of benevolence—in discovering to us the worth of religion by displaying its fruits in our own family—in exhibiting all that is good, in alliance with all that is tender and interesting and lovely—in supplying to us an example of humility—in showing us the effect of prayer, and the value of a deep and intimate union with God;—who is there that would not consider the overthrow of this gentle dominion as the loss of one of the main instruments of personal improvement and domestic happiness? Nor is the exercise of this mild and persuasive power, this despotism of affection, by any means rare. Without giving in to the coarse and vulgar sayings upon this topic, it must be admitted, both that it exists, and that, in our own state of society at least, it is possessed to a wider extent than it is deserved. Any change, therefore, in the character of

those who to such an extent give the tone and complexion to society, must be attended with large results to the national character.

But, lastly, it has been stated, that the body of modern travellers is a heterogeneous mass, composed of men of all ranks and classes in society.—In many instances, the nobleman, who by the natural influence of property commands with almost feudal authority the whole population of his neighbourhood, is studying for the future discharge of this high function among the enlightened nobles of Italy and Venice! Country gentlemen are rehearsing their duties to their villagers, amongst nations to whom the character, name, and office of a country gentleman is unknown!—Nor does the evil terminate here. Our travellers have, as we have seen, been draughted from all classes of the community. Lest any rank of our stayers at home should by any chance forfeit the peculiar benefit which springs from direct and intimate communication with travelled persons of the same rank of life, some "*voyageurs*" will be found who occupy precisely the same level with themselves. There are nobles for the nobility, commons for the commonalty, clergy for the clergy, tutors and pupils, painters and musicians, and tailors and milliners, and students and apprentices, and tradesmen and servants, all prepared to inoculate their respective classes. None will have to complain that he is cut off from the benefits of free and confidential intercourse with those who have quitted their own country to grow wise and good amidst the wonders of another. We are like a company of men, each having hold of some link of an electric chain: all touch it, higher or lower, and all, whether for their benefit or injury remains as yet to be seen, must expect to feel the shock.

And let it be remembered, that the control exercised by the travelled over the untravelled, will be strengthened by a great variety of causes. There is an universal disposition in our nature to consider men wise in proportion to what they have seen; to esteem what is "unknown, magnificent;" and especially to admire others for attainments which we do not ourselves possess. There is also a certain ease, and polish, and security of pleasing, communicated by intercourse with varied society, and especially with society of the higher classes, which will often invest those possessed of it with very unmerited authority. Who will presume to dispute with those on the results of infidelity, who have themselves measured them in the Louvre or the Thuilleries? Who will rashly pretend to canvass the evils of Popery with a disputant that has himself conversed with Cardinals, heard Grand Mass at St. Peter's, or talked over the matter with some picturesque monk at St. Barnard's?

There is, besides, one peculiar quality, not unfrequently acquired

in travelling, which is of prodigious efficacy in all ranks of society: I mean, that species of latitudinarianism which is dignified by the name of liberality. Let me not be conceived to dispute the value of real candor and liberality. I would desire to search for the spirit of candor and of Christian charity, as for hid treasure; and to lay it up among the choicest riches of our inheritance. But, "*decipimur specie recti:*" there is a species of indifference to all modes of thinking, believing, and acting, which is a not unfrequent result of journeying amidst men of various opinions, and which is as far from Christian liberality as error is from truth. I shall have occasion presently to consider this question in relation to the individual thus liberalized: I am now speaking of its effects on society at home; and I contend, that this latitudinarianism gives a man an incredible advantage in society over his less easy, because more orthodox, brother. Such a person can deal charitably with all opinions, because he cares for none. He has no low-minded partiality for one mode of faith, because he has no regard to any. He would admit Christ into the Capitol, because he could admit Jupiter into the Church. He can deal most tenderly with vice, because he does not contemplate it in all its overwhelming results. He does not see it as a Christian sees it, surrounded with its innumerable victims—care, disease, death, perdition. Whilst the plain, home-bred, sincere Christian, contemplating vice in the mirror of Scripture and in the results of experience, views it with horror, contemplates the vicious with alarm and with sorrow, gives sin its proper name, and rebukes the vicious as the Master he serves would have rebuked them; these more generous spirits allow themselves in no such austerities; they have soft names and elegant apologies for every thing. But be it observed, this spurious liberality will be almost sure to win the day, in the eyes of an unthinking world, against serious orthodoxy; and travelled scepticism will wear the honors which ought to be yielded to Christian firmness and consistency.

Having thus endeavoured to show that the influence of foreign travelling will be considerable, both as respects the travellers themselves and the country from which they have emigrated, I go on to inquire—

III. "What the real nature of this influence is likely to be."

Before entering upon this discussion, I must observe, that it would far exceed the limits prescribed to these observations, if the survey were to be extended to all the nations of the Continent. As France, therefore, is the nearest of those countries; as it will be visited by an infinitely larger number of persons than will visit any other country; as its probable influence upon our own manners

and principles will bear a proportion to the number of such visitors; as the evil thrown over many of its enormities is so dexterously woven as apparently to deceive the eye even of some keen examiners; I shall chiefly confine this inquiry to the actual state of France. And for the sake of brevity, I shall notice only a few main features of the case; arranging what I have to say under the heads of Manners and Religion.

Under the head of Manners, may be classed that *spirit of trifling* by which the French, as a people, are so eminently characterized. Voltaire has left many mischievous legacies to his country; but, perhaps, none which is at once a greater evil in itself, and will do more to perpetuate every other evil, than the spirit of universal badinage and trifling. To laugh, is with him the great business of life. In securing materials for laughter, he lavishes all the powers of his genius, and immolates truth, decency, and religion. If he begins by reasoning, he ends with a joke. Submit to his arguments, and he laughs at you: push him by your own argument, and he escapes by laughing at himself and you. He has been termed, in imitation of the witticism upon our countryman Goldsmith, who was once called an "inspired idiot"—the "inspired monkey:" and it would not be difficult to assign many features, and especially this of everlasting grimace, which would justify such a classification. Had this quality, however, been confined to himself, we might have been satisfied to grieve over the loss and perversion of his extraordinary powers; but the misfortune is, that it has diffused itself over a vast proportion of his countrymen. A Frenchman is rarely serious for a length of time about any thing. He trifles alike with all subjects—with the most serious questions in politics, and the most awful topics of religion. Chemists have succeeded in reducing the most solid substances to gasses: and the most substantial truths attenuate into "trifles light as air," in the grasp of this extraordinary people. But can any habit of mind be at once more contagious and destructive of all that is manly and great? Seneca says, "*quicquid est boni moris extinguimus levitate.*" Lord Bacon maintained, that no majesty of character could be combined with a light and trifling spirit. Madame de Stael, who will not be suspected of any undue leaning to superstition, or disregard to philosophy, considers the introduction of a more serious temper into the south of Europe by the northern barbarians, to have been more than a compensation for all the evils inflicted by them. And, in truth, real greatness or goodness never long survive the impregnation of the mind with a love of trifling and persiflage. Those great topics upon which our highest duties and destinies are suspended, refuse to be approached except with the decent homage of a thoughtful and reverend mind.—Now, in this particular has consisted as yet

one of the main distinctions between ourselves and the French nation. They account us a grave people; a nation of shop-keepers; busy, thoughtful, serious;—and we admit the charge, but contend that these very qualities constitute the elements of our moral and national greatness. Let our communion with that ill-fated country be sensibly increased; let our vagrants be mixed up a little more in its dense population; let the two nations come into closer contact; and this distinction will soon melt away, and we, with a little practice, become as arrant triflers as our neighbours. Nor let it be thought that changes as extensive as this, in national manners and character, are either impossible or uncommon. France herself passed, almost by a leap, from a state of abject political submission to a state of the most unbridled anarchy. Spain, formerly the most enterprising and quixotic of nations, surrendered all her grand qualities to a single satirist. And, under new circumstances, it is not impossible that this nation may soon undergo this sort of transformation, and exhibit only the relics of her former self—the "*Magni nominis umbra.*"

2. A second quality, which may be ranged under this head, is *vanity*.—Perhaps it is not too much to say, that no nation ever discovered the same portion of self-conceit and the same love of display with the French. Every other feature in the national character seems to exist in combination with this. It accompanies them into courts and senates, into the field of battle and the shades of retirement: it equally dives with the *poissarde* into her cellar, and squeezes with the minister into the crowds of his levee. The beggar in the street knows so well the constitution of his countrymen, that he flatters while he begs. The preacher flatters while he rebukes; so that even the sermons of Massillon and Bourdaloue present a sort of chequered exhibition of stern reproof and the most revolting sycophancy.—Thus, also, in military matters. Bonaparte governed the nation by cajoling its vanity. Even now, it is difficult to persuade a Frenchman that their armies, in the late conflict, have sustained any defeat; and there is said to be a picture in Paris, of a grenadier keeping the allied armies in check by the mere terrors of his countenance. But it is needless to establish a charge against the French, the justice of which none will deny. Nor is it possible, in an essay such as this, to attempt any enumeration of the evils of vanity, either to nations or individuals. I will rather direct my readers to a masterly writer, who has the merit of first exhibiting vanity in its true size and colors, and surrounded with its proper consequences.

"Vanity," he says, "when disappointed, (and it is often disappointed,) is exasperated into malignity, and corrupted into envy. In this stage the vain man commences a determined misanthropist. He detests that excellence which he cannot reach. He detests

his species, and longs to be revenged for the unpardonable injustice he has sustained in their insensibility to his merits. He lives upon the calamities of the world; the vices and miseries of men are his element and his food. Virtue, talents, and genius, are his natural enemies, which he persecutes with instinctive eagerness, and unrelenting hostility. There are who doubt the existence of such a disposition; but it certainly issues out of the dregs of disappointed vanity: a disease which taints and vitiates the whole character wherever it prevails. It forms the heart to such a profound indifference to the welfare of others, that whatever appearances he may assume, or however wide the circle of his seeming virtues may extend, you will infallibly find the vain man is his own centre. Attentive only to himself, absorbed in the contemplation of his own perfections, instead of feeling tenderness for his fellow-creatures as members of the same family, as beings with whom he is appointed to act, to suffer, and to sympathize; he considers life as a stage on which he is performing a part, and mankind in no other light than spectators. Whether he smiles or frowns, whether his path is adorned with the rays of beneficence, or his steps are dyed in blood, an attention to self is the spring of every movement, and the motive to which every action is referred. His apparent good qualities lose all their worth, by losing all that is simple, genuine, and natural: they are even pressed into the service of vanity, and become the means of enlarging its power. The truly good man is jealous over himself, lest the notoriety of his best actions, by blending itself with their motive, should diminish their value; the vain man performs the same actions for the sake of that notoriety. The good man quietly discharges his duty, and shuns ostentation; the vain man considers every good deed lost that is not publicly displayed. The one is intent upon realities, the other upon semblances: the one aims to *be* virtuous, the other to *appear* so."[1]

"The same restless and eager vanity which disturbs a family, when it is permitted in a great national crisis to mingle with political affairs, distracts a kingdom; infusing into those entrusted with the enaction of laws a spirit of rash innovation and daring empiricism, a disdain of the established usages of mankind, a foolish desire to dazzle the world with new and untried systems of policy, in which the precedents of antiquity and the experience of ages are only consulted to be trodden under foot; and into the executive department of government, a fierce contention for pre-eminence, an incessant struggle to supplant and destroy, with a propensity to calumny and suspicion, proscription and massacre."[2]

[1] "Modern Infidelity considered:" a sermon, by the Rev. Robert Hall.
[2] Hall's "Modern Infidelity considered."

Here, then, is another source of danger to our English travellers. Vanity, among its other evil qualities, is of a nature so highly infectious, that our countrymen cannot breathe the air of France without running some risk of contracting it—of exchanging their simplicity for a spirit of display—of learning to be fops, in aiming to be gentlemen. What La Harpe said of an individual, is true of the nation to which she belonged: "Il est difficile d'avoir moins de sensibilité et plus d'égoïsme." And shall we not tremble at the approximation to a disease such as this?

3. A third blot in the minds and manners of our continental neighbours, is the *almost total disregard and disrelish for domestic pleasures and virtues.* It has been said a thousand times of the French, and in general of the southern nations of the Continent, that the word *home* is scarcely known among them. In France, no one stays at home, except to receive company—except, that is, to be as much in public as though they were not at home. Men, women, and children, live in public—in theatres, and gardens, and promenades, and exhibitions, and coffee-houses. Of course, in such a state of society the cultivation of domestic graces and virtues would be superfluous. But suppose our countrywomen, especially, to contract this taste for publicity; what a blow would be struck at our national happiness! It is, next to the favor of his God, the highest joy of an Englishman, that he has a bosom at home on which to cast his sorrows, and perplexities, and disappointments;—that, released from the feuds of parliament, or the oar of professional duty, or the din and hurry and anxiety of commercial speculation, he may return to a companion who, dwelling amidst scenes of comparative repose, has been providing in his own little mansion a balm for his aching heart and a cordial for his exhausted powers;—that, when his jaded mind is sinking under the accumulated burdens of life, he has a hand prepared to lead him beside the "still waters and green pastures" of heavenly consolation. With this species of "pleasures," we fear that other countries are less acquainted. But, who, that has once tasted of them, will be contented to exchange them for the smooth indifference, the stratagems, the dexterous double-dealings, the subtle prettinesses of foreign politeness?

On the subject of domestic "*virtues*" I shall be satisfied, with some apology for the explicituess of the language in which their judgment is conveyed, to let two very intelligent travellers deliver their opinion—the one, as to the state of France; the other, as to that of Italy. The following extract is from "Scott's Visit to Paris."

"These breaches of nuptial fidelity, it is affirmed, are less universal at present than they were before the Revolution; but, I believe, it is doing no injustice to the state of French morals to say

that they now constitute the majority of cases of conduct after wedlock in the genteel circles of Paris."

The rest of the passage, although of a still more decisive character, is too coarse for extraction.

Mr. Forsyth, a no less keen observer, in his Observations on Italy, speaking of Florence, says that the females "keep the conversation perpetually fluttering on the brink of obscenity, and often pass the line." And again: "Cecesbeism, though perhaps as general, is not so formally legalized as at Naples, where the right of keeping a gallant is often secured by the marriage contract; yet, here, no lady can appear in fashionable company, or before God, without such an attendant. She leaves her husband and children at home, while her professed adulterer conducts her to church, as if purposely to boast before Heaven of the violation of its own laws."

If one half of this is true, can any motives, which are not of the weightiest nature, justify Englishmen in exposing the females of their family, especially by a protracted visit to these countries, to the contagion of such habits?

The truth is, that in France, especially, the whole education and discipline of the female sex is directed to a different object from that which is contemplated in England. A French woman is educated simply and exclusively for display. No virtue will atone for the absence of the power of drawing and fixing attention: scarcely any vice will tarnish the lustre of this power. What a "damning proof" of the truth of these assertions has a late trial in France supplied to the surrounding nations? A woman had been detected in most infamous circumstances. When brought to the bar, as a witness in a most awful case of murder, she admitted her own infamy—she repeatedly perjured herself—she insulted the judges—she trifled with the lives of the prisoners—she sported with the murder itself—and yet, because she fainted at the proper moment, because she encountered the queries of the court with frontless insensibility, because she strutted over this field of blood like an actress—because she played a part, and spoke in metaphor, she was almost worshipped at Paris under the title of "the Angel of Destiny." The judges, the lawyers, the people, the secretaries of state, all exhaust the power of language and fancy to panegyrize this infamous woman.—Such a state of society is little short of a moral plague; and no man should hope to escape the infection who rashly exposes himself, or those he loves, amongst its miserable victims.

But I must not dwell longer on the subject of manners, and shall now turn to the still more important subject of *Religion*.

I would be far from pronouncing any general sentence on the

principles or practice of the population of a mighty Empire. Doubtless, the Saviour of the world has sincere worshippers in every land where temples are erected to his honor. Even in the countries where Popery appears to have most effectually withered the growth of pure and spiritual religion, many a devout supplicant serves God by unconsciously violating the principles of a church which he does not venture to dispute or examine. Many escape from the mists of error and impurity into the sunny region of truth and holiness. But, admitting this, we shall risk nothing in asserting that France and Italy, and especially the former country, are almost universally divided between the most heartless infidelity and the grossest superstition. I shall dwell for a moment on each of these subjects.

1. And first, let us touch on the subject of *infidelity*.—The court of Louis XIV. was the proper seed-bed of infidel principles. By exhibiting a sort of religious profession in combination with ambition, inordinate vanity, and unbridled sensuality, it could not but bring religion into the most abject contempt. The preachers also, as has been already observed, conspired to degrade the altars at which they ministered, by casting upon them the gross offerings of unhallowed adulation. It is difficult to say, whether the preacher "*qui prouve la religion*," or he "*qui la fait aimer*," offended the most, in fuming the insatiable monarch with the incense of his own applause. After the death of this sovereign succeeded a Regency, whose profligacy was the common cry and bye-word of the civilized world. The succeeding reign of Louis XV., if less coarsely and disgustingly profligate than the Regency, was not less sensual and inwardly corrupt: and the constitutional timidity and indolence of the monarch and of his ministers, gave ample scope for those stratagems to strike root downwards, and bear fruit upwards, which were to scatter the seeds of moral ruin over the world. "*Après nous*," said Madame de Pompadour, "*le déluge*;" and, sure enough, a deluge of enormities followed this disastrous reign, which swept away every land-mark of religion and virtue in France, and threatened the utter annihilation of civilized society. This is no place to enter upon a detailed account of conspiracies, on the banner of which was inscribed "*Ecrasez l'Infâme*," and of whose leaders it was the fond prediction that Christianity would in less than a century be expelled from the face of the earth. It is enough to say, that as to France herself, the prediction was well-nigh accurately fulfilled; that, within a very few years of the present moment, she endeavoured to root out every vestige of Christianity from her soil; that she erected a strumpet into a divinity, and worshipped her as the "goddess of reason." Let it never be forgotten, in forming our present estimate of France, that within a few

years she exhibited the only example upon record of a nation of professed atheists. In what respects the reign of Bonaparte was likely to recover this apostate country, let those judge who remember his own profession of Islamism, and the well-authenticated fact that on his return from Elba he consigned the administration of the new schools for the education of the poor to Carnot, with the express injunction that no letter of the Bible, and no particle of Christianity, should be introduced into them. And we venture to say, that whoever, since the cessation of hostilities, has held any extended intercourse with Frenchmen, will discover that the adherents of Bonaparte, the great body of the military, (that is, in fact, the mass of the community,) are not ill-prepared for the deification of any other image or person whom it may be thought desirable to substitute for their discredited goddess.

2. But secondly, where infidelity does not prevail, *superstition* has too generally occupied the place of real piety. Look at the actual state of those who are professed believers in Christianity.

In the first place, all the mummery of Popery is retained; and even some ceremonies, which the good sense of Louis XVI. had rejected, have been restored by the existing sovereign. He is, by a solecism in reform, attempting to force a gross superstition down the throats of an infidel people. What a re-action must this produce!

In the next place, there is literally no Sabbath. The Sabbath is not a day of rest, but of increased dissipation. The shops are open—the courts are held—the theatres are thronged—public shows and national celebrations are eagerly multiplied.

Next, the nation is suffering under that general curse of Popery, the detention of the sacred Scriptures from the mass of the people. The great mass of the nation is afflicted with a most perilous disease; and they are forcibly excluded from the only fountain of health.

Add to this, certain peculiarities, which have deep root and wide growth in that neglected soil.

*Ridicule is the almost universal test of truth.*—"A man had better," says M. Jouy (a gentleman who has given a very faithful though not very attractive sketch of the manners of his country), "be vicious than ridiculous."

*All distinctions of character are confounded.*—No woman is shut out from society because she has violated some of the most sacred duties which she owes to it.

*Vice is reduced to a regular system.*—Gross indecency is indeed prohibited, as being in bad taste; but, in return, secret profligacy is recognised and licensed. The Government lease out the public stews. "There is but one Palais Royal in the world," say the

French: "It is happy for the world," replies Mr. Scott, "that there is but one."

Now, I do not mean to state these as the necessary fruits of superstition; but they are its not unnatural concomitants. A religion which substitutes forms for principles constitutes a sort of marsh land in morals, where every thing noxious is generated, and, above all, licentiousness, simulation, mock homage and real contempt for all that is great, and venerable, and holy.

Although, for reasons before stated, and especially from the apprehension of extending this discussion beyond its legitimate bounds, little reference has been made to the religious circumstances of the other southern nations; it need scarcely be added, that as these nations are almost exclusively under the influence of Popery, from which many of these evils flow, the same observations, to a considerable extent, apply to them. Popery has an almost irresistible tendency to inflict the opposite evils of superstition and infidelity, wherever it prevails. When the religious authorities of a country demand more than right reason and conscience allow us to yield, the obedient almost necessarily become bigots, and the disobedient infidels. Free toleration would supply an intermediate spot, a sort of border country, where the dissidents might rest; but Popery does not tolerate; and the dissatisfied have no temptation to embrace any other mode of religion, when it is the common belief of their country that one only can save the soul. Hence the land is almost necessarily, to a great extent, divided between those who believe every thing, and those who believe nothing. The actual condition of most Papal countries will be found to substantiate these observations. The thick night of unbelief is only here and there broken by the lurid glare of superstition.

Having thus presented a very brief and imperfect sketch of the moral condition of a part of the continental nations, I proceed to our next point of inquiry.—

IV. "*What are some of the actual effects which may be anticipated from the influence of these Continental visits, on the minds and character of our travellers?*"—The brief observations I shall be able to offer upon this point, may be arranged under the heads of *Letters* and *Religion*.

In the first place: Although it is obvious that considerable *literary* advantages may, under some circumstances, be reaped from travelling; under other circumstances, many evils are to be apprehended. The advantages I will, as before, suppose to be known: let us touch for a moment on the *disadvantages*.

1. In the first place, there is much danger of learning to rest satisfied *with superficial knowledge*.—Many quit their country with-

out any such qualifications for travelling as enable them to reap the real advantages which it offers. Others, although furnished with many pre-requisites for travelling, are seduced from useful pursuits by the dissipations or attractions of foreign countries. Others, who have journeyed with industry and care, neglect, on their return, to correct their own observations by comparing them with the observations of others; and thus lose the benefit of experience by a negligence in study. Now, in all such cases the traveller will, in spite of his wanderings, remain really ignorant; but, what is worse, he runs the risk of continuing satisfied with his ignorance. His measure of information, however scanty, is just enough to pass current with many for real knowledge; and if the counterfeit will pass, few, it is to be feared, will be at the cost of procuring the legitimate coin.

2. *The habit of rambling is apt to communicate a spirit of rambling to the mind.*—The benefit of those pursuits to the intellectual faculties, which collect, confine, and concenter the attention, has been universally admitted. But a change of place, and object, and pursuit, has the opposite tendency of distracting and dissipating attention; of scattering the powers of the mind among so many subjects, as to leave no fixed thought and deliberation for any; of teaching us to cut those Gordian knots which it is the most useful occupation of the understanding to untie.

3. Another common effect of travelling, is that of tempting the traveller, who is in the constant habit of combining pleasure with instruction, *to abhor all studies which cannot be thus agreeably associated.*—Every person, who has watched the operations of his own mind, is conscious of the inebriating effect of that species of reading which is calculated mainly to stimulate and to amuse. The student thus stimulated, finds great difficulty of returning, if I may so speak, to his sober cups. But it is peculiar to the traveller to live under a perpetual stimulus; to have all his objects and pursuits associated with attractive scenes and events. It may be expected, therefore, that he will find no small difficulty in exchanging his picturesque employment for the dull routine of the everyday student.

4. Continental travelling, also, has perhaps a tendency to *attach men rather to an elegant and trifling species of literature, than to those more hardy and profound pursuits, which involve the highest interests and duties of man.*—A taste indeed for the fine arts, for the classics, for many of the pursuits which embellish life may often be both inspired and nourished on the banks of the Tiber, or amidst the wild sublimities of the Alps. Nor am I by any means disposed to undervalue any attainments by which life may be stripped of its grossness, or its innocent delights be multiplied. At the same time, it is possible to polish our mind at the expense of its

marrow and substance; to sacrifice all the hardy and masculine qualities of the intellect at the shrine of imagination; to gaze away our understandings; to consume some of the most precious years of life in search of laborious nothings, in deciphering what ought never to be deciphered, in forgetting all that ought to be remembered, and remembering much that cannot be too soon forgotten—to return to our country the *petit maitre* purveyor to the wonderments of a dilettanti club, but with a heartless indifference to all those awful topics which command the attention of senates, or exhaust the energies of the patriot and the preacher. It is men of business that our country requires; and their place will be ill supplied by graceful copyists of the worn-out grace and majesty of of ancient Greece and Rome.

So much for the literary dangers to which some of our travellers appear to be exposed. Let us next turn to the more important topics of *morals* and *religion*.

Here, again, it is by no means difficult to imagine cases in which travelling may be productive of great moral advantages. The rank, the circumstances, the preparation, the peculiar temper, taste, and habits of the traveller, the company in which he travels, the places at which he stops—these, and other like points, must have much weight in any decision as to the probable results of the expedition. Instances may be conceived, in which a journey, pursued with a due regard to all these circumstances, may assist in liberalizing the mind; in forming it to independent habits of thinking and acting; in communicating a more kind and catholic spirit; in lifting the soul, by the contemplation of all the glories of the universe, to its Great Author and Architect. It is, indeed, often useful, to those whose minds have been cramped or stinted by the prejudices of a narrow education, to escape from this petty corner of the earth; to take their stand among the prodigies of creation; to survey the great family of God distributed over the face of nature; and to learn, from the characters of tenderness and mercy with which every spot is pregnant, some fresh lesson of forbearance and love to all mankind. But, even with this as a counterpoise, the moral dangers of a traveller seem greatly to preponderate over his moral advantages.

He is, in the first place, exposed to a wholly new class of temptations, arising out of the broad, naked, and shameless *profligacy of foreign manners*.—Upon this point, for obvious reasons, it is impossible to dwell.

He is, moreover, peculiarly exposed to the influence of a wide-spread and deep-rooted *infidelity*. And, especially, if he belong to a literary class, he discovers the walks of literature to be peculiarly infected with this spirit. And perhaps, with much national *mauvaise honte*, and with little comparative facility in reasoning in a

foreign language, he may find himself able to say less in defence of the strongest points in religion than the meanest dabbler in dialectics is able to say against them. And, by degrees, mistaking his own infirmity for the infirmity of the cause of which he is so defective a champion, he surrenders the faith, which has stood the test of ages, the scrutiny of the most profound examiners, and which has carried millions in peace and honor through all the stages of life, and will present them calm and undismayed at the tribunal of their God. The instances are not rare in which the whole of this process has taken place.

If the traveller, in his endeavours to escape from the hazardous region of infidelity, betake himself to the circles of more orthodox society, he is there assailed by an opposite danger. Perhaps whatever measure of religion he may himself possess, is seated chiefly in his imagination, and is therefore ready to retreat before any fairer vision which may present itself to his fancy: and, perhaps, he may discover this more seducing spectacle *in Popery itself*. Pious minds, of more susceptibility than strength, and the slaves of impressions rather than the simple and sober scholars of Christ, can scarcely fail, for a time at least, to have their attention arrested and their affections interested by some of the solemnities of the Roman Church. A celebrated living German poet is said to have embraced Popery from having seen a funeral procession issue at midnight from a church, followed by a picturesque train of monks with torches, whose dim lustre flashed across their wan countenances and solemnly lighted up the ancient edifice which towered above them, and whose chaunt seemed nothing less than the requiem of angels to the soul of the dead. Others have looked themselves into Popery at the solemnity of the Papal benediction at Rome; when the Pontiff appears, as it were, suspended in the air, and pronounces his blessing on the universe, and, at the firing of cannon, the whole of the innumerable multitude collected before him prostrate themselves as one man in his awful presence. Others, of a timid cast of mind, are perhaps frightened out of Protestantism into Popery by the solemn bodings of some smooth and solemn priest, who with an air of infallibility denounces everlasting ruin upon every soul which is not within the pale of the Roman Church. If such instances of apostacy from a pure to a corrupt faith are rare, I myself have known cases sufficient to convince me that the danger is not by any means chimerical.

The main temptation, however, of the traveller, is not perhaps to any open and violent rejection of the faith of his fathers, but rather to such an adulteration of the fundamental principles and precepts of his religion by an infusion of Popery, or to such a complete though secret surrender of them, as to render his pro-

of little or no value.

Consider how many circumstances tend to this formidable result. The traveller, generally speaking, is excluded from all means of public instruction, and therefore, from all the checks, warnings, encouragements, and exhortations, which these merciful provisions for our spiritual welfare are calculated to supply. He may wish to "go up to the house of his God," but perhaps wishes it in vain. He may wander on mountains which never listened to the bells of the Sabbath; or may dwell in cities where the still voice of truth is stifled by superstition and mummery. He may halt in a spot, either where there is no religion, or where religion is degraded to a mere pantomime. And who can calculate the probable effects of such a change of circumstances, especially if of long duration?

In the next place, he lives in countries of which it is scarcely too much to say, that "they keep no Sabbath;" where, at least, the dissipation of one part of the day is calculated in the strongest degree to neutralize every conceivable benefit of the other—where any possible spark of religion which may be kindled by what may be termed a very heavy "spectacle" performed by the priests in the morning, is thoroughly and almost inevitably extinguished by a far gayer and more attractive species of "spectacle" in the evening. Let those who have felt the powerful influence of the Sabbath upon themselves, in prompting holy resolutions, in stimulating the drowsy affections, in quickening the dull conscience, in solemnizing, instructing, strengthening, consoling, sanctifying the heart—decide what must be the result of even a temporary suspension of all the benefits of this sacred day.

Again: the traveller resides for the most part, in countries where, from various causes, and especially from the vices of the religious orders, a religious profession is to a considerable extent identified with hypocrisy and priestcraft, and where he must feel it no small difficulty to maintain a respect for that which it is the general usage to suspect and despise.

Add to these the following new sources of temptation;—that he is, perhaps, far more drawn into promiscuous society than when at home; that he has less opportunity of knowing the real character and designs of those with whom he associates; that he has stronger inducements to frequent even the more questionable scenes of public amusement; that, as a stranger, he has little or no character to sustain; that he lives in that state of perpetual whirl and dissipation the least favorable to reflection, to meditation, to prayer; that his moral superiority to most of those around him is likely to betray him into high notions of himself; that he is possibly without friends to advise, or ministers to instruct, or restraints to control him; and it is surely no evidence of timidity, or bigotry, or home-bred narrowness, to anticipate the most serious results from the

operation of these combined causes. Nor is it the part of a good citizen to be silent when so large a proportion of our more intelligent countrymen are about to be subjected to this novel process—this "*experimentum crucis*"—upon their morals and piety.—It is, indeed, no small evil that two millions and a half of the national property have been now for two years annually consumed in foreign countries, and at a moment when our looms and our laborers have been standing still for want of employment. It is no small evil, that, at a period when the standard of disloyalty and confusion was unfurled, our nobles and gentry had deserted, in quest of mountain scenery and Roman relics, the posts at which they ought to have rallied the slumbering patriotism of their country. It is no small evil, that, when blasphemy lifted her voice in the land, many of those teachers by whom it ought to have been stifled were studying the picturesque amidst the glaciers of Switzerland. But all these evils are as nothing, in comparison of the fact which it has been the object of these pages to establish,—that we are threatened with the demoralization of a large and important body of our countrymen—that this plague spot appears already upon some—that the virus is gradually circulating—that we may expect every day to have emptied out upon our shores fresh materials for diffusing this moral pestilence, till "the whole head shall be sick, and the whole heart faint." Other causes may perhaps assist in some measure to check its progress; but there is evidently much cause for alarm.

V. The point at which we have now arrived leads naturally to the last subject of inquiry—viz. "*Whether the evil admits of any probable remedy?*"

And here, as I conceive, in the first place, that some travel who ought to stay at home; and, secondly, that some who might lawfully travel, neglect the precautions for travelling safely; I shall take the liberty of briefly noticing each of these cases.

And, first, I would address myself to those the reasons for whose emigration do not appear as decisive to some others as to themselves.

May I be permitted to ask of such persons, what is *your* motive for quitting your own country to pay a visit of any length to another?

We quit it (say some) for "*economy!*"—This plea cannot be confidently urged in the face of recent accounts from those who have visited the same scenes, and who tell us that the charges to travellers are in many cases exorbitant. Besides, is it necessary, or just, to try the effects of economy in another country, when you have not as yet tried them in your own?

Is the plea "*health?*"—your own health, or the health of those you love?—Doubtless there are cases where this plea may be ho-

nestly urged; and, where there is a rational hope that disease may be overcome, or even mitigated, I have no disposition to add to the already heavy burden of such wanderers by condemning the motives by which they are guided, or the course which they deem it best to pursue. This is a case in which individuals must be left to their conscience and to the directions of their medical guides. Instead of contending with them, I will cordially wish them the blessing of God, and every success which He may see good to grant them in their arduous and melancholy struggle with pain and disease.—Perhaps, however, I may be permitted to suggest, to some of my untravelled readers, that the winter months in many parts of the Continent are more trying, to those accustomed to the comforts of an English fire-side, than all the gales of our churlish climate. And, in summer, I cannot but conceive that the clear and burning suns of the South must be as likely to injure as to restore a weak constitution. Charles II., it is well known, was accustomed to maintain that England was the finest climate in the world, because it supplied more hours than any other, in every day, in which a man might get air and exercise. And let no man expect to see greener valleys and fresher mountains, or to catch clearer breezes, than those which invite us within our own sea-girt country. Health is by no means as often found as it is expected, by a change of climate and soil. Physicians have lately employed, with astonishing success, applications for bracing the very class of patients before dispatched to die in more relaxing climates. And in those less doubtful cases, where there is reason to fear that the patient is afflicted with some incurable disease, surely it is, generally speaking, a hardship, to drive out the sufferer, perhaps without a single companion, from the circle of those who love him and of those he loves —Surely it is happiest, and best, in such a case, to sink surrounded by dear friends, by the ministers of the church to which we belong, within the reach of wise instruction, of tender consolation, and of those sacred elements which are the precious memorials of "Him who loved us and gave himself for us." But, even in such cases, I would not presume harshly to dictate to the afflicted. The course of disease is uncertain; and even in the worst cases, the aching heart continues to "hope against hope." In such circumstances, and where the sufferer is not dismissed to wither alone, but carries abroad with him the tender guardians of his soul and body—friends who will cheer him in the hour of depression, and point his eye to the only Source of peace and joy—I have no complaint to make; but desire rather to mingle my grief and my wishes and my prayers with the mourners, whatever soil they water with their tears, and under whatever sky they bend their knee to the compassionate Father of a guilty and afflicted world.

Is the plea "*improvement of mind?*"—But is the residence of many of our wanderers in foreign countries of such duration as to warrant the indulging any well-founded hope of such improvement? Have they the previous qualifications for such an expedition? Have they well digested the saying of Lord Bacon, that "to journey in a country of which we do not know the language, is to go to school, and not to travel?" Have they carefully considered the pre-requisites for travelling stated by one of the most interesting and intelligent travellers of the present day?[1]

Is the plea "*improvement of your children?*"—To say nothing of the risks to which they must be exposed abroad, it is an indisputable fact that this country contains the best masters of every kind—for this simple reason, that it is best able to pay them.

Some individuals, however, may have pleas for travelling far stronger than any of these—pleas so strong, indeed, that I might have no more the inclination than the power to resist them. Will, then, such persons forgive me, if I venture, in conclusion, to say a few words by way of "*caution*" to them? Should the maxims which follow appear to some of them exceedingly obvious and common-place, I may at least plead the apology for them and for myself, that I am speaking to the young as well as to the more mature;—that the most obvious precepts are often not only the most important, but the easiest forgotten;—and that, as a matter of fact, many who on this side of the water have enjoyed the reputation of very profound moralists, appear, by some property it may be supposed of the soil of the Continent, to forget even the plainest maxims of morality the instant they have planted their foot on a foreign shore.

Assuming, therefore, that some reader of these remarks, after considering the objections to a somewhat protracted visit to the Continent, discovers adequate reasons for such an expedition, I would humbly submit to his attention the few following very simple precautions—precautions which he will at once discover to have a distinct reference to some of the dangers that have been already enumerated.

In the first place, let him labor to *ground himself firmly in the Evidences of Religion.*—A man in many instances does not discover the unsoundness of the foundation on which his faith is erected, till it is assailed by some desperate trial. If he should make that discovery first in a foreign country, surrounded by the enemies of religion, and deprived of its ordinary supports, only one result, and that the most fatal, could be anticipated. Let him, then, with a view to such assaults, take nothing for granted in religion; but solemnly inquire, before he converses with infidels, why he himself is a believer.

[1] Preface to Eustace.

In the next place, let him strive *to acquire just conceptions of the real objections to Popery.*—The spirit of the times appears in many instances to combine, with much enmity to Papists as men, much indifference to the principles of their religion. We shall do well, I conceive, to reverse the order of our feelings as to these points; and to unite, with much charity to the men, an unbending and inveterate hostility to their principles. The facts which compel us to draw the line of demarcation broad and deep between ourselves and that body of Christians, is not that Papists are not often conscientious, zealous, and devout men, but that they hold opinions which, by their necessary consequences, in a measure shake the very foundations of the Gospel—that they too commonly substitute the form for the spirit of religion—that they offer unwarranted homage to the mother of Christ—that they suffer many subordinate mediators to usurp the office of the Son of God—that they subvert, by a variety of inventions, that doctrine of justification by faith which the great father of the Reformation has rightly termed "*articulum stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ*"—that they lock up from the eyes of the community the volume of eternal truth. Let a man familiarize himself with these, which are the real objections to the Church of Rome, and it may be hoped that her gaudy pageants, and her pictured walls, her monks, and trains, and choirs, and processions, will all sweep before him, like the shadowy figures of a vision which are soon to melt and vanish in the beams of the rising day.

In the next place, let the traveller *daily, humbly, honestly, seriously, with much prayer, and with undiverted attention, study the Holy Scriptures;* endeavouring to collect from them aliment to sustain his own piety, and weapons to repel the irreligious assaults of others.

Next, let him increase *his private supplications to the Throne of Mercy* in proportion to that dearth of public means of instruction under which he suffers in his new circumstances. He has changed his country; but the God of his country equally "surrounds him on all sides, and touches him at every point." Let him live as in *His* presence, and habitually and fervently seek his mercy and assistance.

In like manner, let him bind himself, by the most solemn obligations, *under no circumstances to violate the sanctity of the Sabbath*—by travelling, by secular employments, by promiscuous society, by visiting galleries, museums, palaces, and far less by a participation in the amusements by which the day is desecrated all over the Continent. The first step in a traveller's downfall, is ordinarily some cowardly concession of the principles of his country as to this sacred day. Let it, then, be sacredly and scrupulously observed; and the services of his church, even if he is alone, be performed; so that the habit of meeting his God on this day may

be sustained, and the mind participate under another sky a part at least of the religious privileges it would have enjoyed at home.

In the next place, let the traveller *bridle his curiosity*. The present fallen condition of man is in part the result of unbridled curiosity; and a desire to see, to know, and to try things forbidden, is every day bringing down fresh curses upon human nature. Abroad, perpetual provocatives must be supplied to this thirsty passion of our nature; and he who indulges it by seeing every thing, will probably see much that ought never to be seen, and know much of which every good and wise man should unfeignedly desire to be ignorant.

Next, let our travellers *beware of approximations to what is wrong*.—Sir Thomas More said of the casuists, that it was their office to teach "*quam propè ad peccatum liceat accedere, sine peccato*—how near a man may approach to sin without actually sinning." A more mischievous lesson it is impossible, I conceive, to study. The great business of life is to draw a wide and strong line between ourselves and the path of disobedience to the will of God: and the best means of pursuing this object, is not by splitting hairs in morality—by fancying nice distinctions, and creating invisible differences—but by cultivating, under the assistance of God, a spirit of real love and devotion to him. Love is, after all, the best casuist, and will settle a thousand points which heartless school-men, and philosophers so called, will continue to argue for ever.

Finally, let the traveller remember that *he is called not to import the principles or habits of foreign nations into his own, but to export to those less favored countries the principles and practices he has learned at home*.—The political constitution of Great Britain—the purity of her religious creed—the free circulation of Bibles, of the formularies of the church, and of other devout books—the somewhat grave character of her population—her insular situation—her comparative exemption from the storm which has recently "swept over the earth, like a Levanter," shaking the foundations of religion to their utmost depths;—all these circumstances have conspired in some degree to elevate her in moral rank above the other nations of Europe. Now, if the inhabitant of a civilized country chance to travel among savages, he does not dream of degrading himself to their habits—he does not bore his nose, nor tear off his clothing, nor dine upon the companions of his expedition, nor choke his decayed parent in the mud of a river;—but he strives to cherish in these barbarians a love of cleanliness, and refinement, and gentleness, and morality; and thus gently rears them up to the habits and tastes of cultivated men. In like manner, when the rest of Europe has sunk below our own country in

the scale of morality, it is not just, nor humane, nor religious, nor sound philosophy, nor common sense, to descend to their moral barbarisms. It is our wisdom and our duty to 'shew them a more excellent way;" if possible, to rouse them from their criminal slumbers, and call them up to their proper level in the rank of humanity, England has, for a considerable period, under a far Mightier Ruler, swayed the political destinies of Europe; and shall she now truckle to receive her morals at the hands of the vanquished—to receive from them, opinions and practices which have been the very elements of their own degradation and ruin? Shall we, having planted our banner in the very heart of Europe, sit down in their Capua, and there unlearn all the principles in the strength of which we have triumphed? Rather let us, while we pity the conquered, respect ourselves. Let us watch over the ark of our own prosperity; and let us labor to impart to the prostrate nations of Europe, gifts which may avert the future tempest of war, and may render them practically great and happy, under whatever constitution or sky they may chance to draw their breath, or plead for mercy with a most compassionate God.

---

Having brought these humble observations to a conclusion, I will merely add, that, should any of our dear countrymen in a strange land feel themselves depressed or disquieted by the picture which it has been here attempted to draw of the perils of their situation, they may, perhaps, be able to cheer themselves by the consideration that the power and the compassion of the GOD they serve are diffused over every spot of His universe; and that, even in the country they have left, there are those who love them—who ardently desire their welfare—and who lift their hands and their hearts to the Throne of Mercy, that the tender Father of this weak and guilty world may take them beneath the wing of His sleepless providence; may gently "guide them by His counsel," and at length "receive them up into glory."

# A POSTSCRIPT

TO

# OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE PRESENT

# AGRICULTURAL AND NATIONAL DISTRESS;

ADDRESSED TO A NOBLE LORD.

---

By VINDEX.

---

LONDON:

1823.

# POSTSCRIPT.

*20th August*, 1822.

SINCE the first letters were published, in the *Pamphleteer*, No. 34—the Agricultural Distress has advanced with a rapid pace, and has now very nearly exhausted the capital of the Farmers, from one end of the kingdom to the other. Hitherto those unfortunate men have persisted, where it was possible, in prosecuting a losing trade; partly from habit, partly from inability to find any other employment whereby they could procure a livelihood—and partly, no doubt, from the hope that things were come to the worst, and must begin to mend. The event, however, has hitherto proved the fallacy of that expectation; and every article of produce, instead of advancing in price, has steadily continued to fall. Corn has declined considerably, although the last year's crop (that of 1821) was by no means immoderate; and sheep and cattle, how low so ever they might have been purchased when lean, have constantly been sold at a proportionably lower price by the time they were fit for the butcher; so that many intelligent Graziers have been obliged to sell both sheep and cattle, after keeping them upwards of twelve months, for less than their original cost: and although the Dairyman may not be equally pressed as the corn-farmer by wages and other outgoings, his business requiring fewer hands, yet when we perceive the staple article, cheese, reduced from 90 or 95 shillings the cwt., to 40 or 45 shillings, his loss we may be sure is likewise excessive, whatever may have been the reduction of his rent.

And here I would beg leave to observe, that the misconceptions of the people at large on the subject of rent, and its influence on the sufferings of the Farmers, is still surprisingly great, after all that has of late been said and written concerning it. Whenever the Farmers' misfortunes are mentioned, the common remark is sure to be—"let the Landlords lower their rents then, and the Farmers will continue to live and thrive as well as ever:" as if the rent were to be considered as the sole existing grievance, the only cause of the overwhelming distress of the Agricultural body. But it is demonstrably certain, that the rent in many cases—particularly on arable farms—is an object of minor importance in the list of expenses: besides, in point of fact, rents have almost everywhere

been greatly reduced, without sensibly abating the distress of the Farmers. The great body of Landlords have not failed on this occasion to display their wonted liberality and public spirit, by a large remission of rent and arrears; and the reduction of rent will I doubt not be universal, the moment the rest of them shall have acquired just conceptions of the real state of the case. Their conversion has indeed been tardy; but that is little to be wondered at, when it is considered what unwearied pains had for many years been taken to blind and mislead them on this difficult and complicated question. For if, as ministers allege, the low price of produce were merely the temporary effect of abundant harvests, and might of course be expected to rally as heretofore, in less productive seasons; it was natural the Landlords should hesitate to release their tenants from their engagements, when the result of the very next crop might perhaps relieve them from their embarrassments, by restoring produce to a remunerating price. It is therefore both illiberal and unjust to accuse the Landlords of want of generosity or sympathy in this particular, when it is notorious that rents have almost universally been reduced 20, or 30 per cent., whether the lands were held under lease, or at will. Tithes likewise have in many instances been somewhat reduced, although not in proportion to the reduction of rents: but poor's rates, on the contrary, have not unfrequently increased of late, notwithstanding the unexampled cheapness of provisions; and tradesmen's bills—a material item in the charges of a farm, are scarcely at all reduced from the scale of the dearest times; so difficult it is to bring wages and prices to a just equilibrium, when once the balance has been improvidently disturbed by altering the current medium or measure of value, with which those wages and prices are measured and paid. The wages even of the common laborer in husbandry, although more reduced perhaps than those of any other, have still not fallen in proportion to the prices of produce, and the ability of the Farmer; who may be truly said to be in general in a much worse condition as to circumstances, than his laborers at seven or eight shillings a week: and whoever attentively considers the particulars above adverted to, will be at no loss to perceive, how no degree of reduction in rent could in many cases afford an adequate relief to the distresses of the Farmer, while prices and outgoings continue as at present.

I will here likewise beg leave to remark, how unfair it is to the Farmer to reason, or rather to talk on this subject, as if he could have foreseen every thing; as if he had been under an absolute obligation to have saved in the favorable times, enough to balance his present losses, and enable him to sell his produce in future at less than its cost, for the benefit of the public. For besides that they

would thus exact a pledge of foresight and prudence from Farmers, which is never expected from any other class of men; they forget that the greatest number of those Farmers who profited by the high prices, had either ceased to live, or ceased to be Farmers, before the present crisis; and have been succeeded by another race, who had no time nor opportunity to profit by those high prices; but who on the contrary have lost their all, in an unequal struggle with the falling prices, the effect of the restoration of the currency; the power and operation of which, they were in the beginning not at all aware of, and even yet can scarcely comprehend. Nothing therefore can be more uncandid or unjust, than to affect to consider their present ruinous losses as nothing more than a fair set-off for the advantage formerly obtained by their predecessors; men with whom they have in general no sort of connexion whatsoever.

The agonies of the Farmers, however, seem now to be nearly over. Their whole property being gone, they cannot sink lower in the scale of society: for it is notorious, that three-fourths of them are not worth a single shilling; and are only going on from hand to mouth, through the indulgence of their Landlords, to whom they are in general some years in arrear; and by whose capital, therefore, their trade may be justly said to be carried on. The occupiers of the land having now nothing more to lose; the future losses, the inevitable result of a losing trade, must of necessity fall on the Landlords; who will very soon be reduced to the same ruinous condition as the Farmers, if things go on as at present; and those great national interests are suffered to perish, without a single real and efficient effort made to save them. Hitherto it is too evident that nothing has been effected, nor indeed seriously attempted for their relief; nothing beyond mere demonstration and pretence. It cannot indeed be alleged, as in former years, that the Agriculturists have excited no attention in Parliament. On the contrary, numberless discussions have taken place; and Committees have repeatedly been appointed; who consisting chiefly of Fundholders, Merchants, and other persons connected with the monied interest, have given in such reports on the subject as were to be expected from such a quarter, and which have proved equally unsatisfactory and useless to the Agricultural community. A million or two of taxes have indeed been repealed; but the amount is wholly inadequate to restore prosperity to the Farmer, or to avert the impending ruin of the Landlord. To the selection of the taxes repealed there is perhaps but little to object. Remission of taxation is sure to *do* good, so far as it goes. I will only observe, that although it is given out, that those particular taxes were selected with a view chiefly to the relief of the Agriculturists;

they do not in fact—with the exception of the Agricultural-horse-tax, tend more to the relief of that class than of any other.

Such indeed is the disastrous state to which the landed interests have been reduced, that if relief is sought through the lessening of taxation alone, it is evident that nothing short of a reduction of taxes and payments to the scale of 1793 could have any chance of affording adequate protection, and of averting that total ruin and confiscation of property, which stares every owner and occupier of land in the united kingdom, full in the face. Neither would the reduction of taxes to any given amount, prove sufficient to relieve the general distress, and restore prosperity to the nation, without a corresponding revision and adjustment of all private contracts and engagements for money, which were entered into in the depreciated currency; as it is evident, the restoration of the value of the currency is now pressing with cruel and overwhelming injustice on a vast proportion of the community, who are thereby plundered of more than half their property, and rendered unable to perform their wonted part, in supplying wages to labor, and employment to industry. In point of fact, this equitable reduction of contracts is of equal, if not greater importance, as a means of alleviating the general distress, than reduction of taxation itself; and would prove far more efficacious in that respect than any trifling or limited repeal of taxes, such as we have hitherto witnessed.

To return, as it seems we must, to the rents and prices of 1793, without returning to the taxes and expenditure of 1793, must inevitably prove the confiscation of three-fourths at least of all the landed property in the kingdom; which surely the legislature never could intend, and which as surely they would not now enforce, were their eyes and understandings open to the fact. For it is equally contrary to equity and common sense, that the whole burden of the war expenditure should be flung, through the restoration of the currency, on one class of the community alone; while another class, who have profited and fattened to an unparalleled degree, by that restoration which has led to the ruin and impoverishment of the rest of the community, should be suffered to stand exempt from almost any share in the cost of supporting that government, and maintaining that state of national security, industry, and affluence, by which alone their property exists.

As the Fundholders, during the latter period of the war, were assessed to the Income or Property-tax, as it was called, they cannot, strictly speaking, be said to have contributed nothing at all towards their own protection. It is however certain, that they did not contribute in an equal ratio with the other classes of the community, nor in proportion to their property at stake. The Income-

tax was a measure expressly intended for retarding the accumulation of the debt, and thereby increasing the security of the existing stock or funds, and rendering it more valuable to its owners. Although the Fundholder bore a share in this protective measure, it cannot be denied that he was immediately and amply rewarded for his outlay, by the increased stability and value of his property. This sacrifice was but temporary—and forms the only exception indeed to the general rule of exemption in his favor; but towards the permanent support and protection of this his property he contributes not a farthing; not one farthing of the 32 millions of taxes paid annually in dividends, nor of the other 32 millions of taxes levied for working the machinery of government—the largest part of which is superinduced by the existence of that enormous national debt—and which, but for the existence of that enormous debt, would in a great measure be unnecessary and uncalled for.

It is worthy of the most serious reflection, although a circumstance but little attended to—that had the restriction of cash payments and consequent depreciation of the paper money never taken place, the condition of the landowner would have been vastly different from what it really is. In that case, the landowner would have had to bear his fair proportion only, of the national debt and other public burdens, whatever that debt and those burdens might have been. But as matters now stand, he not only sustains his own natural share of those burdens; but likewise an exaction of nearly one half of his whole income or property, over and above his natural share, through the restoration, or augmentation in the value of the money of account. In order to comprehend this subject more fully, it is necessary to observe, that without the Bank restriction and consequent depreciation of the currency, the national debt could never in all probability have been raised above half its actual amount; neither could the current expenses of government have risen to half their present magnitude. The quota of taxes therefore, assessable on land and its produce, and the expenses or charges directly or indirectly affecting it, could not have attained to half their present aggregate, and a landed estate would at this moment have been double its present value. The rent and produce of land were raised at the outset, in nominal not in real amount, by the depreciation of the current medium in which rents and produce were paid. If rents and produce were doubled in figures—taxes and rates were accumulated, in still greater proportion, than that nominal rise. But as the taxes were imposed in the same depreciated currency in which the rents and produce were paid, the increase of burden was, at the time, rather nominal than real; as it was of small importance whether the taxgatherer's note was 50*l.* of the ancient currency, or 100*l.* of the new; the

larger sum being worth no more, weighed no more, cost no more at that period, than the smaller had formerly done. Government was then enabled to get enormous loans, and to raise enormous taxes for the payment of their interest; yet both loans and taxes were at the moment less enormous and less burthensome in reality than in appearance, as both were estimated in depreciated money. A loan of 20 millions of such money was in fact little more than a loan of 10 millions in metallic currency; and as each loan had necessarily the effect of lowering the value of those before it, the nation seemed to grow richer, and more able to pay taxes, the more it became taxed and embarrassed. But the moment the war was over, and the enemy irrecoverably beaten down—and all apprehension of the stability of Government and the funds at an end—and the hitherto depreciated current medium began in consequence to be restored in value—that moment the taxes, direct and indirect, began to be doubled, in real amount and pressure. And not only the taxes, but every debt and payment between individuals was likewise raised in the same proportion, to the grievous injury of the nation at large, and the ruin and impoverishment of myriads of innocent persons.

Here is the fatal grievance—the source of all our distress: and until this fatal grievance is redressed, and an equitable balance restored between money and land—between debtor and creditor—between the tax-payer and the tax-consumer—between the fundholder and the nation; it is utterly futile to talk of resting on the repeal of a million or two of taxes, or to dream of national prosperity and happiness.

By the great body of the fundholders, capitalists, annuitants, and all who subsist on the produce of the taxes, an outcry is raised, as might be expected, against any proposition glancing in any possible way at the revision in equity above alluded to, and so indispensably necessary to the welfare and very existence of the state. This is all very natural; and it is natural likewise, that the leading men of both the great parliamentary factions should join at present, in the chorus: "Faith to the public creditor! not a shilling of his must be touched, whatever be the general distress! Perish the whole race of landlords, and tenants, and laborers to boot, sooner than a finger be laid upon the funds, or a farthing deducted from the dividends;" although the changes in the currency, brought about by the measures originally adopted for the preservation of the fundholder's property from destruction, have doubled the value of their capital and their dividends, through the spoliation of the landed interest, and the nation at large.

In the midst of this universal destruction of the farmers, and fast approaching ruin of the landlords, I have anxiously watched for

some expression of sympathy and compassion on the part of the monied interest, for their unmerited and unexampled sufferings; but not the slightest movement of the sort have I been able to discover amongst any description of monied men, who seem to have entirely forgotten the former services of the landed interest; the chivalrous alacrity with which the landlords and yeomanry stood forward on *their* behalf, in the moment of *their* distress and danger; how they suffered taxes and imposts innumerable to be heaped upon themselves without a murmur; anxious only to raise their then vigorous arm in defence of the state and their fellow subjects, and regardless how little *those* contributed to the general fund, who were then in circumstances less fortunate than their own. One would have thought that now, when the tables are so completely turned, and the funded and monied interest have unexpectedly become vastly more florishing than the landed interest ever were in the most prosperous times; they would, from a sense of gratitude, or generosity, or patriotism, or even from a well-digested sense of their own future interest, have extended a helping hand to their former friends and supporters in the hour of their misfortunes! But all in that quarter, I am grieved to say it, is cold and thankless indifference. Anxious only, as it would seem, to make the most of their unexpected riches, and to excuse their selfishness by affecting to discredit the afflicting representations of agricultural distress, with which the tables of parliament have year after year been loaded.

> "I'll have my bond! a pound of flesh—
> And nearest the heart!"

Nearest the heart indeed! the heart too, not of an individual, but of a nation; not of a subject of the state, but of the state itself! Yet I look in vain for a wise Venetian law—in vain for a second Daniel,—to snatch from the murderous knife the devoted victim.

But what is it, it may be asked, which constitutes the state, in the eyes of ministers and monied men? It is no longer, as in the days of our wise and gallant ancestors, the landed interest. Oh! no: the landed interest in these days, is clean out of—consideration. It is the fundholders, the capitalists, the loanmongers, and the tax-eaters, as they have been emphatically named—who now alone seem to constitute the state; and for whom, and for whose interest and preservation every thing, it would appear, is to be surrendered and sacrificed. It would, one would think, have been becoming at least, and perhaps eventually wise too, in those, who, through the shuffles of the currency, have obtained so large a share of their neighbours' property, to have come forward with a voluntary remission of interest, in proportion to their unlooked for, and unequitable gains; whereby they would have bound to *their*

interest the men of the soil, whose helping hand may some day yet be wanted; but who must meet the call with feelings widely different from those evinced by them on a former occasion, should the monied interest continue thus insensible to their distress, and blindly persevere in rejecting their claim to an equitable arrangement. Surely the monied classes cannot be ignorant of the unfair advantage they have obtained over the rest of the community, by the restoration of the ancient currency after such a lapse of years; when the whole financial and monetary system had been established on a new and widely different footing, and all engagements between man and man arranged according to that new and altered system; a system which arose from the immediate act and fiat of government, and not from the natural course of events. They cannot be insensible to the gross injustice and cruelty, of forcing a mortgagee for instance, who ten years ago borrowed from them ten thousand pieces of paper called pound notes, each of which was worth at the moment, thirteen shillings and fourpence only, of real undepreciated metallic money, or 82¼ grains of gold, or a bushel and a quarter of wheat, or 24 pounds of beef, or seven days' labor of a laboring man; to pay in return for each of those bits of paper, 20 real silver shillings, or 123¼ grains of gold, or 5 bushels of wheat, or 60 pounds of beef, or 14 days' labor of a man: 2568 ounces of gold, for 1712 ounces borrowed; 10,000 sterling metallic pounds, for 6,666 such pounds received; or in one word, not 20 shillings in the pound, as in all other cases; but 30 shillings in the pound, of what was borrowed, or is justly due!

Surely no man nor body of men, endowed with the usual perception of right and wrong, can attempt to abet, or justify, such downright confiscation and plunder—however legalized it unfortunately may be by legislative acts: nor can the legislature, proud of its ancient fame and love of equity, continue to refuse redress of such monstrous and cruel injustice, to national or individual claimants! For the nation at large stands as to payments, in the same relative situation to the fundholders and those who are supported by the taxes, as the debtor or mortgagee to his creditor; being forced, through the restoration of the currency, to pay an addition of 33 per cent. on all the taxes; or, which is the same thing, to pay 20 shillings for every 13*s.* 4*d.* imposed; or 90 millions per annum of the money of account in which those taxes were lately estimated, instead of 60 millions. For, taking the present amount of taxes at 60 millions; it is evident, that 60 millions of the present restored metallic currency in which they must now be paid, is equivalent to 90 millions of the depreciated currency of the latter years of the war, when such enormous taxation was imposed, and sustained too, with apparent facility: so that notwith-

standing the repeal of many millions since the peace, the nation is still much more heavily taxed than at any period during the war; although then greatly more able to bear them, by means of a flourishing agriculture, and a commanding commerce.

It is therefore imperatively necessary, in common justice to the nation at large; and at the same time perfectly consistent with the strictest principles of justice and equity to the freeholders; that the dividends should in future be paid not in money of full metallic value, but in money equal in value only, to the depreciated currency in which the loans were latterly advanced; money of 13 shillings and 4 pence to the pound; or with sovereigns or pounds, or pieces of 82$\frac{1}{6}$ grains of gold each—the value of the pound notes in which the greater part of the loans were made to government—and to which the money value of all former loans was at length reduced.

The advantage of returning to the ancient standard of value, or the restoration of the current medium to 123$\frac{1}{4}$ grains of gold to the pound sterling, has in my humble opinion been vastly overrated; and it is evident to me, that none of the authors or patrons of the measure had a sufficiently clear perception or foresight, of the gross injustice and multiplied misery arising from it, or that fatal project would never surely, have been adopted. In this, as in many other affairs of men—it does not necessarily follow that the best and wisest, and most expedient method of retrieving the misfortunes of a false step, is to retrace that identical step, and endeavour to place ourselves exactly where we were before. It is easier at times, to go through the quagmire than to turn back; and so it most certainly would have been with the long depreciated measure of value. Had the money of account, or coin of the realm, been permanently adjusted in 1814, to the existing value of the only current medium or money of account then in use—viz. 13*s.* 4*d.* to the pound, not a twentieth part of our present calamitous distress would ever have been heard of; but plenty and prosperity and happiness would, as on all former occasions, have returned with peace: and although now, when payments in cash have been practically resumed, greater difficulty would necessarily be encountered, and fresh sources of injury and injustice again be opened; yet a far less amount of evil would *even now* arise, from reverting to the principle of equitable arrangement above inculcated, than from blindly striving in the face of such manifest injustice, and so much distress and misery both individual and national, to persevere in that preposterous and ruinous attempt, to pay in unadulterated coin, debts contracted in depreciated paper; an effort which it is beyond the power of the country to sustain.

On the part of the fundholders it is alleged, that taking the ancient stock and the new together, they have lost as much as they

have gained by the change in the currency; and that the public obtained as great an advantage through the depreciation of the bank paper in which the dividends were paid during the war, as the fundholders have since obtained by its restoration in value.

That the original fundholders suffered at the outset great injustice, and loss of property, by the restriction of cash payments, and consequent depreciation of the currency, no one denies; and those of them who still retain their identical stock, might very naturally remonstrate against being paid their dividends in depreciated money, as their loans were advanced in money of full value. But in point of fact a very small proportion of those ancient fundholders have retained their original stock; and havingonce parted with it, they lose every claim they might otherwise have pretended to: and surely those to whom they sold their ancient stock at a reduced or paper money price, whether individuals, or commissioners of the sinking fund—can have no pretence to superior advantage, or a higher rate of interest on that portion of stock could it be identified—than on any of the more recent loans; with which, as above observed, the more ancient stock became from time to time amalgamated, and completely equalised in value.

Whether the fundholders in the gross, have up to this moment lost as is alleged, as much by the changes in the currency as they have gained, is irrelevant to the question at issue, and is more an object of curiosity than of any real utility to inquire into. But granting for the sake of argument, that the assertion is correct as to the past, it surely does not follow as a necessary consequence, that it should be so as to the future. Twenty years ago A engaged to pay to B 100*l.* a year for ever—and ten years ago B stipulated o pay to A 200*l.* a year for ever. At the present moment each of the parties has paid to the other the same amount in cash, (leaving interest out of consideration, which may be done here without affecting the illustration,) and their accounts may in this point of view be said to balance. But they surely cannot be considered as standing on an equal footing in those engagements, seeing that A has contrived not only to reimburse himself for his advances, but to secure likewise an annuity of a clear 100*l.* a year for ever, without any adequate value given in exchange. So it is with the fundholders and the nation. At this moment the respective gain and loss may nearly balance: but nevertheless, the nation is so circumstanced in its relations with the fundholders, as to be forced to pay them an annuity of 10 millions for ever, over and above the interest really due on their loans, through the improvident restoration of the money of account, with which the dividends must henceforward be paid, on loans advanced in a currency of lower value. Nor is this all: for by the augmentation of the value of the current medium,

the nation is likewise saddled with a similar addition of 33 per cent. on all other taxes and imposts, equal at least in amount to those which are levied for the payment of the dividends; making altogether, an addition of one-third at least to the real amount of all the taxes, or 20 millions per annum over and above what was originally contemplated, or what would have been exacted from the nation, but for those fatal shiftings of the currency. Neither does the mischief stop even here; for through the same changes in the currency, a like addition of one-third is made to every private debt, and payment, and incumbrance; the amount of which it is not easy to estimate, although its overwhelming and ruinous effects are everywhere wofully manifest. The chief and permanent burden of this fatal oversight must ultimately rest on the landlords, who are thereby subjected to an exaction in favor of Government and the fundholders, of at least one-third the value of their lands, over and above what is just or equitable: or in other words—they are plundered of one-third the value of their estates, over and above that portion of them which has been considered as pledged to the fundholders, as their fair proportion of the dividends, and to Government, as their quota of the current expenses of the state: one-third of their estates, over and above what would have been chargeable on them, had that fatal Bank restriction and depreciation of the currency, and that still more fatal and improvident restoration of the currency, never taken place: so that in point of fact, not more than one-third, or more probably one-fourth, of the real value and usufruct of their estates, can henceforward be enjoyed by the landlords at large; which at no great interval of time must inevitably prove the means of driving them into jail, or into obscurity, in order to make room for those favored sons of Plutus, to whom the legislature has virtually given, through the changes in the currency, an absolute and free gift of one-third of all the land in the united kingdom, over and above their just and equitable claim. For what is the estate but the product of the estate? The rent is gone, and with it the estate!

It is a favorite subject with the fundholder to talk about the mortgage they presume themselves to have obtained on all the land, and on every other species of property, with as much ease and confidence, as if they had actually the parchments in their bureaus. They would have it believed that the whole property of the nation, and of every individual, is pledged to the uttermost farthing for the payment of their interest or dividends, in the same sense exactly as if it were a money transaction between private persons. The inference wished to be drawn plainly is—that *their* interest must be paid, as long as an acre, or a shilling of private property remains, whether out of income or capital, matters not: and if the entire

revenue, and income, and produce, should prove insufficient for their dividends—the whole lands, and goods, and chattels, must of course be sold up and made over to them. Nothing less, according to this doctrine, than the absolute command of property and person will suffice for those insatiable money makers; for the same principle carried a little farther would go to that; would give them the command eventually, of the land, the goods, the labor, and ultimately of the personal liberty, of every individual; a sufficient *reductio ad absurdum* surely, of such an absurd proposition.

But, however it might suit the interest or the wishes of the fundholders to have the public debts considered in the same point of view as private debts—nothing can be more distinct in their nature and relations. By the national debt, or public funds, or stocks, is meant, the register of certain sums of money lent by individuals to Government—or, more correctly speaking, sold or given up to Government, in exchange for perpetual annuities payable out of the taxes; which annuities being transferable, become a sort of mercantile commodity, fluctuating in its value like other commodities, and attended therefore with the chance of profit and the risk of loss to the dealers. The funded property or stock differs from a private debt in this essential condition—in not being payable on demand; the lender in fact having no resource on the borrower's goods or person in case of non-payment. This must at first sight appear a disadvantage; but the funds are endowed with many countervailing advantages, which form together much more than a full equivalent: for being easily and speedily transferable—that is, saleable, without almost any expense, this species of property has a vast advantage over every other, which is sure to be burdened in the transfer with enormous expenses, vexatious delays, and frequent disputes and uncertainty. These advantages were originally conceded to funded property as an inducement to capitalists, who were not at the commencement of the funding system so numerous as at present (not having then acquired the art of coining or transmuting paper into gold) to lend their money to Government. This exemption from cost, and the great facility in the transfer, render the funds a vast and ready field for speculation; and enormous sums are daily gained and lost by trafficking, or rather gambling, in that commodity. When to other advantages is joined the larger interest generally derived from loans to Government, it is natural they should operate on people's minds as a set-off against the risk of an irregular or defective payment of the interest at some future period. This risk is perfectly familiar to every lender, or at least to every speculator in the funds. No one is ignorant of it. But as the period of total failure, or

of great defalcation, is indefinite, and perhaps distant—the risk alluded to has but little influence on the estimated value of funded property, as every one trusts it will last his time. It is considered in fact in the light of a long annuity, the duration of which, instead of 50 or 60 years, is indefinite, and is longer or shorter, according to the fears or fancy of the public. The public, however, are partial to this sort of annuity; more partial to it with all its risks and uncertainty, than to land or mortgage; most people preferring the larger immediate profit or interest with uncertain duration, to a smaller profit or interest with perpetual security.

The funded property resembles, in some respects, money lent to the commissioners of a turnpike road, or still more nearly approaches to the nature of shares in a navigable canal, where the trustees stipulate to pay an interest or dividend out of the surplus profits, after defraying the cost of the necessary repairs; but where the share or ticket holder is not permitted in case of non-payment, to seize upon the premises, or to exact double tolls for his own emolument; nor are the commissioners or trustees bound to surrender their private estates or liberty for his security or gratification. The claim of the fundholder to the lands, goods, labor, or personal liberty of the people, is precisely the same as that of the share or ticket holder to the private estates of the commissioners. The claim in either case, is on the surplus of the revenue collected; on the *income*, and not the *capital* of the public: and if a surplus can no longer be obtained for the payment of the dividends, without seizing on the capital, and trenching on the national prosperity and safety, he can no longer possess a right to demand it.

This principle, be it observed, would have been equally sound and irrefragable had no alteration in the currency ever taken place. When the nation could no longer pay taxes sufficient to answer the dividends in full, without confiscating the estates and productive capital of the people, the claim of the fundholder must have ceased, or at least have abated. And if this is undeniably true when on alteration or augmentation of the currency had taken place, it is still more forcibly true when the additional gravamen of the currency, which doubles the amount of mischief, is thrown into the scale.

It is the inevitable tendency of the funding system to diminish progressively the value of landed property, and ultimately to absorb and swallow up the whole of it. Formerly, however, the process was slow, and many years might have elapsed before it came to a crisis, had it been suffered to go on in its original form and character. But the Bank restriction act gave it wings—the wings of a vulture, and has effected that in 20 years, which might otherwise have required a couple of centuries for its completion. The

whole series of acts and operations respecting the currency, from the first restrictive act to the consummation of the business by Mr. Peel's bill, may be justly entitled, a machinery for more speedily stripping the landholders of their estates; and that which is the most singular incident in all this strange eventful history, making them all the while believe, that they were, through its operations, growing daily richer and richer.

The great body of landlords have gone on till now, blundering and floundering, headlong to destruction, under the false impression that the sacrifices they were called on to make were only temporary, and only equal to those of the rest of the community—or even smaller in proportion than the advantages they were deriving from the working of the system, and the numerical advance in rents and prices; flattering themselves that those high rents and prices, as they were commonly called, (but which ought really to have been designated the nominal, or depreciated paper money rents and prices,) would still keep up, or even return again, when once the long-looked-for transition from war to peace was accomplished: and even if prices and rents should fall a little, they still consoled themselves with the certainty of being in a condition at least as favorable as that in which they stood before the war commenced.

> Pleased to the last, he crops the flowery food,
> And licks the hand that's raised to shed his blood!

The alteration of the money of account was a circumstance which the great body of landlords both in and out of Parliament were wholly ignorant of; a subject they could never be made to comprehend: and whenever its impending and fatal effects were foretold, or urged on their notice, it was considered by the confiding and credulous landholders as merely an affair of party, and undeserving of any serious attention. It is only now they begin to perceive their fatal ignorance, and to be convinced when too late, of the former depreciation of the paper currency, by the impending ruin which accompanies its restoration in value. They now perceive that the former *rise* of rents and prices was a mere deception—a nominal and not a real increase of wealth, as they foolishly imagined; but that the present *fall* of rents and prices, while all taxes, charges and incumbrances are increased in an inverse proportion, is not a nominal, but a real and absolute confiscation of their estates.

It were an useless waste of time and words to demonstrate more fully the utter impossibility of levying in gold the present amount of taxes and incumbrances imposed in a highly depreciated currency, without the absolute forfeiture in a very few years, of the whole estates and property of the whole landed interest. I will

only stop to observe, that in 1793 the prices of produce were nearly the same as at present: but the taxes and charges payable out of that produce were scarcely one quarter of their present amount. If therefore a fourfold amount of taxes and charges and outgoings—or even a twofold amount, is levied out of the same amount of produce; it is evident it cannot be paid out of the income, but out of the capital of those concerned, which must speedily bring them to beggary. In fact, the whole of the farmer's capital, and three-fourths of the landlord's estates, are already gone; and the iniquitous system if longer pursued, must inevitably terminate in the fraudulent abstraction of the whole landed property in the kingdom from its present possessors.

It is asserted by the funded and monied party, that the landlords derived a great advantage during the war from the depreciation of the currency (although till of late they would not allow that it was ever depreciated at all), having doubled or trebled their rents, whereby they avoided, in a great measure, the pressure of the war expenditure and taxation; and if they are now forced to return to the rents and prices of 1793, they will not have sustained any real loss or injury.

To this I would reply—that few landlords did in fact double their rents during the war, although such has been the common hearsay and belief. Some few perhaps, upon a small scale, and under peculiar circumstances, the vicinity for instance of an increasing town, or in consequence of great outlay in the improvement of the soil, may perhaps have done so. On the contrary, many landlords had let their estates upon long leases, which endured nearly as long as the prosperous times, and could therefore derive little or no advantage from the rise of produce, although they suffered in common with the rest of the community from the increase of taxation, and the increased expense of living. Others were only beginning to reap advantage from the rise of rents, when the re-action from the peace commenced; by which their tenants were in most cases quickly ruined, through the rapid fall in the value of all their stock and produce, to the amount of 50 or 60 per cent.; and in the most fortunate cases, their rents have ever since been badly paid, even with great and increasing reductions.

But granting, for argument sake, that the rent of land was nominally doubled during the war and the existence of paper money prices, the proprietor was by no means really richer than before. His doubled rent of 40 shillings per acre instead of 20, gave him no more gold and silver, and certainly no more of gold and silver's worth; no greater command of the necessaries or luxuries of life; no more beef or bread or labor; no more in short of any thing but bank paper. All therefore that the landlord gained by his

doubled rents, was the temporary avoidance of loss to a certain extent. While the paper money prices kept up, or kept progressively increasing, by the multiplication and consequent depreciation of the paper, the landholder sustained indeed a smaller loss than some of the other classes, from that depreciation. But it is equally certain, that he gained much less in the commencement than is commonly alleged; while in the conclusion he has lost, or is about to lose, every thing. On the other hand, the fundholder, although he sustained in the beginning both injustice and injury, has now not only the full value of his property restored to him by the restoration of the current medium; but in a vast majority of instances, restored twofold, through the joint operation of rise in the funds, and the restoration of the currency; while the original proprietors of land, in return for their short-lived advantage, have already lost three-fourths of their estates, and are rapidly losing the remaining fourth; the recent purchasers of estates have actually lost their all; and the occupiers of land, the whole body of farmers through the whole united kingdom, are ruined to a man.

Rents are now returned, or are fast returning, to the scale of 1793, but the condition of the landlords is vastly different from that of 1793; their taxes, rates, tithes, and outgoings being in many cases more than doubled, and their tradesmen's bills, servants' wages, and all the ordinary charges of their establishments, still remaining nearly on the scale of the dearest times, and greatest depreciation of money; a few articles in housekeeping, such as bread and butcher's meat, excepted, which, however important to the poor man, constitute but a trifling part of the annual expenditure of a gentleman's family. With the rental of 1793, the landlord is at present not half so rich as he was at that period; two-thirds at least of the effective worth and value of his estate having since then been virtually seized upon and confiscated by the Government, the fundholder, the poor, and the church, through the increase of taxes, tithes, rates and charges of various descriptions; of which calamity, by far the greater share is the disastrous product of those unhallowed operations on the current medium or measure of value.

It is a certain fact, that no landholder, even with an unincumbered estate, is half as rich as his great-grandfather was a hundred and twenty years ago. The present rental of his estate, although four times as great in figures, will not give him the same command of necessaries or luxuries or labor, the true criterion of riches; while those who have any material incumbrances of mortgage, legacy, or dowry to contend with, although such as could easily have been born a few years ago, are now utterly undone There is

absolutely no means left for escape. The fairest patrimonial estate under such circumstances, must be melted down, and pass away into the hands of the loan-mongers, Jews, and money-brokers, who for a length of time have, it is to be feared, been straining their subtle energies to depress the land, in order, as it would seem, that they may the more easily swallow it up, or purchase it at a vile price.

The most specious argument perhaps that can be brought in favor of the fundholder's pretensions, is the original resolution of Parliament, that the Bank should return to cash payments at a future period—'of which all men ought to have been aware, and against the effect of which every man ought to have guarded himself in all dealings, contracts, or engagements for money.' But this argument, however specious it may at first sight appear, will be found, when candidly examined, to carry with it but little weight or value: and in this light it was evidently viewed by its authors and patrons; judging from the frequent inroads and alterations made on it, as suited the conveniency of the moment. First of all, the restriction of cash payments was to last only for fifty-two days; a modest period enough. Before those expired, however, the furlough was extended to one month after the commencement of the next session of Parliament: previous to which, it was again prolonged until one month after the conclusion of the war. In defiance, however, of this engagement, the payments in cash were again postponed by a fourth, and a fifth restrictive act, during the continuance of the peace of Amiens, until war again broke out; when, by a sixth restrictive act in December 1803, the payments in cash were finally put off until six months after the conclusion of a treaty of peace.

From these repeated infringements of the original stipulation, and repeated postponements of the payments in cash—from the long duration, and interminable aspect of the war, and many other concurring reasons, the public became fully persuaded that the measure was finally relinquished—or at least abandoned *sine die;* and from thenceforward it ceased to be looked for, or to be reckoned upon, or to have the smallest influence on money transactions, or the price or value of funded or other property. *In foro conscientiæ,* the stipulation in question, after so many breaches and alterations, cannot be pleaded as a legitimate claim; and can only be considered in the light of an obsolete statute—which, although like the law for the burning of witches, it is still unrepealed, it would be highly unjust and iniquitous to call it into action.

It is moreover abundantly evident, that when this stipulation was made, it did not enter into the calculation of Government or

the Legislature that the resumption of cash payments would be so long delayed; or that it would be attended in the event with such monstrous injustice and injury to any class of the community; otherwise it is impossible to believe that either the original suspension, or the prospective resumption, would ever have been thought of or submitted to. It never could have entered into the head of Mr. Pitt or his supporters, that the resumption of payments in cash or bullion would double the real amount and pressure of the national debt and taxes; that it would force every mortgagee or debtor to pay one-third, or rather one-half more in value than he had borrowed; that by lowering the price of agricultural produce sixty per cent., it would beggar the whole race of farmers and those dependant on them for employment and support; that it would reduce the rent and value of every landed estate in the kingdom at least one-half, besides exerting a most depressing influence on manufactures, and on commerce, whether foreign, domestic or colonial. Had those enormous evils been at all anticipated or foreseen at the moment, no stipulation for a measure so extensively ruinous could ever have been proposed, great as the power and influence of the minister undoubtedly was: and that they were not foreseen at the time, we have sufficient proof in the free and open confession of those very ministers who were, along with Mr. Pitt, the authors and abettors of the restriction of cash payments, and the whole system of measures arising out of it. So far from foreseeing the impending depreciation of Bank paper at the moment, they continued insensible of it for many long years after it had notoriously taken place; but now indeed, they frankly acknowledge that they were deceived, and that a depreciation of 30 per cent. did then actually exist. But the simple confession of error, whatever appearance of candor it may carry along with it, is not in itself enough; it is no exoneration of Government, no redemption of their pledge to the public; no redress nor indemnification to the starving victims of their promises and guarantee.

By repeated acts and resolutions of Parliament, and particularly on the 26th of April, 1811, a full and solemn assurance was given to the public that Bank paper was in no degree depreciated; but was to all intents and purposes equal in value to solid gold and silver of the same nominal amount. The consequence of those solemn pledges naturally was, that numberless individuals were led into a gross and ruinous error, by confiding in the faith and honor of Government, whose sources of information on those points they knew to be greatly superior to those of other men, and whom they could not conceive to be capable of a deliberate intention to deceive. In the wisdom and honor of Government they placed an implicit

and fatal confidence; an implicit belief that Bank notes had suffered no depreciation whatever: and as that which had not fallen could not possibly be raised, as that which was not depreciated was of necessity insusceptible of restoration in value, all suspicion or apprehension of any sort of re-action in the currency was lulled to rest; and the great body of the nation confiding, I say, in the faith and honor of Government, unhesitatingly invested their money in land, in manufactures, in commerce; or entered into engagements for the payment of money by mortgage, bond, settlement, or otherwise, as if no alteration in the currency had ever taken place: never once suspecting, or conceiving it possible, that Government and the Legislature, to whom they looked up as their natural protectors against fraud and deception, would itself have ensnared them into those fatal investments, through which they now feel themselves defrauded and plundered of half their property, by this afterclap of the restoration of the currency; of that very currency which they had the faith and honor of Parliament solemnly pledged for its having suffered no depreciation whatever, and which could not therefore by possibility admit of any restoration or augmentation of value.

And what, let me ask, was the purpose or intention of those solemn Parliamentary resolutions? what but to induce in the public mind a full belief and confidence in the undepreciated state of the Bank paper, to encourage and entice the public to lay out and circulate their property on the faith of Bank paper, with the same freedom and unreserve as if that paper had continued exchangeable, as formerly, for gold and silver on demand? Having therefore thus solemnly, deliberately, and designedly, guaranteed the *undepreciated* character of Bank paper, and its equality in exchangeable value with gold—they must of necessity be considered to have equally guaranteed its *unrestorable* quality; otherwise the whole must resolve itself into the most barefaced swindling conspiracy that ever disgraced a nation. And if Government would retain any claim to consistency, or to public faith or honesty—now, when their operations on the currency have baffled all their wisdom and foresight, and have turned out directly contrary in their effects to *their* anticipations and promises, they must hold themselves responsible for the consequences. Having purposely and deliberately enticed the public to dispose of their property on the faith of *their* guarantee, they must now, upon every principle of common honesty, and common sense, consider themselves bound to make good the loss. And there cannot exist a doubt, that those who have suffered through these measures of Government, have, according to the spirit and principle of the English constitution, an irresistible claim in equity for indemnification, were there any

court where such an action against Government could be brought.

And who are the sufferers by the measures in question? The whole landed interest in its largest sense, the whole kingdom at large; the fundholders, capitalists, annuitants, and those who live by the taxes, alone excepted.

As an instance of the ruinous consequence to individuals, of those fatal measures, I will cite the following case, which is only one of many thousands of the sort. In 1813 a friend of the author purchased a landed estate for about 70,000*l.*, which yielded at the time nearly 2,500*l.* per annum. Circumstances rendered it convenient for him to retain nearly 30,000*l.* of the purchase money on mortgage until he should sell another estate in order to pay it off. Peace came, with no healing under her wings; no sale could be effected; rents fell, and are now less than 1200*l.* a year, and badly paid, and the estate would not now be accepted for the mortgage: so that 40,000*l.* is thus clearly carried off, through this unexpected augmentation of the measure of value, which was warranted by Government to be impossible. To his confidence in the faith and honor of Government his grievous loss is entirely owing. By Government he was solemnly assured that Bank paper, the only currency and money of account, had suffered no depreciation, and could of course admit of no restoration or increase of value; and that he might therefore invest his property in land or otherwise in perfect safety as to any possible re-action or alteration in the money of account. But in spite of those assurances the re-action has actually come; the value of the current medium is augmented one half; the rent, and consequently the value of his lands are diminished one half, and the real amount and pressure of his debt is doubled, through the direct fiat of Government, and the baleful operation of the paper money system.

Surely no man in his senses will deny the cruel and monstrous injustice which this individual sustains through those improvident measures of Government, nor his claim in equity to redress? Then why not grant redress to him, and to thousands in his situation? It is surely in the power of the Legislature which inflicted the injury to redress it, and it is as surely their duty to do so; and no maudlin cant about faith to the fundholders, or practical difficulty, or lions in the way, should be suffered to prevent this cardinal act of justice; which in the end too, would certainly prove, as justice always does, to be the best and truest policy. Trifling difficulties appear formidable only to little minds; but vanish like dew drops in the sunbeams, before the glance of talent and virtue.

Through the fatal measure of restriction of cash payments, and its subsequent ramifications, Government have unfortunately brought themselves into a dilemma, from which it is not easy to escape.

They unguardedly, at the outset, promised to the monied interest a return to cash payments, by which (if finally carried into effect) the fundholders, capitalists, annuitants, public functionaries, &c. must obtain an addition of nearly 50 per cent. to their respective principal, interest, or salaries, at the cost of the rest of the nation, and chiefly of the landed interest. For this enormous and unanticipated advantage the monied interest plead the faith of Parliament. But Government having likewise pledged the faith of Parliament to the nation at large, that no depreciation of bank paper had taken place, and that of course no restoration nor augmentation of its then existing value could possibly supervene; they must be held, upon every principle of justice, honesty, and honorable feeling, to have equally pledged the faith and guarantee of Parliament to keep the nation harmless from the effect of any subsequent alteration in the value of that bank paper. The pledge in the one case is surely as good and as binding as it can be in the other; and if it were absolutely necessary that the pledge should be forfeited to one or other of the parties concerned, there surely could be no good reason why it should be broken in preference to by far the most important of the two. But to neither ought the faith and pledge of Parliament to be broken; and to neither need it be broken. In order to do perfect justice to both, it is only needful to come to a fair and amicable settlement of accounts; adjusting the debts and payments to what they would have been had no suspension nor restoration of cash payments ever taken place, and of course no alteration in value of the current medium or money of account.

On this principle of equitable adjustment, it is evident (were we to take bullion as the standard of comparison)[1] that all the present taxes and payments ought to be reduced about 33 per cent., which would bring the interest of the debt to nearly 20 millions, and the whole amount of taxation and expenditure to less than 40 millions annually; independent of other eventual reductions of expense, which would naturally emanate from a diminished scale of taxation.

In this, no unjust nor unfair advantage is taken, nor wished to be taken, of the fundholder, capitalist, or annuitant; it is only sought to bring them to a fair reckoning; to obtain from them a

[1] For reasons formerly assigned, it is certain that the price of bullion does not afford an accurate criterion of the depreciation of the currency during the war. One of the principal causes of depreciation was the excessive multiplication of all sorts of paper money, all of which was lessened in value, not only because it was not payable in cash, but likewise because of its excessive abundance. The redundant paper carried down in its vortex the gold along with it; so that the real depreciation might fairly be stated at not less than 50 per cent., instead of 33. This too was the necessary effect of the legislative measures; and Government is equally answerable for the consequences.

true and correct statement of accounts, in the place of one notoriously incorrect and partial; which, besides its gross injustice, must of necessity, if longer acted upon, ensure the total ruin of the whole landed interest, and of all descriptions of persons who have payments to make good. For the present iniquitous system forces the debtor, whether public or private, to pay, as before repeatedly observed, 123¼ grains of gold for every 82⅙ borrowed, or justly due; increases the taxes from 60 millions of pounds of 13s. 4*d.* each, to 60 millions of pounds worth 20s. each; and of course expands the 60 millions of taxes levied at present for the current expenses of the year, to 90 millions value of the money in which those taxes were formerly estimated; a far greater amount of taxation than was ever exacted in the most prosperous and wasteful period of the war.

That it would be grossly unjust, as well as utterly ruinous to the landed interest, to reduce by a deliberate system of financial measures, the rent and produce of land to the scale of 1793, unless the taxes and incumbrances affecting them were reduced in equal ratio, is too obvious to admit of serious argument. To reduce the rents and produce to the standard of 1793, taxes and charges remaining as at present, is neither more nor less than to rob the farmer of his last remaining shilling, and to render the estates entirely valueless to their owners. And if fundholders, capitalists, annuitants, &c. have the fancy for metallic money payments, of their paper money debts, they must needs resolve to be satisfied with a smaller interest and diminished salaries.

It must, I doubt not, appear to many persons a singular paradox, that a landed estate should become absolutely valueless to its owner, that a farm should be incapable of yielding any rent at all, or that a good farmer should be under the necessity of losing money by farming, had he no rent at all to pay, prices and outgoings continuing as at present. Yet such, in many cases, is the truth.

Suppose a farm of ordinary arable land, which was wont to yield a rent of 500*l.* The annual expenses, including interest of capital at 10 per cent., may be put at 2,200*l.*, and the gross produce, when reduced into wheat for the sake of obtaining a more clear and simple view of the case, equal to 5000 bushels of wheat. When wheat sold at ten shillings the bushel, the gross return of 2,500*l.* would just suffice to pay the farmer's way, together with a moderate allowance for his time and trouble. But now, when the price of wheat is reduced to five shillings the bushel, with all other articles of farm produce in the same proportion, while the expenses of the farm are still above 1,800*l.* or 2000*l.*; it is evident that his gross produce of 1,250*l.* must leave him a considerable loser by his trade, had he even not a farthing of rent to pay.

But it will be urged—why continue such an expensive mode of farming except on the richest lands? why raise corn at all, which requires a serious outlay? why not lay such a farm wholly down to grass? If in that state it will not feed cattle, it will at least feed sheep, or goats, or rabbits, and afford thereby *some* profit for the farmer, and rent for the landlord. Instead of 30 shillings an acre, it will be worth 10, or 5, or something at least. But lackaday—while the farmer is contemplating his fields of grass, or of thistles, the tax-gatherer appears with his bill of 20 or 30*l.*, and then the parish overseer with his demand of 80 or 100*l.*, and then the highway man, with his composition of 10 or 20*l.*, besides church-rates, county-rates, and other exactions innumerable; to all of which he subjects himself equally with his crop of rabbits, as with his crop of wheat. But the profits of his sheep, or cattle, or goats, or rabbits, will be far below the sum total of his rates and taxes; and it is impossible that any farm could be carried on, or occupied on that system, without the absolute sacrifice of all the time and the money bestowed on it. What indeed can be more truly absurd and ridiculous, than to suppose, that bad farming and bad crops are to accomplish that, which good farming and good crops are incapable of accomplishing? The enigma depends upon that unnatural and disjointed state of property, and of the whole body politic, unhappily produced by the operation of the funding system; aggravated as it has been in a four-fold degree, by the baleful stoppage of the Bank, and its endless ramifications of mischief; the fraudulent depreciation of the current medium; the enormous increase of debt, and taxes, and wages, and prices, arising out of that depreciation; and last of all, the iniquitous restoration of the value of the currency, without an accompanying adjustment of taxes and contracts; whereby the real amount of debts and taxes is virtually doubled, and the property of the monied interest doubled in value, while that of the landed interest is diminished in proportion.

In order more clearly to comprehend this mystery, it is necessary to call to recollection the state of the country in 1793, as to the public debt and taxes. In 1793 the whole amount of the national debt was 233 millions; the interest of the debt about 8 millions; and the whole amount of taxation, including an *actual* sinking fund, about 16 millions. The debt has now increased to 800 millions, with an interest of 32 millions, exclusive of the sinking fund; and the whole taxation, after seven years of peace, amounts to the incredible sum of 60 millions; both debt and taxes increased to four times their amount in 1793! And when we consider that the landed interest pays one half of all the national taxes levied on the subject, besides the rates and imposts

which fall exclusively on agriculture;[1] it is evident, the price of produce being the same now as in 1793, that four times the amount of taxes direct and indirect, is now exacted upon the same value of property! Thirty-two millions of Taxes are extorted in 1822, from the same value of produce that eight millions only were levied from in 1793! The taxes distrained at this moment from agricultural produce—for it is nothing less than a virtual distraint—amount to probably half the value of all that grows through the earth; instead of one-eighth of that value, as in 1793. The remaining half can do no more than afford a scanty subsistence to those engaged in the labors of husbandry; while to the landlord, or even to the farmer, nothing at all can be left for rent or profit. With this view of the case, it will not be difficult to perceive how farms, with the present prices, taxes, and out-goings, can pay no rent, and estates become perfectly valueless to their owners.

In order the more clearly to comprehend the manner in which the national debt and the paper money system annihilate the value of the landed estates to their present possessors, let us suppose that A had an estate which yielded him 100*l.* a year, upon which B had a mortgage of 200*l.* with an interest of 10*l.* per annum. A still wanting to borrow more money, B proposed to furnish him with an annual loan of 100*l.* at 5 per cent. But A perceiving that at this rate of borrowing he must forfeit his whole estate in less than 20 years, becomes alarmed for a moment at his own extravagance; whereupon B, in order to quiet his fears, and to draw him on, proposed to deal with him in a new sort of money, of only half the value of the former, which would advance the rent of his land to 200*l.* a year, and virtually reduce the interest on both the past and future loans to 2½ per cent. A, caught with the lure of high rents and low interest, which seemed to remove the period when his estate must be merged by borrowing, from 20 years to 40 at least, (during which long interval the chapter of accidents might turn up a verse in his favor) accedes to the proposal.

By this arrangement B would lose for a time 5*l.* a year of the interest of his original mortgage of 200*l.*; but he would be sure in the end to secure to himself the whole estate upon easy terms. A, who had conceived mighty expectations from this new financial plan, soon began to perceive that the loan of 100*l.* of the new

[1] Vide Colquhoun page 96, where the whole national income, from agriculture, manufactures, trade, commerce, foreign and domestic, fisheries, banks, professions, and foreign income, is stated at 430 millions—of which the agricultural constitutes 216 millions—more than all the rest together. To the property tax the landed interest paid a still larger proportion, viz. 8 millions out of 14.

money was not sufficient for his purposes; that it only went half as far as the ancient money, and that he must in future make an annual borrowing of 200*l.* instead of 100*l.* It is evident that on this plan his whole estate would only last for 20 years at farthest; so that he was, in no respect, on a better footing with the new money than with the old. This gives him some uneasiness; but still he trusts to the chapter of accidents. Unfortunately for him, however, B was possessed of a power which A was ignorant of; the power of altering the contract; of altering the value of the money, and restoring the ancient heavy money in place of the recent clipped or adulterated money. Accordingly on the tenth year of this contract, when only 2000*l.* of this new-fashioned money had been borrowed, which required for the payment of its interest just half the rent of his estate, which, as before observed, had of late been doubled, A hears with astonishment and despair, that he must now repay the loans in the ancient heavy money, while at the same moment his rent had fallen, or must inevitably fall to the original 100*l.* per annum. But the 100*l.* he must pay in interest, is now become the whole income, and of course the whole value of his estate, which he now perceives is wholly lost; clean carried off, in the short space of 10 years, instead of 20 or 40 years as he was led to believe, through the villainous and swindling operations of the depreciated money.

Now this is precisely the state in which the nation stands at this moment. By the intervention of the paper money, and nominal increase of rents, we were led on to borrow twice as much as we either would or could have done, had the Bank restriction never taken place; and now, when the depreciated paper money is replaced by money of the ancient value, our double amount of paper money debts is all stamped into sterling; while the income or value of our estates is reduced to the former standard of 1792. What is true of one estate is true of every estate. The example above offered is a true picture of all the estates in the kingdom. What then does this amount to? The appalling conviction that the whole landed property of the kingdom is, through the infernal agency of the funding and paper money system rendered, or will soon be rendered, worth not one shilling to its owners! its whole value and essence, extracted by taxation, and transferred to the fundholders, the government, the poor, and the church!

The picture is not overcharged: would to God I could say it were. Patrimonial estates wholly unincumbered may, for a time, retain a portion of value; a third or a fourth perhaps of their value in 1793; but estates recently purchased, or estates burdened to any extent with mortgages, settlements, or other incumbrances, without an immediate change of system, are inevitably lost to their present owners.

Such are the effects of the paper money system, begun by the stoppage of the Bank, and consummated by Mr. Peel's bill: and history may be ransacked in vain for any revolution in property at all approaching in magnitude or universality to this. The most barbarous conquest of Goth, or Turk, or Norman, in extent of confiscation, sinks, when compared to this, into nothing. And when time has laid the passions and prejudices, and conflicting interests of the present actors of this mighty drama, with their bodies in the grave, the future generation will view with astonishment the financial career of the last twenty years: will view that minister who devised the Bank Restriction Act—whatever in other respects his merits or talents may have been, as a man who, by this one act, inflicted on his country a deadlier wound than any man that ever lived.

I am willing to allow that it is both fair and reasonable that the landholders should have forfeited a certain portion of their property in the prosecution of the late expensive warfare; a certain slice of their estates must be considered as virtually pared off, and transferred to the fundholders, as their quota of the war charge, incurred for the protection, we must suppose, of their remaining property. But why should this rule apply to them alone? Was no other description of persons or property protected at their expense? Did the fundholders want no protection? Did the annuitant, the capitalist, the public functionary, want none? Yes—and a great deal more too, than the landholder—*their* property being in its nature more vulnerable, and less enduring midst political storms and earthquakes than *his*. Then why should those classes of persons be exempted from their share in the cost of their own protection? Why should they not give up a part of their capital, or of their interest, dividends, pay, or salaries, for the benefit of that protection, as well as the landlords? Why should the landlords and those connected with them pay the whole? for it comes to that. The landed interest, who are losing their all by the restoration of the currency, may be justly said to pay the whole of the debt, contracted chiefly for the preservation of those very fundholders, capitalists, &c. who actually pay nothing towards it; and who by virtue of that protection through the forfeiture of the landed interest, may be truly said to have come out of the struggle for existence not only without loss, but in many cases with a clear addition of 100 per cent. to their capital, and nearly 50 per cent. to their efficient income: constituting a bonus or free gift to the fundholders over and above their just claim, equal to ten millions per annum—with a similar advantage to the other monied classes, without any claim or pretence to it whatever. Why this monstrous injustice should be wittingly inflicted on the nation; or why it should

be endured, I am at a loss to conjecture: an injury which cries aloud for redress; and which must be redressed, before the present overwhelming national distress can be expected to subside into quiet and prosperity.

It is a fact not generally known nor considered, although deserving of the most serious attention, that the injury done to the purchasers of land and others, by the restoration of the currency, is vastly greater than that which was done to the fundholders, capitalists, or annuitants, by its depreciation; as was lately well illustrated by that most respectable and enlightened senator and patriot, Mr. Western. Suppose a person, at the period of the Bank restriction acts, possessed of an income of 2,000*l.* a year, arising from the funds or otherwise, burdened with a debt or payment of 1,000*l.* a year, and leaving him a clear income of 1,000*l.* Suppose that through the Bank restriction acts or other operations of government, the value of the current medium were reduced 50 per cent.; his gross income would of course be reduced in real and intrinsic value to 1,000*l.*, although still denominated 2,000*l.* His neat income would likewise be diminished in the same proportion; but not annihilated, nor wholly absorbed by the claim of his creditor, as his debt of 1,000*l.* a year would, fortunately for him, be reduced in equal ratio: so that he would now have to pay only 500*l.* of real metallic value, and would still retain for himself a clear 500*l.* of real money out of his former 1,000*l.*; a serious loss indeed, but vastly better than the loss of all. Suppose again a recent purchaser of land (a purchaser on the faith of solemn acts and resolutions of Parliament as to the undepreciated, and of course unrestorable, condition of Bank paper), with 2,000*l.* a year of rent, but burdened with a mortgage of 20,000*l.*, and an interest of 1,000*l.* per annum, leaving him, as in the former case, a clear income of 1,000*l.* If now the value of the current medium were augmented one half, it is evident that the produce of his land, and of course his rent, must necessarily fall one half in value, and numerical amount. But how differently circumstanced this man would be from the fundholder or annuitant, in the former case, who, by the reduction of the currency to half its former value, sustained a loss of *half* his income only, while the unfortunate landholder would lose the *whole* of his! And for this obvious reason; his debt, instead of diminishing as in the former case, *pari passu* with the fundholder's interest, would augment in an inverse ratio with the reduction of the landholder's rent; forcing him to pay to his mortgagee 1,000*l.* of real sterling money, instead of 1,000*l.* of depreciated paper currency (equal in value only to 500 real metallic pounds), which would of course absorb every farthing of his income, and turn him out to starve. The purchaser of land, in such a case, saves no wreck nor remnant of

his property as the fundholder did; but forfeits all to his creditor, whose mortgage or claim on him is doubled in value through this accursed juggle of the currency, equally revolting to common sense, and inconsistent with every sentiment of right and wrong.

And here I would observe, that although the proprietors of ancient patrimonial estates appear, on a superficial view, to stand on a different footing in this respect, from the recent purchasers of land; yet the difference is only apparent and not real. The ancient proprietor may indeed have profited more or less by the rise of rents and prices, which the other has not done; and in proportion as his rents may have risen above the standard of 1793, he will be the better able to sustain the return to that standard; although vastly different will his condition be from what it was in 1793. His taxes, as before observed, are tripled; his servants' wages, his tradesmen's bills, and the whole expense of his establishment, are at least doubled in amount. Were he to live on the same scale as in 1793, his expenditure must be twice as great; so that with the same rental, he is not half the man he was in 1793. He may not, like the recent purchaser, lose his all, by the resumption of cash payments; but he loses more than he ought to lose; he forfeits a larger portion of his property to the public and private creditor, and to Government, than is justly due to either: whereby he loses his relative place and station in society; for the preservation of which he has a claim on Government as just and equitable, as the money-lender has for the preservation of his stock or dividends;—and surely a much juster claim than *he* can pretend to have, for the fortuitous and artificial increase in the value of his capital or dividends, which has been thrust on him by the changes in the currency. For it is to be remembered, that the existing taxes and imposts which affect in a thousand ways the value of the landholder's property, and diminish the command of necessaries or of luxuries which that property afforded to him and his ancestors, were imposed or proportioned, according to the *temporary*, and in a great measure *nominal*, augmentation, in the rental of his lands. If, therefore, those taxes and imposts, proportioned as they were to the high rents, are continued after the rents and produce have been beaten down, through the resumption of cash payments, to the scale of 1793, when taxes were only one-fourth of their present amount; it must be, although I am truly loth to say so—nothing less than a barefaced confiscation of so much of his property, through the *practically* fraudulent (I do not say *intentionally* fraudulent) operations of that Government, which is bound to protect him from fraud and injustice.

If justice, therefore, is ever again to be, in this land of our fathers, any thing but an empty name—let justice be done to every class

alike! Let the augmented burden cease with the augmented rent: otherwise the man of patrimonial estate, as well as the recent purchaser of land, is shamefully jockeyed, outwitted, and plundered of the largest share of his property, comforts, and place in society: which property, taken thus unjustly from the lawful owner, is as unjustly bestowed on the various monied classes, who have no rational claim to it; who rise by the landholder's depression, and grow rich upon his spoil. If one class of society has a right to justice and redress, has not every class? If faith is to be kept with the fundholder, is it to be broken to the landholder and the nation? If the fundholder has a legal claim to payment in cash, has not the landholder an equitable claim against paying in unadulterated coin, what was lent in depreciated paper; which doubles the weight of his taxes, and the claims of his creditors, and transfers to them his estate without purchase, or at least without value received? Has he not a right of fair adjustment, according to the altered value of the money of account; a right, in short, to be preserved unhurt by the operation of those measures of Government, undertaken, as they doubtless were, for the general safety—and to be restored to the condition in which he would now have stood, had those measures of government never taken place? For it is from those calamitous measures, the suspension and resumption of cash payments, that almost all those mighty evils flow. Ruinous in their beginning and in their ending, to all but the Bank and fundholders, who were thereby saved from certain ruin; ruinous through the depreciation of the currency, and tenfold more ruinous through its restoration. And whatever may be thought of the plea of state-necessity in justification of the fraud originally committed on annuitants, creditors, and capitalists, by the suspension of cash payments, and depreciation of the currency, there was nothing could possibly justify the repetition of so much fraud, and mischief, and misery, by its restoration. Here, there was no plea of state-necessity, no threat of invasion, no enemy at the gate, no subsidy to offer, no army abroad; nothing but mere financial etiquette, a wanton lust of experiment, goaded on, perhaps, by the fanciful theories of some not uninterested speculators, in defiance of the plainest evidence of facts, the growing difficulties of the country, and the strong remonstrances of the most respectable and experienced practical men. To ground the resumption of cash payments on a plea or system of redress, at this late hour of the day, to the original sufferers by the depreciation of the currency, is not less absurd in principle, than it has been mischievous in practice. For, under pretence of indemnifying a few ancient holders of stock for injuries sustained nearly thirty years ago, an unmerited largess is bestowed on the whole body of fundholders, three-fourths of whom were not then in existence; as well as on all

other creditors, annuitants, and capitalists, who have no pretence whatever to such reckless munificence, at the cost and to the inevitable ruin of the landed interest, and to the grievous detriment of the nation at large, whose taxes and imposts, although the same in *nominal* amount, are thereby nearly doubled in *real* amount and pressure.

By recurring thus often to the subject of the depreciated currency in consequence of the Bank restriction measures, I fear I must appear intolerably tautologous and tedious: but it is so vitally necessary to the just comprehension of this all-important subject, that the existence of the depreciation through those measures, and its effects upon the various classes of persons and property, should be fully and clearly demonstrated and understood, that I must submit to any censure, rather than leave the question under the smallest uncertainty. For there are even now, I greatly fear, some who, after all we have seen and suffered, continue still to labor under the old delusion; who still indulge the singular fancy, that the grievous agricultural distress under which the country has labored so long, is chiefly owing to the favorite transition from war to peace, although seven years have elapsed since the war was concluded. With men so destitute of perception, or of reasoning powers, it would be vain to struggle. I would, however, beg to ask, how upon their principles it can be accounted for, that never on the termination of any former war was the country visited with such a formidable and permanent calamity. In the American war, we had all the world to contend with, were reduced to a state of the greatest difficulty and danger, and were in the result eminently unsuccessful—exactly the reverse of our recent contest: yet nothing in any degree comparable to our present disasters ensued. Neither the price of produce nor the rent of land, was preternaturally enhanced during the contest, nor essentially and permanently depressed upon its conclusion. Some fluctuation there no doubt was, and must have been; but nothing like the fluctuation in rents and prices of fifty or sixty per cent., which we have lately witnessed. The reason plainly is—in former wars there was no stoppage of the Bank—no paper money inconvertible into gold—no law for making a bit of paper and a shilling equal to a guinea, as money of account—in short, no depreciation of the current medium, and of course no subsequent restoration or augmentation of its value. The transition from war to peace was soon effected—and the injury arising from that transition was comparatively trifling and soon forgotten. But here it is altogether the reverse, and well it may; for the transition from war to peace brought along with it the transition from a depreciated paper currency to one of full value; whereby the price of produce, and the rent of land, are lessened one-half, while all taxes, debts, and engagements for money, are doubled in real amount.

That the real nature and tendency of the measures so often alluded to respecting the currency have, till of late, been very generally misunderstood, both by the Government and the public, I am fully convinced. That they have been so long persisted in is matter of deep regret; although not the slightest suspicion can exist, that Government, with their impressions of the subject, have been actuated by any but the best and most patriotic intentions. But now, when the gross injustice and ruinous effects of restoring the ancient money standard are universally seen and felt and acknowledged, why continue to persist in the mischievous project, which could not be carried into effect without consequences which it is appalling to think of? Why be bound by error and misconception, when their sources are discovered? Why pursue with our eyes open, a path which leads to destruction? Neither individual nor nation can be bound to commit suicide: but the measure of cash payments without a corresponding adjustment of debts and taxes—the measure of paying in gold what was borrowed in paper, whereby all burdens whether public or private are nearly doubled in real amount and pressure—would, were it possible to carry it into execution, prove a perfect *felo de se*, which no Fundholder has a right to demand, and which no government could be justified in conceding.

When they talk of the injustice, the difficulty, and the endless confusion which would now ensue from the repeal of Mr. Peel's bill, or the equitable modification of debts and taxes according to the former depreciation of the current medium, let them think of the injustice, and infinitely greater mischief already done, by the plan for the restoration of cash payments; which, if longer persisted in, must continue daily to increase, until the whole landed property in the kingdom is wrested from its present owners, and the existing fabric of society torn up by the roots! Talk of justice, indeed! and national faith, and honor! Let justice look both ways! Justice is due to the debtor as well as to the creditor; national faith is due to the landlord as well as to the fundlord; and national honor can never be tarnished by the measures which are necessary to rescue the nation from the improvidence of its rulers, or the cupidity of its creditors.

It has ever been held an axiom in jurisprudence, that the welfare of the state is paramount to every other law or duty. *Salus reipublicæ, suprema lex.* This indeed was offered as the justification of that great and first invasion of the rights of property by the Bank Restriction Act, and the release bestowed on the copartners of that trading company from their obligations to their creditors; and if that violation of faith was justifiable on the plea of state-necessity in 1797, I am not aware of any thing that could render it less justifiable in 1823. The external enemy is not indeed at the gate; but an internal and more mortal enemy is tearing our vitals.

In the ordinary dealings of mankind, if a thing turn out on trial the reverse of what it was promised to be, if the goods prove unanswerable to the sample, the bargain is void; and it never was considered any breach of honor, or justice, or fair dealing, to dissolve a contract founded on their falsely represented properties. And since the stoppage of the Bank has been found to lead to what was neither intended nor expected, the depreciation of the money of account to nearly 50 per cent., which by necessary consequences speedily led to a proportionable increase in the numerical account of taxes, wages, prices, and engagements for money; and since the subsequent restoration of the value of that depreciated money has of necessity the effect of doubling all the taxes, rates, annuities, pay, salaries, debts, and contracts, in real amount and pressure, although still remaining expressed in the same figures as before that restoration; it is surely contrary to every principle of reason, justice, and common sense, that the result of that measure, founded as it was in error and misconception, and turning out the reverse of what it promised to be, should be considered binding and irrevocable; involving, as it does, the absolute confiscation of half the landed property in the kingdom, the ruin of all who have contracts to make good, and the grievous injury of the nation at large. Had the depreciation of the currency been effected, as in all former times, by the adulteration or clipping of the coin, there would have been no difficulty in perceiving the fraud, nor any hesitation in any man's mind, as to the practical iniquity of the measures in question. But the effect is practically the same, whether the depreciation is produced by debasing the coin, or debasing the paper; reducing the metallic currency by a mixture of alloy, or the paper currency by rendering it no longer convertible into coin as heretofore, at the will of the holder; releasing the issuers of the paper from their obligation to pay it, and thereby prompting them to the indefinite and excessive multiplication of that inconvertible paper money.

It is truly lamentable to reflect on the calamitous result of that fatal measure, which, in order to save the Bank, in 1797, a few millions in the purchase of bullion for the payment of their just debts, has proved the means of augmenting the national debt and taxes to double the amount they could otherwise have reached; entailing on the nation a debt of 300 millions beyond what was really borrowed, and a taxation of 30 millions per annum beyond what was at the moment contemplated or intended; besides the incalculable devastation committed on the whole landed interest, and the innumerable individuals who have engagements to fulfil. If the Bank was really so sound and stable as was given out at the time, a few millions laid out in the purchase of gold at its then market price in bank paper—a few millions sacrificed for the pay-

ment of their debts, a sacrifice which it was surely their duty to make—would, together with a temporary diminution in their discounts, have sufficed to restore their pristine credit. And if it were alleged that the sudden contraction of discounts would have proved eminently hurtful to the commercial interests and the public service—to that I reply: if the nation has profited by that bold and unheard of financial measure for supporting the credit of the Bank and of the Funds, let the stupendous loss arising from that measure be sustained by those classes and interests which have more immediately profited by the measure; or at least by the nation at large, and not by the agricultural class alone, in defiance of every principle of equity, of moral rectitude, and of true policy. And what objection, let me ask, can be urged against a measure so reasonable in its nature, and so perfectly consistent with justice and fair dealing? I am aware of none. There was a time, moreover, when Government and fundholders were not so scrupulous; a time when it was held fair and equitable to exact a tax of 10 per cent. on funded and monied property, for the purpose of assisting in their own protection. If fair and equitable then, what can prevent it from being so now, when the general distress and danger are in reality four-fold more urgent? nothing, surely. And as to proportionment of burden—were a tax of three times 10 per cent. levied at present on the interest of all such property, it would still be greatly undertaxed, when compared with land and its produce, on which such numerous and multiform exactions are imposed. Let the Bank people and other fundholders only consider the condition in which they must now have stood, had it not been for the interposition of the restrictive measures in their favor. Let them only ask themselves what in all human probability would now have been the price of their stock had Mr. Pitt allowed the run upon them to continue for one other day—when an absolute failure, a real and unequivocal bankruptcy, must inevitably have ensued. Would it have been, as now, 245*l.*, and 80*l.* per cent.? O! no—no!—with the Bank the Funds must have perished, or degenerated into American state paper, or French Assignats—scarcely worth the paper on which they were inscribed. And will this consideration stand for nothing in the minds of ministers and monied men?

In those transactions respecting the currency which have led and are leading to such extensive and unparalleled confiscation of property, I freely exonerate the great body of fundholders and monied men from every reproach or suspicion of original fraudulent intention or sinister motive. The fundholders in the beginning, it is perfectly certain, had not only no intention, through the Bank Restriction Acts, of confiscating the landed property, and transferring it to themselves; but were actually, for a great length of time, perfectly

unaware that any such confiscation or transfer could possibly arise from such a cause. But, although they stand fully exculpated from any design to circumvent the landed interest and defraud them of their estates—although the riches which has lately showered upon them through the changes in the currency, was by them wholly unanticipated and unsought; yet now, when the real state of this mysterious case is fairly come to light, and it is clear and indisputable that they, through those shiftings of the currency, have actually obtained possession of enormous property, to which they have no just nor equitable claim—when this, I say, is now demonstrably evident, it will be no longer just, equitable, or in any point of view excusable in the funded and monied interest, or the numerous classes who subsist by the produce of the taxes, to desire or endeavour to retain and appropriate, that which is evidently not their own; which came to them fortuitously, and for which they gave no value nor equivalent. A man finds my watch, or it is by some chance or other thrust into his pocket: his character may screen him from the charge or suspicion of theft; but if he refuses to deliver up the watch, on pretence that he found it, and has therefore a right to keep it, his conduct, although not absolute theft or robbery, would surely be considered as very unbecoming and equivocal.

That the fundholders will of their own free-will be brought to view this matter in its proper light, or that ministers will as yet abandon their habitual leaning to the monied interest, it might be hazardous to say. But a ray of light begins to break in from another quarter, which may yet brighten into day. The landed interest, and the nation at large, begin at length to open their eyes to the real state of the case; begin at length to perceive the grand and fatal source from whence their unexampled and hitherto incomprehensible sufferings spring—to see the delusion which has been practised upon them, or rather which they have practised on themselves; to see the total ruin which awaits them through the jockeyship of events, and from which they have no possible escape, but by a total change of system. It is scarcely to be expected—tame and enduring as they are—that they will sit for ever motionless and mute, under such manifold and galling injustice and oppression, although originally unintentional on the part of their rulers: and it is surely an object worthy of the gravest consideration of Government, whether it be wise and prudent to suffer this great and important order in the state to be driven to desperation. Men deprived of their all through the measures of their Government, cannot be expected to continue so affectionately attached to that Government as if they had received from it that protection and even-handed justice which they consider as their birthright. It is, to say the

least of it, a trial of their loyalty and patriotism, which no wise statesman would wantonly hazard.

If, however, it is still determined to play this desperate game to the last; to trust as heretofore to the chapter of accidents for deliverance, and obstinately refuse to enter upon the great measure of equitable arrangement in some shape or other; why not tell the landed interest fairly and manfully, that their doom is sealed? "True, you have stood by us in the hour of cause, you have freely and zealously supported all our measures for the preservation of the monied interest, the national credit, the Bank, and the Funds, which must otherwise have gone to wreck. But although in this generous struggle for the preservation of your neighbours' property, you have already lost three-fourths of your own, and must soon forfeit the whole, and to those very neighbours too—it matters not; your assistance is no longer wanted, and the Jews and loanmongers who get your estates, will answer our purpose full as well. True, you have been most unjustly and ungratefully dealt by—outwitted and plundered of your last acre, as if by magic. But it is past—and there is no help for it. Perish you must—that is certain; and since it must be so—it will be obliging in you to perish quietly. Like fools you have lived—it now remains for you to die like cowards." Surely His Majesty's ministers would not wittingly thus turn round upon their ancient friends and firmest supporters. Yet to persist in the present negative plan, without even an attempt to save them in their perishing condition, is virtually to do so.

To conclude—let it not be pretended by Jew or hireling, that the sentiments here expressed, that the natural and legitimate efforts of the landed interest to procure for themselves that justice and protection which the course of events has rendered imperative, are in any respect an affair of party, or in any way mixed up with the political squabbles of the day. These struggles for existence have nothing at all to do with the struggles of party; have no reference whatever, to who is in place, or who would be in place. It is an effort merely to save themselves, if possible, from the destruction which yawns upon them. The landed interest are well known to have long and steadily adhered to the present administration; and to be ever, from principle, inclined to support His Majesty's Government, let who will be at the helm; and weighty indeed must the reasons be, which can induce them to deviate from their natural bias—and great the sacrifices they would not make, rather than turn their backs upon their early friends and wonted associates. Great and unparalleled sacrifices they have already made; but that they should sit for ever in silent apathy—while their last acre is melted down in the financial crucible, and quietly transferred to those very men they have so lately saved from absolute

bankruptcy and ruin, is rather too much for any ministry to expect of their adherents; except, indeed, such as are actually dependant on them for place or emolument, to themselves or families, in possession or expectancy. It is one thing to bear, with resignation, privations and sacrifices which are unavoidable for the preservation of national independence; and quite another thing to submit, with stupid indifference, to flagrant abuse or gross injustice, whether originating in unavoidable causes, or the negligence or ignorance of those intrusted with the management of the national affairs. To pretend to associate those necessary endeavours for self-preservation, that first and strongest law of nature, with any spirit or principle of disloyalty to His Majesty's person or Government, were still more absurd and puerile. The loyalty of the landlords and yeomanry of England, those hereditary champions and bulwarks of royalty, is not to be brought in question by those, who through their measures and policy—have not only brought them to ruin, but have profited so largely by their misfortunes.

# OPINIONS

AS TO THE

# REAL STATE OF THE NATION,

WITH

STRICTURES ON A PAMPHLET INTITLED

'THE ADMINISTRATION

OF THE

AFFAIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN,'

*&c. &c.*

CONTAINING

Strictures on a Pamphlet said to be Demi-Official.
Defence of the Diplomacy of the late Marquess.
Explanation of the Six Acts.
England, a powerful Neutral.
Her Commerce necessary to other States.
Public Credit.
Inviolability of the Sinking Fund.
Agricultural Distress.
New System of Poor Laws.
Principles on which the Commutation of Tithe may be effected.
&c. &c.

BY

THE GHOST

OF

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY.

SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

LONDON:—1823.

# OPINIONS,

*&c.*

---

WHY, or by what means, I find myself "nor man nor spirit," are yet concealed from my knowledge. I perceive the forms both of the dead and the living; but both alike appear unconscious of my approach. I enter the palace, the council, the senate; I find myself replaced; yet remember not my disgrace. I wish to regain my home, but, restrained by a superior power, I am for the attempt confined to a narrow cell, which seems as if it were a tomb. Among the living I ask myself, 'Am I dead?'—of the dead I enquire, (but they answer not,) 'Am I not alive?'

The Fates are still spinning the thread of my natural existence; and in this intermediate state of suspended animation and unenjoyed immortality, it is permitted to me to feel and be actuated by that zealous and ardent anxiety for the best interests of my country, the overpowering weight of which has mystified my mortal frame. Still it is permitted to me, to feel a proud satisfaction at the glory of the British Empire, and to anticipate a continuance of its greatness, founded, as it is, upon a basis of noble, disinterested, and intelligent principles of government and policy. It is still permitted to me to watch the tree which is planted by the water-side, and which bringeth forth fruit abundantly.

I cannot but speak of the Minister whom I perceive sitting in my official chair—of him, who was once my political rival, and is now my unenvied successor.

He is a statesman of brilliant imagination, of commanding eloquence; and of such enlarged views, that his chief difficulty will be to confine his orbit to the more secure range of practicability. His connections are commercial—his views will be commercial; but he will find his way smoothed, and his task lightened, by the

previous labors of the Board of Trade; and now that the balance of Europe is poised, he *may* enter into commercial treaties. But the principles of free trade, which are daily and generally gaining ground, will render such treaties (which, after all, are but "uncertain special contracts,") of less importance than formerly. If it be necessary further to pourtray the character of, and more decidedly to explain what may be expected from, one who, leaning upon the present Cabinet, holds a net as it were towards its opponents; I shall do it by comparing him with his colleague in office, the Home Secretary of State; of whom (if I may indulge in a pun) I would assert, that his claims upon public confidence are indeed of a *sterling* nature. Of these two responsible Ministers I would say—that what the one undertakes he will execute brilliantly; what duties fall to the share of the other will be performed steadily, consistently, and conscientiously. The one is more of a philosopher, and less of a religionist; the other is a religionist, with enough of philosophy about him to answer every useful purpose. The effect of the administration of the one would be splendid, but possibly transient; that of the other modest and lasting:—the one would aim at great results; the other perform every possible practicability. The marked and distinguishing characteristics of each, in the same Cabinet, can hardly fail to produce great national advantages; and I cannot but pause to observe, how complimentary it is to the democratic influence of the nation, that two such men should, by the force of talent alone, arrive at such high posts of official responsibility.

I propose, rather, to draw the attention of the public to principles which are productive of results, than to the results themselves. If the one are soundly bottomed, partial evils do not disprove their excellence; and, in such case, it is much more noble to stand by a sound principle, and bear its adverse changes, than, yielding to a temporary evil, to be guilty of a dereliction from it.

In our financial concerns, that primary and wholesome principle is —"PUBLIC FAITH TO THE NATIONAL CREDITOR." His money supported us through a fearful contest to a brilliant peace; and having profited by his purse in the hour of danger, is he to be robbed as an equipoise to partial embarrassment? In our internal policy, the clashing of mutual interests should be softened by a spirit of conciliation. "Public faith inviolate," and "conciliation in our political disputes"—are the two main principles upon which we may safely rely for the duration and enjoyment of peace, and yet preserve a fearlessness of war.

Before I proceed to offer some remarks upon the leading topics likely to engage the attention of the Parliament, I cannot but observe upon a pamphlet, intitled, "Administration of the Affairs of Great

Britain." (The term "Great Britain" might, I should think, be well superseded, on proper occasions, by the more commanding style of "British Empire.")

I am inclined to think, that semi-official announcements are often dangerous, at most times impolitic, and always open to suspicion. If they are intended to usher in ministerial statements, or projected measures, they afford timely means and notice to all who are interested in thwarting them, or creating a prejudice in the public opinion against them; they also detract much from the effect of the responsible statements, which, to be made effectively and commandingly, can only be suitably announced in the Houses of Parliament. Besides, they are not tangible. If erroneous, they are disavowed, or left in a state of doubt as to their presumed character; and thus the Government has two mouth-pieces; one of official responsibility, and one of an experimental convenience. I would not be understood to say, that there are no occasions in which it might not be advantageous and convenient to collect, or try public opinion through the press, by a channel which can trace itself back to the official executive: there may be many such occasions; but on so high and important a topic as "the Administration of the Affairs of Great Britain," (than which none can be higher or more important,) *such a feeler* as the one I am alluding to, is derogatory to the dignity of government. Many matters therein treated, to be relied on, should be, and ought to be only, from an official source; all other mode of communication is speculative; and I am certain, that is the least characteristic of the Cabinet of which my mortal part once formed a portion.

But what shall I say of a publication, which (if not presumptuously assuming a character of semi-official rank,) certainly does contain a few data which could only be obtained through responsible official channels; if I can show errors in it, striking at the root of all the late financial measures? But it is not merely error of which I complain, but of omission also. A general statement of the principles and plans of an administration should comprehend every branch entrusted to its protection and vigilance. How comes it, then, that the paramount interest of the country, that of Agriculture, is only glanced at, with a half-significant hint that Commerce is thriving upon its distress, for which no means of alleviation can be devised?

The error to which I allude (an error in itself sufficently alarming to destroy the whole character of the publication) is, its explanation of the purposes of the New Sinking Fund.

Now, unless I have misunderstood the proceedings of the last Session of Parliament, and all the financial system of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I should assert,—that the Sinking Fund of

five millions, *to arise from a surplus of revenue,* was to be under all circumstances most religiously preserved; and, consequently, that in default of any branch of revenue, or of partial defalcation, such deficiency should either be made good, not by loan, but by taxation, or a temporary issue of Exchequer bills. Else, what was termed the principle of a real Sinking Fund would be again violated, and what was paid into one hand would be expended with the other; and thus the second attempt at a real Sinking Fund would fail, as did the first.

If I at all understood the principle upon which a small but steady Sinking Fund was voted by Parliament, it was—that though by no means commensurate with the proportionate annihilation of the public debt in forty-five years, yet, that still it being an actual and real surplus, though small, it kept alive this constant truism—"The public debt is decreasing."

If I comprehended the full extent to which this principle of a moderate Sinking Fund was to be carried, it was—that even in the event of a war, the annual surplus of five millions was to be preserved, whatever might be the necessary amount of taxation for the conduct of such war. I looked to the wholesome and moderate principle of this *actual* surplus of five millions, as in time forming a capital, of which the dividends should of themselves furnish a surplus, and render no longer, any annual grant necessary for such purpose.

If I did not misunderstand the true meaning and intent of a measure, which checked all inclination to dishonor the public faith, and defraud the funded creditor, it was—that in a period of about fifteen years, the income of the annual excess of five millions above the expenditure for that period, would (acting at compound interest) create a perpetual Sinking Fund, requiring no longer to be fed by an annual grant.

I may be allowed, therefore, to express my satisfaction upon reading the following passage at page 17:—"It was, therefore, under this experience of the present, and this just apprehension for the future, (an apprehension too justly verified) that the Chancellor of the Exchequer adopted what may be regarded as his new system of finance, namely—*To meet the expenditure of the year by the actual money income, without the aid of loans and new taxes; but to maintain the Sinking Fund at five millions, and with that amount increased by gradual reductions in the expenditure, and by the progressive productiveness in the sources of revenue, to operate from time to time in the money market, in buying up, exchanging, and reducing the public stocks, so as to reduce the capital debt from a higher to a lower denomination.*

"In order to execute this system in its detail, it became the daily

object of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give a constant attention to the following main points: first, to the maintenance, *at all events*, of the Sinking Fund at five millions."

The authors go on to enumerate other points; but so far so good; and the preceding quotations bear out all the views in which I had ministerially considered the measure. But judge of my surprise on reading, at page 24, the following further comments upon Mr. Vansittart's financial measures:—

"But we live in times in which every thing is again to be called into contest and dispute. Accordingly, a class of writers has arisen, which now denies altogether, for the first time, the utility of the Sinking Fund, and holds it forth as a financial delusion upon the Parliament and country. Perhaps in this case, as in most others, the controversy has been produced by the opposite parties affixing different significations to the terms. The objections, therefore, may be best answered by setting down in clear and brief words what *his Majesty's Ministers* regard to be the true nature and use of the Sinking Fund.

"Briefly, therefore, they consider the Sinking Fund to be eminently useful in the following three points of view:—

"1. As a surplus, for giving to his Majesty's Ministers (through the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt) a due weight and control in the money market, and more particularly for upholding the credit of Government under any casual deficiency of the revenue, arising from the fluctuation in the produce of the taxes.

"2. As a fund, to be employed according to the occasions of the money market, and especially in reducing the Interest of the National Debt to the common level of a three per cent. stock.

"3. As an accumulation of treasure, *and of disposable income*, for any emergency of the state."

Now, I cannot conceive a greater confusion of explanation than the quoted paragraphs evince. First we are told—that his Majesty's Ministers determined, as part of their system of finance, to maintain, *at all events*, a Sinking Fund of five millions: and when the same parties proceed to explain what his Majesty's Ministers regard to be "the true nature and use of the Sinking Fund," they give us three reasons; two very indistinct, and liable to various construction; and the third quite distinct, and which cannot be misconstrued; namely—that the Sinking Fund is to be regarded *as an accumulation of treasure, and of disposable income, for any emergency of the state.*

I take it for granted that Parliament is to allow this freedom with the Sinking Fund; but if this is its real nature, and is to be its possible use; all I can say is—that this new Sinking Fund,

arising out of a surplus of revenue, and fed by no new imposition of taxes, is, instead of being (as it was intended) the soundest, best, and most honorable principle in our system of finance, nothing *but a farce.*

The old Sinking Fund, when its income was equalled by a fresh accumulation of debt, ceased to be a Sinking Fund, because it became balanced by a new debt. The old Sinking Fund, in this case, was eventually made a disposable income, and is at this moment part of the ways and means applicable to the public expenditure; and much as it has been cried down, and its principle abused, yet it should not be forgotten, that at this moment its income supplies the place of what *must otherwise have been made up of taxes;* and it has crept upon us (as it were) into an important purpose, without our feeling the weight of its original creation.

I cannot believe, I do not, I will not believe, that the writers of this semi-official pamphlet have the authority of the higher powers for this explanation of the nature and use of the Sinking Fund, voted by Parliament, and created in its last Session. If such be in reality its nature and use; then did I, in supporting it, support that which I did not understand, and have been guilty involuntarily, and unconsciously, of a deception upon the country.

But though I point out this *third* reason as one subversive of every purpose of a real Sinking Fund, and (as I think) of the one alluded to; yet the first and second reasons are not exactly such as I should presume would be the true interpretation of Government; for the first reason seems also to imply "a power of conversion from its use as a Sinking Fund, to become a stop-gap in any deficiency of the revenue." If the parties had said "that the regulated purchases made in the stock market out of the proceeds of the Sinking Fund, introduced a considerable amount of *bonâ fide* transactions, and, to an extent sufficient for the support of public credit, created a sale, and a demand for national securities at all times, and under all political circumstances;" I think such a reason would have been much more likely to be truly ministerial, than the one which states the purpose of the Sinking Fund to be the means of upholding the credit of Government *under any casual deficiency of the revenue.*

Then, as to the second reason—that it is a fund to be employed *according to the occasions* of the market, and especially *in reducing the interest of the National Debt*—it does appear to me, that an occasional or accidental is a speculative exercise of the powers confided with the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt; and tends rather to make them great jobbers in the Funds, than steady supporters of them at specified and regulated periods, when the holders can always be certain of a customer;

and it is rather disparaging the real purpose of the Sinking Fund, and creating a very unfair and prejudicial opinion as to its true use and purpose, to couple its execution with a future intention to diminish the stock-holder's income. For, though the operation of a *bonâ fide* Sinking Fund must inevitably tend to raise the value of the remaining stock, and decrease the rate of interest; (inasmuch as the money produce of the Sinking Fund will be so much capital seeking a new investment;) still it is a very different argument to call that "the object," which, in reality, is "the unavoidable result." In the one case, the measure may be looked upon as obnoxious; but arising from true and correct financial calculation or system, it may be considered a public benefit realized.

There are some few minor errors in this Exposé, which, in an official pamphlet, would be inexcusable, and almost fatal; particularly in calculating the proportion which the reduction of taxation bears to the yearly estimate, which the demi-officials call one-sixth, or sixteen per cent.; but they commit an error in taking as a deduction the *whole of the dead charge*, or war pensions, amounting to five millions; whereas, they should take credit only for 2,200,000*l.*, as Government contract to pay a pension of 2,800,000*l.*, the remaining balance of the five millions. The ratio of diminution is *twelve and a half* per cent.

Acceding as I do to many of the general principles of the statement, yet I could not refrain from pointing out this vital error, or, if not an error, this misconception of the nature and use of the present Sinking Fund; which, if admitted, goes to the complete subversion of the measures determined upon during the last Session for the support of public credit, and the solidity of our financial system: and I the more earnestly deprecate and point out this objectionable part; because the same writers, at page 33, repeat again their destructive doctrine. They say, "the capital of the Sinking Fund is, in fact, a mass of treasure always at the call of Government upon real or distressing emergencies. In this point of view, it puts the Minister above the condition of lying at the mercy of the money market, when any great crisis, such as a sudden foreign war, or other events more easily to be conceived than decorously mentioned, shall require a prompt application of vast resources and consequent expense."

Now, I do not hesitate to assert, that the whole and sole object in the creation of the New Sinking Fund of five millions, was—to operate slowly and steadily and uninterruptedly a *bonâ fide* reduction of the National Debt, and with no view to its future application as a war fund.

I think, therefore, that the observations I have made, bear me out in the position I laid down, "that semi-official announcements

are often dangerous, at most times impolitic, and always open to suspicion:" and I do the more press the rejection of these erroneous conclusions of this pamphlet; because I am certain, that if any thing tended to cheer up the Agricultural Interest, under their temporary embarrassment; it was the fact, that a *real* Sinking Fund should be constituted out of the surplus revenue; not merely without the creation of new taxes, but in the face of a great reduction of taxation. The capability to do this astonished the country gentlemen; and upon such a foundation, promising a low rate of interest, by which the weight of their incumbrances and mortgages might be reduced, (for the redemption of stock must naturally rest in landed securities,) they laid their hopes of better days. But if they are now to be told, that even the newly-constituted Sinking Fund is to be appropriated on the first great emergency which may occur, (when it would, by such misapplication, cease to be a Sinking Fund, and become a War Fund,) then, I contend, that they are deceived, and their hopes destroyed. Nor can I conceive, at this present moment, so destructive, so mischievous, and so false a financial averment, as "that the last Sinking Fund is, in fact, but a mass of treasure *always at the call of Government* upon real or distressing emergencies."

If the pamphlet alluded to be really a demi-official bratling, I do hope and trust, that Ministers in their places, and my Right Honorable and sterling friend Peel in particular, will scout the insinuation of an intention to convert the security of the Fundholder, into an easy means of breaking out into another war. I contend that the Sinking Fund is virtually the property of the Fundholder; for in his loan it is contracted to him, that there *shall be* a redemption of his stock; and how, without an adequate reserve, can such redemption take place?

Of the influence of a Sinking Fund upon landed property, I shall hereafter have occasion to remark. I therefore conclude this part of my subject with declaring—"1. That the New Sinking Fund must, *under all circumstances*, be fed annually by Government with five millions; till the capital so contributed shall afford dividends equal to the same amount.—2. That to do this, the expenses of any future war must be paid within its duration.—Or, 3. an addition be made to the existing Sinking Fund equal to the liquidation of any new debt; to be maintained upon the same inviolable footing."

Thus will the principle of ultimate extinction be preserved, *under all circumstances;* and the national credit be placed on an unimpeachable basis.

I am anxious upon this point. Let me, therefore, (that I may not be misunderstood) be rather thought prolix, than fail in making an impression.

I conceive that the New Sinking Fund, to the annual extent of five millions, is to be considered *unalienable* to any other than its original purpose, *under all circumstances* whether of war or peace.

That when its dividends amount to five millions, which will be when the capital has accumulated to 170 millions; then, and not till then, the annual surplus of taxation may be given up, and taxes to that amount be relinquished; and as every purpose of public confidence and national credit will be sanctioned by a *bonâ fide* contribution of five millions annually and *unalienably*; so, during its operation, it would be much more encouraging and gracious to give up in taxation all further surplus of revenue; and that such will arise I have no doubt.

The practical result of such plan would be this. Supposing the Chancellor of the Exchequer to speak, what a volume of meaning and satisfaction would not be contained in the following short declaration:—

*Gentlemen*—"This year, after the Annual Sinking Fund is provided for, I can, from a surplus of revenue, remit five shillings in the pound upon the assessed taxes; so that fifteen shillings in the pound on the last year's amount need only be collected; and I trust, that a continued surplus of revenue beyond expenditure, will prevent my calling upon the country, at any future time, for its full amount. I do not mean, Gentlemen, that the five shillings in the pound are merely suspended—they are this year absolutely abated and expunged from the Annual Estimate."

Thus the *unalienable* Sinking Fund of five millions, coupled with an occasional remission of assessment, would form a new era in finance; and a most gracious and conciliatory system of taxation. It would come home to the bosom of every family: it would be understood, be felt by, and be participated in by all housekeepers.

---

I may not here misplace some passing observations upon the subject of the National Debt, in answer to those who rashly, and in my mind most ignorantly, advocate its sudden redemption in part, or its partial annihilation. I cannot but congratulate the country on the late financial measures, which appear to have swept away, as so many cobwebs, the various plans for robbing the public creditor; because his property was public.

I pass by with unfeigned contempt, the projects for scattering bundles of forged Bank notes, and other violent attacks upon the principal or dividend of the national creditor; such could only have originated with, and have been entertained by persons possessed of no property. But now and then, propositions apparently conscientious, for the equitable reduction of the debt by payment to the public creditor, (with the exception only of such part as would fall to his own share of liquidation) have been suggested.

The fairest and most plausible was—a proposition for liquidating 500 millions of the debt, and 29 millions of income, by an assessment of 15 per cent upon all property—of which 125 would be furnished by the fundholder, and 375 by the remaining properties of the kingdom. Without stopping to consider what a mass of confusion and depreciation, the transfer of so immense a sum from lands, houses, goods, chattels, and implements, into money or securities, would occasion; it may be sufficient for the purpose to observe, that the whole transaction would resolve itself into the simple purchase of 29 millions of taxation, at a rate of about six per cent. Now, at all events, some benefits should accrue to those thus redeeming the load of their taxation; and I think, men of business would hardly be found willing to sink 500 millions to redeem an annuity of 29 millions at such rate; when, at a moderate scale of profit, they may expect ten per cent., (being 50 millions;) and thus gain a surplus of 21 millions beyond such amount of taxation; and also retain their capital for the purpose of a succeeding operation.

As I never met with any nearer approach than this to a fairness of principle, I need not remark upon any others less honest. The one alluded to is conclusive against the measure as one of profit; and may satisfy those, who think to relieve themselves *en masse*, from the pressure of a heavy National Debt.

I can hardly be expected to enter into long and tedious details of calculation; but I would make one short and tremendous summary, as being one of a comparative nature; and which may serve to open the eyes of hundreds of thousands, and enable them to know what Great Britain (that snug little Island) is composed of.

I submit then, that the capital of the British Empire in all its mighty interests, cannot be estimated at a much less sum than *four thousand millions;* and that the productive annual value of such capital, is not estimated at less than *nine hundred millions.* Thus her debt, as compared to her capital, is as 1 to 5; as compared with her annually created property, as 8 to 9; but *the interest of her debt*, and amount of her taxation as compared with *the income of her industry*, is as 1 to 15—being not quite 7 per cent.

This statement is correct, as far as calculations of such magnitude and of such infinite detail can admit of; and may serve to give my countrymen some insight into the greatness of their transactions, and at least make them *ashamed* of talking of, or listening to, any plan of National Bankruptcy.

The effect of a breach of faith appears to be a matter of no moment to some men, and to some understandings; yet what consternation in the money market has not so trifling a transaction as the Columbian Loan created, when it was suspected to be unautho-

rised, or doubtful of ratification? Compare this (a mere bubble to the ocean, in reference to the debt of Great Britain) with the effect of a breach of faith by the British Empire. Were the sea which surrounds us to swallow us up, it would scarcely produce a more electric effect through created nature, than in the commercial world would a stain upon the credit of Great Britain! For great as is her debt, yet it is rendered, by the pursuits of trade and facility of conversion, a mass of capital so constantly changing hands, that it may be fairly said to be "a mint of ready coin."

The eyes of the world are upon England, steadily, and eagerly, and anxiously, and enviously looking at the financial situation of her, who in the hour of danger was fearless; in the moment of victory, disinterested; and who, in an unnatural state of warfare, became more powerful and more rich. Let then England conquer her finance—learn to respect herself—to know better her own means and her own importance: let the maintenance of public faith be to her a new and solemn commandment, and she will continue what she now is—the Umpire of the Christian World! Let her depart from it; and those countries who have not to struggle against such a burthen, will profit by her errors, and supercede her importance.

By divesting the National Debt of much of its terror, and by contrasting it with the resources and capital of the empire, it may be insinuated that I am an advocate for unremitted taxation. I am no further its advocate, than it becomes necessary to pay the just debts of the whole nation, due to others of its community. If, in an anxious and hasty moment, I accused the country of "an impatience of taxation," in reference to the repeal of the Income Tax; I am not disposed to apologise for an honest though somewhat an uncourteous expression. No other term was more suitable to the cry of the moment, and nothing could be more ruinously dexterous, than the mode in which that cry was originated.

Every day which succeeded that ministerial defeat, I saw just reason to deplore its effect; for by thus forcing the executive at an early period of the peace to propose three millions of new *ad valorem* taxes; a clamor was raised, which led to false conclusions, upon all their financial measures: but in fact, and in fairness, such new taxation was not so much an addition of impost, as a recovery of that balance of income and expenditure which "an impatience of taxation" had destroyed. Had the property tax been allowed to continue, the assessed taxes might have been dispensed with, and also much of the excise; and there was this beneficial feature in the property tax, namely—that whilst it adapted itself to every presumed change and fluctuation in the value of the circulating medium, it brought within its grasp the income of absentees and of

the fundholdhers; whilst the assessed taxes and excise continued to be collected at their old rates, without regard to the character of the currency, and became lessened in proportion to the number of country-seats and houses remaining unoccupied. The continuation of the principle of the property tax would therefore have carried within itself, to a certain extent, relief to the agricultural interest.

In treating upon the National Debt, too many view it as an inert mass, or load of obligation, kept up and supported (the money being spent) by an oppressive taxation, of which they feel the immediate pressure; but such are forgetful of the interesting circumstances from which it has arisen, or the advantages which its expenditure procured. I am of opinion, that when Ministers call upon the nation to maintain the public credit, the public are entitled to a most rigid and upright application of their resources. But economy carried to spoliation is the greatest of all extravagance. To dismantle our fleet, or destroy the *matériel* of our arsenals, the ordnace, or of the army, is only to lay the foundation for an immense demand for their regeneration, the moment a war should be forced upon us: to say nothing of the delay of equipment, during which, an active and enterprising enemy may first take the field and snatch a victory.

But the National Debt answers many most important public, mercantile, and private purposes. *As a bank of deposit* it is of most extended utility, in all cases of trusts, litigations, and guarantee—*as a means of income*, it is a simple, certain, and unexpensive investment—*as a circulating medium*, its regularly paid and unfluctuating dividends supply to creditors a stream of payment from their debtors, of which, though they feel the influence, they too seldom acknowledge or suspect the source—in larger mercantile transactions, it supplies by an increased facility of discount, temporary capital, and individual accommodation—*and among the lower classes*, the means and facility of saving the smallest surplus of their industry, and thus leading to a provision for old age, gifts to children, establishments in retail trade, and many other applications, of which the opportunity will become more and more estimated; and I am certain, that there are thousands who clamor for the ruin of the fundholder and reduction of the National Debt, who *unconsciously* receive from them and it, through intermediate channels, their main support.

Notwithstanding its annual pressure, (not slightly balanced by the modes of application already pointed out,) the very accumulation of the debt may be viewed as the proof of national security: for if so great a mass of money has been borrowed by the Government and expended, could it have been borrowed without the means to lend? Riches spring not up like mushrooms in the night. There

must have been some source from whence this accumulated debt arose. It has arisen from the produce of industry—I should rather say from the profits of industry; because it is a surplus capital, distinct from all other possessions; and at any time being wanted for other investment, for the active use of mercantile pursuits, or landed purchase; its abstracted part can only be obtained by another supplying its place. To all intents and in fact, therefore, it is a source of capital, and yet is distinct from, and interferes not with any other required for different purposes. I therefore repeat, that though the interest may be considered burthensome, still that the capability of amassing the amount of the debt is a proof of our national security.

Let us suppose, for one moment, that one half (400 millions,) could be paid off. What could be done with the money? I know of no other mode than investing it in land, to yield an interest of about one per cent., or having it coined into silver chairs and tables, to be melted when wanted. Besides, such re-payment would be worse than useless—it would be ruinous. And, I think, as a general rule, that none but a rich, great, and powerful nation can create or bear a National Debt. There is however a limit, beyond which to pass, is destruction—to that limit England has approached—she should go no further—but she need not rob her confiding creditors.

Immense as is her debt, it will sink before an *increasing* population, actively and profitably employed, and *consuming* articles of taxation. In this state is England; and without any fresh impositions, a surplus of revenue *must arise* from all exciseable articles. For an increasing and consuming population is a profit to such a system of revenue. Whilst the war lasted, the influence of a growing population was not perceptible in reducing taxation, which went on in too overpowering a nation; but now taxation is retrograding, the power of a population actively and profitably employed, and increasing, as it must do, under such circumstances, will operate to create a surplus of revenue; and thus, our system of finance will upon examination be found to possess a quality of elasticity and expansion, (*without increased individual pressure,*) which will gradually perform that, which if done hastily and unwarily, would depreciate the currency far below any rate to which it may be supposed to have fallen.

There is yet another point in which the effect of the National Debt may be viewed; and that is, as a former source of profit to the trade and manufactures of the country, and to its agriculture. This benefit is now forgotten, because its effect is not so predominant. Indeed it would seem, that the country deplores the loss of that expenditure, which, during its existence, was by many so much deprecated.

Without calculating on the immense sums which have been actually paid, and do not remain in the shape of an unliquidated debt, I will merely confine my observation to the sum of eight hundred millions, the present amount of public unredeemed securities. The case of this expenditure is applicable to any other, with the exception of such portion as may have gone in the shape of actual remittances for foreign subsidies.

Supposing the loans to have been contracted on an average at 75, redeemable at 100; the amount of the present public debt, as received by the Government, would be about six hundred millions. Government contracts are usually paid by bills on the Treasury at ninety days' sight; and I think, that upon an extensive trade so conducted, a profit of 15 per cent. would be absolutely realised, notwithstanding all the competition which may arise.

Now we have been told and have heard much of the gains and profits of stock-jobbers and fund-holders, (a gain perfectly distinct from the original contract between the lender and the Government, which can only be calculated when the time of repayment arrives,) but the amount of profit to the public commerce, manufactures, and agriculture of the country, is overlooked, yet can hardly be taken, (as I have before observed,) at less than fifteen per cent. upon transactions of ninety days' credit: so that, even upon the amount of the present public debt, (to calculate no further,) "no less a sum than ninety millions" has been thrown back to the public, *in the shape of a profit upon industry.*

And in fact, this National Debt, which appears to some as a hydra or an amount of capital hermetically sealed up, is at this very moment in evident existence, in every variety of shape which the property of the country can assume.

Estates have been purchased, mortgages created, manufactures established, lands drained and enclosed, and ships set afloat, upon the proceeds or produce of securities making part and parcel of the National Debt; and no sooner are claims made upon it for such purposes, than others retiring from similar pursuits become possessed of the portion which is for sale.

In the National Debt there is no vacuum or inactivity.

Let me not be misunderstood in this my endeavour to shake off the fear and dread which some feel, (the fear perhaps of ignorance, or misconception, or prejudice,) of the amount and effect of the National Debt. I deprecate its increase; and my sincere aim and object is, to furnish reasons of triumphant congratulation *as to the means* of supporting and liquidating it: and to encourage a feeling of confidence, I would add one more stimulating datum; namely—that even the *unproductive capital* of the United Kingdoms in the shape of palaces, churches, public buildings, dock-

yards, barracks, ships of war, ordnance, military and naval stores, household goods, plate, jewels, pictures, wearing apparel, waste lands, &c. &c. is of itself, at a moderate calculation, worth little less than the whole amount of the National Debt.

The fact is, England has great establishments, great resources, great industry, great wealth; and a great debt not disproportionate to this scale of general greatness; to which she is so accustomed, that its existence seems not much calculated upon.

As yet I have spoken chiefly of the debt, and but little of the mode and ability to raise its annual interest, and of its relative proportion of burden upon each class of the community. This will be appropriately alluded to, in discussing the means of remedy to the present "agricultural embarrassment." I do not say *distress*, because that term is too beggarly to be applied *to so vast a body*.

Not wishing to throw myself upon the plea of participated responsibility; and inasmuch as I was Minister of England, specially delegated by the King to meet the Allies in Congress; I may be allowed to make a few observations upon the charge often urged against me, "that I was utterly neglectful of the commercial interests of the country, and omitted to procure for her such advantages as her influence might have commanded."

If any one reason pressed upon my mind more strongly than another, it was "the very existence of that influence" which might have prescribed such advantages. That influence was either momentary or lasting. Nations are ungrateful: and I believed that such influence might only be momentary; and my aim was to render it lasting.

*I knew*, that the state of monopoly in which the trade of the world had for many years been carried on by my country, had given such an accelerating and forward power to all her means of productive manufacture, that years must pass away before any rival could compete with her. *I knew*, that such period would be so sufficiently long, that during it, the attempt would be proved to be useless; because *I knew*, that whilst the attempt was making, England would not relax in her exertions, or lose one inch of the vantage-ground of her acquirements, but would preserve her relative situation of advanced improvement. *I knew*, that every attempt would be made to revive the ancient streams of commerce, and to give activity to interrupted manufactures. It had become necessary, by the generally impoverished state of the Continent. *I knew*, that a great part of the trade of the Continent was carried on by British capital, and that the claims of British merchants were immense. The trade of the country therefore needed no protection;

it had made itself master of, and had conquered many of the petty jealousies in which commercial treaties are bottomed; and was becoming necessary, as a matter of financial resource, to most of the European States; and in so important a manner, that it could not be suddenly or easily dispensed with.

Feeling therefore, that commerce required no security, that it was bottomed on its own gigantic influence; it was not for me to betray a wish for indulgences or protection, when the very wants of Europe rendered those protections and indulgences unnecessary; and I felt that the only chance to the Continent of extending or preserving its trade, was by more free communication and transfer with us; and I anticipated the time when a competition with England, as a manufacturing country, should be found to be impracticable; and the merchants of all nations should adopt a more pure, unfettered, and unrestricted system of barter.

Nothing could be more nobly disinterested than the part which England took in the Continental contests; it was not her natural element; no conquest to be made by her could be retained, or territorial benefit accrue to her; any selfish attempt to gain a momentary advantage (and it would only have been momentary) would have been derogatory to the high calling of her principles, and her rank of Pacificator and Umpire of Europe would have been lowered to that of a mercenary ally.

Besides, when constitutions were to be prescribed to kingdoms, and boundaries given to states, and new equipoises and indemnities to be established, in which every community and dependency of Europe were connected and concerned; surely it was not a time, or a fit occasion, (whilst such mighty and elementary arrangements were making) to press forward the specialities of commerce. In fact, until possession had been taken, and the lines of territorial demarcation had been fully agreed upon, no certainty of commercial treaty could exist, or guarantee be given for its performance.

The merchants of England know full well the extreme of jealousy with which their unceasing enterprise and speculation are viewed; and that they are considered as having already forced from less active nations every advantage, unaccompanied by proportionate reciprocity.

At the moment therefore, in which it is urged against me, that I left the interests of commerce neglected; it may be said, and said with truth, that the discussion of commercial treaties would have been attended rather with a demand for the sacrifice of advantages already possessed, than with any chance of obtaining an extension of those already enjoyed.

I do not find that commerce is left unprotected in any of its multifarious ramifications; and that too, without the incumbrance

of commercial treaties and privileges. The act of Parliament in the last session, which makes this country an entrepôt for such foreign manufactures as are not admissible as articles of consumption, is but an act for the reception of so many pledges for the export of our own goods.

I think moreover, that to have pressed for still further advantages at the juncture alluded to, would have been derogatory to the proud eminence on which England stood; selfish in policy; ill-timed; and foreign to the objects of the Congress; which were to settle the destinies of empires, and not the fractions of a more or less alteration in a tariff or commercial treaty. Besides, the total absence of all immediate views or personal interests, which actuated at that time the Cabinet of St. James's, has contributed in a high degree to exalt the character of the country and conciliate and disarm that feeling of envy, with which she had been formerly treated. By refraining also from the exercise of a powerful influence at a moment when it could not easily have been withstood, was only to secure eventually, silently, and more willingly, any modification of mercantile intercourse, which the altered dispositions of surrounding nations might be disposed to accord.

Thus much for the old-established foreign commerce. As to that which was to be derived from the secession of colonies from the mother country, there were two questions involved—"the attainment of commercial advantages;" and "the maintenance of peace with those parent and European states, upon whose interests England might be about to tread."

How much the interposition of France and Spain in our contest with America was deprecated by Great Britain, is a matter of history. With what pretence then to consistency of policy, could England (as regarded the South American provinces of Spain) interfere in the face of her own former declarations? The accession of France and Spain to the interests of the United States, at a moment when the distant means of England were apparently inadequate to success, brought on a war between those countries and England.

A hasty acknowledgment of the republican or of any other governments of the trans-atlantic Continent, would have brought us in contact with the parent states in Europe. In such case, would not the presumed advantages of a new commerce have been overbalanced by a new European war?

A strict system of honorable neutrality unambiguous to both parties, has enabled us to trade with both, and to demand from the parent state satisfaction for insults committed towards the trade and flag of England; whilst a facility of commercial intercourse has been originated between England and the newly instituted

governments, by allowing them to make their shipments in other bottoms than their own.

Thus, without any direct acknowledgment of their various and yet vacillating governments, they have been allowed privileges beyond what had heretofore been granted to the most favored foreign nations.

It is supposed by some, that the first acknowledgment of the Columbian Republic by the United States of America will be prejudicial to our interests. Such fear is visionary; such a step on the part of the United States was expected—it was natural; and having gained the Floridas from Spain, what had America to fear or hope further from that distracted country? But what advantage will America gain from such earlier acknowledgment? None but what England will partake of. For if America should carry direct, and have the advantage for a short duration, of a lower rate of import duty, she will trade greatly upon English capital, and take out from English ports assorted cargoes and British goods.

Besides, is the acknowledgment by Republican America of Republican Columbia, equal to a similar recognition of her independence by Great Britain? Republican America had every thing to gain, and little to concede in return. She is a great, but as yet a young, speculative, theoretical state, as compared to Great Britain. Did Republican Columbia, upon such acknowledgment of her independence and existence as a distinct state, send to Washington and Philadelphia to negotiate for a loan? No! She wisely contracted a debt with Old England, and thus laid the foundation of more solid reciprocal advantages than a mere diplomatic civility; for as such only do I regard what has passed between the Northern and Southern Republics.

Whether Spain is fighting for theories, whilst much of her substantial territory has been wrested from her, I stop not here to enquire. But, would it have been consistent with the noble character of England, to have taken advantage of Old Spain, and have acknowledged her colonies, whilst she was embroiled in the formation of a domestic constitution? Do the *liberals* of England say—yes? I reply—that the policy of England is not, *temporary or casual advantage,* but *solid results.*

The Constitution of England does not permit to its King that personal interference in negotiation or treaty, or conference with other monarchs, which the Continental governments are capable of; nor does the character of her diplomacy allow her to become

a party to any system or combination, which may not be the subject of a defined and categorical treaty.

The Holy Alliance was an experiment in politics, which, as it sprung certainly from good intentions, was, if not virtually effective in itself, at all events harmless and unwarlike.

To suppose that the personal conference of the leading Crowns of Europe, surrounded by the Ministers of almost every European State of great or minor rank, could be an instrument of plotting against the good of the people of each particular country, was one of the most preposterous ideas which could be well imagined. The very nature of the meeting, that of personal and amicable conference, was an answer at once to such a supposition; and the time is past when Kings can be denominated or act as tyrants.

The great facility which these occasional assemblies will give to diplomacy, and the death-blow which they are capable of affording to minor political intrigues, the readier possibility of explanation, and the promptness of decision which may accompany them, are advantages which may favor greatly a long continuance of peace.

England may or may not accede to or recede from them, without the questioning of her motives, or supposing her hostile to their proceedings. When attending by the Plenipotentiary of her King, she attends as a disinterested party, for she would never admit any of *her* interests to be for one moment discussed at such a meeting. The Plenipotentiary of the King of England would hear, mark, and learn; but beyond that, take no steps simultaneously or in concert. He would give his advice, his opinion; and if called upon to decide, would decide as a friendly umpire, having interests to continue with all. At such a Congress, the Ministerial Representative of England might be asked—"how he would act under such and such circumstances?" and the weight of his opinion would be placed in the scale; but without being called upon to make any declaration amounting to decisive action. And at this moment I am certain, that though Spain may refuse to be actuated by opinions and declarations transmitted from the Congress of Verona, yet that she will listen to any advice which may be offered to her by the British Ambassador resident at her Court; for of this I feel confident, that no Ambassador from the Cabinet of St. James's would satisfy the Allied Sovereigns of the line of policy which England would adopt in the event of an attack upon Spain by France; though he might give an opinion for or against the measure, founded upon the principles upon which it might, or might not be, undertaken.

A Congress followed up on the principle upon which that of the Holy Alliance professes to proceed, cannot be of a *mischievous* tendency; because its object is not, to consider "what country is

next to be the theatre of war," but rather, "what countries being in a state of hostile attitude towards one another, can by its influence be restored to mutual harmony."

It cannot be of a *dismembering* tendency; because it aims not to prevent political improvements; but to direct them in a way, so as to render them really beneficial, and productive of an unity of principle among all Governments; in contradiction to that spirit of military movement, by which an army has only to desert the colors of its King, in spite of its oath and allegiance, and be transformed into patriots and revolutionary militia-men.

That political renovations can be made without violence, or civil feud, or public irritation, is evidenced at this moment in Prussia, whose King has so often been calumniated, and called upon so audaciously to give his people the Constitution he so often had promised. The people confided in those promises; they believed the word of their Monarch; and that renovation and improvement which are rendered necessary by the spirit of the times, and the previous attainment of other countries, have been consistently and deeply discussed and matured; and the equipoise of the three orders of the state fundamentally determined.

In Portugal, nearly a similar transaction has taken place; possibly with more restraint upon the kingly authority; but if the Monarch of that country is satisfied with the quantum of power by which the rights of his crown are surrounded, what pretence has any nation to complain or interfere? With this Nation, no Congress has interfered or attempted to dictate terms of approbation or otherwise; and it does not follow, that because in the first impulse of a national renovation, some branch of the monarchical prerogative may be infringed upon, that when time has shown its inconvenience, the popular feeling *may not* restore it. An evil, when it proves itself an evil, is seldom unremedied.

Thus in the instance of the King of Spain, (vacillating from one opinion to another of opposite tendency, and forgetting that between two such extremes, he might have formed to himself a party, and saved his country from civil war, and the threat of foreign invasion,) he has only to look to the weakness of his own character for all the miseries of his fine country. The Spaniards are attached to Monarchy, and would have settled it eventually, not merely upon a firm, but a splendid principle. For with what constancy did they not adhere to their allegiance, when deserted by this same Sovereign? And what has been the measure of interference by the Congress of Verona with regard to Spain? None! On the contrary, the notes of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, all alike express regret at what is passing, disclaim the principle of interfer-

ing with her internal affairs; and as a mark of displeasure, withdraw their Ambassadors.

And to what does all this amount? To a mere diplomatic declaration—"That we, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, consider the new fundamentals of you (Spain) erroneous, and therefore place you in a state of political abeyance, in which you may possibly consider of the past, retrace some of your proceedings; and, by so doing, recover your own internal quietude, and become again worthy of our high consideration." Or, in other words, "Assimilate the principles of your Government to such as are likely to accord with those which alone can, in our opinion, tend to preserve internal quietude and public peace, and we are again ready to renew with you our ancient ties; to do which, it is only necessary to direct the return of our Ambassadors."

France, a more immediate neighbour, threatens a possibility of taking up the sword; but, in fact and in truth, the war which has been impending, will end in paper—not even in smoke. The threat of war sounds grand, and makes fine leading articles for the public journals; but to what, again I ask, does it all amount? To the avoidance of war—and, if the Bourbons of France think to make themselves *popular by a campaign*, it must be for some other cause than to settle the Constitution of her sister kingdom. No sooner would a French army reach Madrid on such an errand, than it would be recalled to protect Paris.

But if the Holy Alliance, however bottomed upon good intentions and pure principles, (which I believe it to be,) is thus powerless in action, in what a state of comparative superiority does it not serve to place England?

Whilst the Ambassadors of four of the leading powers of Europe are quitting Madrid in a fit of displeasure, that of England is maintaining and consolidating her connections, and has actually succeeded in obtaining compensation from her for injuries committed to her merchants, contrary to the law of nations. And yet upon such conduct, the four great powers do not utter one syllable of complaint at her line of policy; and, as it would appear that Portugal is disposed to assist Spain in the event of her invasion, and, in so doing, would involve herself in a war with France, the language of England to her ancient ally is—"Assist Spain if you please; in that you may act upon your own discretion, and I shall remain neuter; but should you be attacked, I shall not look at the cause which has led to it, but shall interpose in your favor." Thus —if France should attack Spain, and Portugal aid the latter power, and therefore bring upon herself also a French invasion, England would in such case become a party to the conflict, not as against

France for attacking Spain, but for violating the integrity of Portugal; and upon no other grounds.

There was not time to change the policy (had there been any intention of so doing) of the Cabinet of St. James's: I may, therefore, fairly take to myself the credit of having placed England in a state to be respected and feared by all the Continental Powers —to be privy to their policy, and yet remain unpledged to its result—to be closely, amicably, and frankly connected with them—and yet fear not to adopt a single-handed line of diplomacy.

I have now explained the principles by which I was actuated at the personal conferences held by the leading Continental powers. Those principles suggested themselves to me; by the existing preponderating state of the influence of England, both in policy and commerce; by which, although declining to become a party to the Holy Alliance, she could not be excluded without offence, from its deliberations and objects; and was also enabled to leave her commerce without stipulation, upon a foundation far more solid than any precarious or temporary treaty; namely, "that of a necessity for its continuance as a means of revenue to other countries."

I will now (before I enter into more important matters) offer a few words, *en passant*, upon the Six Acts, of which the odium has been fastened upon me, and which odium I am most willing to bear.

The first of these was "to prevent the unlawful training of persons to the use of arms, and to the practice of military evolutions and exercise."

The Constitution of England vests the command of the army in the King. The army of England, once placed as to its amount, and supplies in the hands of the King, is "the army of the King," to whom it is bound by oath. Now the object of the act was twofold: *first*, to take from the King's subjects an usurped power—that of military discipline; and *next*, to prevent such abuse of the royal prerogative from giving additional terror, force, and combination to civil commotions. No matter upon what occasion; the very fact, that the unmilitary portion of the community could be formed into the skeleton of an army, and required only muskets to be placed in its hands to complete its martial character, was an approach to insurrection, under which no community could be safe; it was an overt rebellion. The act makes a merciful distinction between the trainers and the trained; subjecting the former to a greater degree of punishment, and restricting all actions upon the statute to six months from the time of offence.

The act has not been repealed, because the plain common sense of its clauses, and its tendency to preserve the peace of the com-

munity by preventing traitorous combinations, are too evident. The act is one of self-preservation.

The next act, "enabling Justices of the peace to seize and detain arms collected or kept for purposes *dangerous to the public peace,*" is expired and defunct. It was local in its application; and the *onus probandi* lay upon the magistrate putting it into force, *to justify* such detention and seizure, on an appeal to the Quarter Sessions.

The *third* act is, "to prevent delay in the administration of justice in cases of misdemeanour.' This act is highly favorable to the liberty of the subject, and contains two most important ameliorations of the law: the one, *the allowance to defendant, free of expense, of a copy of the indictment;* and the other, *the obligation on the part of the Law Officers of the Crown, to proceed in such indictments within twelve calendar months.* And thus this act, passed at a turbulent moment, has the effect of giving additional facility of trial, and preventing prosecutions from being kept suspended over the fate of a defendant. Both these deficiencies had been frequently and vehemently demanded by parties in whose favor these alterations have taken place; of course they cannot complain, and I am certain no other persons will.

The fourth act is, "for more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies." In other words, "to give greater effect to local and county meetings." This act expires next year; and, in favor of its principle, need I do more than refer to the last county meetings of York, Norfolk, Hereford, and Somerset? I may say, without contradiction, that popular meetings may now carry with them more weight, and have a claim to a higher share of consideration, than as formerly constituted and collected together. The principle of the act is, to give effect to locality, so that the petition *shall be,* in parliamentary acceptation, the petition of the county, town, or place from whence it purports to come; it also encourages public discussions, by discountenancing private political clubs, where, if mischief be not intended, there can be no need of secrecy and mystery. Upon the expiration of this act, the question of its renewal may possibly be agitated, or it becomes a dead letter. I have not then deprived the subject very long of his right of petition; possibly I may have rendered it more valuable, weighty, and respectable. No Member can now, in his place in the House of Commons, stand up and say—"This is not the petition of the county, town, or place from which it is stated to come, but of a rabble having no right to attend;" for if the persons present had no right to attend, then the meeting should have been legally dissolved; but in failure of such step, the petition (come from county or town) is the true, real, and legal petition

of the freeholders and inhabitants, as designated in such petition. I think, therefore, I have effected *a reform* in the constitution of popular meetings, by giving to them a distinctive and more important rank.

The *fifth* act is, "for the more effectual prevention and punishment of blasphemous and seditious libels." I am not going to define what is blasphemy, or what is sedition; but this I will say, that they may vary in different countries, and yet have a local interpretation.

To deny the one Holy Apostolic Church, would, at Rome, be blasphemy; at least it would be treated as such; but to deny the doctrine of the Protestant Church is not blasphemy in London. But to say in direct terms, (which is not argument) that our blessed Redeemer was an impostor, and Christianity is a farce, *is* blasphemy. It is by this act permitted to a man, to write so once; and upon conviction, the work which contains such language (and which, to all intents and purposes, is "the mouth-piece of the man, and the instrument of the mischief,") becomes forfeited *provisionally*, till judgment is affirmed, and *definitively*, after it is passed. For the second offence, the law, considering that however Christians may look upon it as a crime; yet that human nature may be so depraved or so obscured, as that such crime may be committed conscientiously—that is, that the blasphemer may really, by some preconceived prejudice of example or education, think himself right—the law says to him, upon the second occasion—"*This is a Christian country; Christianity is the law of the land; against that law you have once offended; and, for the repetition, it does not transport you as a felon, but it commands and forces you to leave a country which may be contaminated by your principles.*" And I think, the distinction of being transported "as a felon," and conducted out of the country "as a *mauvais sujet*," nicely adjusted to the variance of the two cases.

So as to sedition:—The Constitution of the country is of a mixed nature—monarchical—aristocratical—democratical. The nice balance of the three qualities is the perfection of the British Constitution. To promote reform in either branch as an improvement, is laudable and constitutional; but to say—either that the King should be dethroned—the nobility annihilated—or the doors of the House of Commons be closed—*is* sedition—because it tends to alter the form of government in one of its three estates.

I can frame no clearer definition of sedition than this: That the liberty of speech and writing, which tends to improve, and alter by amelioration, is not sedition—that which aims to annihilate or dissever, is—and it can be committed either towards the King, the nobles, or the people; and the difference of opinion which

exists, as to what constitutes sedition, arises from the preference which some entertain towards one branch of the Constitution beyond the other. Thus the Whig and Tory (if such creatures are still in being) differ in their interpretation of the word sedition. Blasphemy and sedition are put upon equal footing in this act—*par nobile fratrum !*

The sixth and last of these acts (which I am sorry to find my quondam friend Lord Milton quote as reasons for his political conversion ; and which he designates as preventing the *last year* of the reign of his most sacred Majesty George the Third, from being *a year of jubilee*,) is partly of financial regulation, and partly of a restraining nature. It is designated—"An act to subject certain publications to the duties on newspapers, and to make other regulations for restraining the abuses arising from the publication of blasphemous and seditious libels."

Newspapering is a trade, having two branches ;—the promulgation of intelligence and of political opinions, and the putting money into the pockets of the persons carrying it on. Depend upon it, the proprietors of a public journal consider the first operation as accessory to the last. 'Get money, Jack! get it honestly if you can; but get money, Jack !' is the universal axiom of the periodical journalist.—No matter of which side the question; it is this principle, and by no means a high and disinterested regard for the best interests of the country, which actuates newspapering of both sides. It is this which has led to base anonymous assassination, and attacks upon private character, under the pretence of political exigency. Of the abuse of certain papers of both sides, it may be truly said, that "it is but the pot calling the kettle black."

Generally speaking, and speaking generally upon an enlarged sense, the provincial press is conducted upon much more honorable and conscientious and consistent principles than the metropolitan; and this arises from the editors in the country being personally known. Upon this identity is founded responsibility; and he who may in a few hours, and is every day challenged by his acquaintance and neighbours, with the *pro* and *con* of his opinions, and having also a station to preserve in his own city or town, is careful at least, of giving personal offence, or of departing grossly from truth. The act in question made little or no impression in the country, (I speak as in contradistinction from London) because there, its principle, *if not legally*, had at all events been *virtually* acted upon.

In the metropolis, this identity and responsibility were lost:—prosecutions under the old act turned judicial proceedings into a farce—produced a sentence without its completion—an irritation

of the public mind—a plunder of its generous credulity—and ended generally on the part of the defendant, in a mean, pitiful appeal for a release or a commutation of sentence, upon the most hollow and insincere expressions of regret.

This was, because the men prosecuted were "men of straw;" the real offenders being too obscurely behind the curtain, to be at all attacked with any prospect of certainty.

The act, in a financial sense, was intended to stop certain publications, (which were professedly and avowedly designed to rouse what was called the physical force of the country;) or, failing to do so, to make them contribute to the revenue in the same manner in which the regular newspapers did; to make them responsible; and to produce somebody upon his recognizance or bond, who, when the sworn proprietors were prosecuted, should satisfy the just sentence of the law.

The liberty of thought or opinion was by no means restrained; but the law was no longer allowed to remain as a dead letter, or an object of complete mockery.

Now I hold responsibility to be the very best security for the liberty of the press, and the free discussion both of policy and religion; and it is from the shrinking of men of high talents, manly deportment, and of those gentlemanly feelings which know how to confine discussion within decorum—of men who, when they write, utter their own sentiments, and can and dare defend them—it is *because* the press is *not* in such hands, but in those of mechanical traders, hiring words by the hour or sentence—that so much abuse has arisen. Otherwise, there would not have arisen Constitutional Associators to set up a college of troublesome and indiscreet patriotism, and an opposition to the constitutional officers of the Crown.

And as to the press generally; it is too powerful and influential a means to be wholly neglected by the executive of an administration. There may be occasions when information ought to be given to it; but I cannot deprecate too much, men of high responsible official situations becoming parties to, or supporters of any paper—I mean as proprietors, or contributors by writing. Their interest or their zeal may betray them into derelictions of, or contradictions to their official duties; and if there is one thing more useful than another to a free executive government, acting conscientiously and upon avowed and discussed principles, it is, to know and collect *the free* and *disconnected* opinions of a various and varied press. But I again and again repeat, that responsibility acted upon as a principle, (as it is in the bill alluded to) is also another wholesome *reform*, attempted, if not absolutely effected,

by the Six Acts—of which I was ever willing to bear more than my proportionate share of responsibility.

Possibly my Lord Milton "the convert" may see, that of the Six Acts—

*The first* is—to confine public agitations within the bounds of civil war, by preventing unlawful training. *The second* was for a similar purpose—it was local—it has expired—it is expunged from the Statute Book. *The third* is—to expedite justice, (and the third gaol delivery is for the same experiment,) to allow defendant a copy of his indictment *gratis;* and to prevent those much abused persons, called Attorney and Solicitor-General, from suspending an information over the head of an accused beyond twelve months. Can these points be prejudicial to the subject, which were enacted in very turbulent times, in favour of the subject? Under *the fourth act*, the county of York has just exhibited the model of a Public Meeting, which men of all parties must admire; and I shall therefore expect my Lord Milton to be the means of proposing its duration. *The fifth act* only banishes *twice convicted* blasphemers and revolutionists. There was a time, when heads were cut off for a hundredth part of that which may now be said or written, without fear of punishment at all. *The sixth act* protects the fair trader in newspapers, by putting all on an equality of stamp-duty; and very properly makes persons *really responsible* for libel, (from which no man of courage ought to shrink, and to which no man of respectability can object,) whose weapon stabbed in the dark, or was moved by the hand of a puppet.

The time I hope will come, when "the principle of responsibility" will give a higher and more valuable tone to the press, and effect *its reform.*

In all matters upon which I intended to give any explanation, (it may be called defence, I have no objection,) I have now nearly concluded.

I foresaw that the formation of "the Holy Alliance" would force it to submit its policy from time to time to the opinions of the world—that it would be a new step in diplomacy, but powerless in action, however amicably intended: that England would possess the advantage of being privy to its deliberations and ultimatums; and attend it, in her rank as a preponderating and mediating power.

I felt, that the commerce of England was no longer in its infancy, requiring support, or seeking encouragement; that it was become, not merely gigantic in itself, but invigorating to others; that it could not be dispensed with, or outrivalled; and that its admission would become a system in other states; that any demand of fresh

protections would have been met possibly by attempts to curtail those so extensively enjoyed; and that in gaining or procuring preferences from new governments, it became equally necessary to preserve peace with the old.

Except as to the term of "turbulent times," I have avoided all allusion to the circumstances under which the six *infamous* acts, (but which I call the six *famous* ones,) were passed. I may believe that they can now be regarded dispassionately.

*The first* checks overt rebellion, and would be supported under all changes of party in the administration. Will any set of politicians annul it, and proclaim to the country—that mobs *may* assemble at all times and on all occasions of public discontent *or* of private quarrel, (for the law is applicable to both causes,) and await only a supply of arms to become instantaneously a military body? The value of this act will be better understood when any attempt shall be made to repeal it.

*The second* is defunct; but the law allows a search-warrant in detection of a thief—should it not, in detection of rebellion in its infancy? Is it policy to await the conflagration when the match can be extinguished?

*The third* contains two most important ameliorations in favor of facility of trial, and on the side of the party accused. It is *bonum ex malo.*

*The fourth* gives greater effect, influence, and dignity, to popular meetings. I repeat again, look at the York County Meeting, as a model formed under its enactments; and to that of Hereford, where the High Sheriff conscientiously refused to call the meeting; knowing, however, that there was an appeal from his decision. In the exercise of his discretion, therefore, he despised contumely.

*The fifth* is in protection of the Religion and Constitution of England. They are inseparable.

*The sixth* establishes "responsibility" as a principle upon which a *reform* of the press will eventually take place.

There is no passion, or perversion of language, or of intention, in this explanation. Possibly my excellent friend Lord Milton may *re-consider* the grounds of his conversion, as founded on these six acts.

I now enter upon the question of "AGRICULTURAL EMBARRASSMENT:" a topic infinitely more important than any exculpation of my posthumous fame.

As the Constitution of England is divided into three estates, so also is the commerce of England. The distinctions of the latter are agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial. If the political tranquillity of England depend upon the well-ordered adjustment of

such three estates, so is the prosperity of England identified with the fair balance of its three sources of wealth.

It will happen, that one may casually preponderate more than another; yet neither can for a long period maintain a superiority of success beyond the other. Since the peace, manufactures and commerce have soonest revived; because, for them there was not only the field of home demand, but of foreign supply. Agriculture still lingers behind, because her market is limited to the boundary of an Island, and to its own population.

To the one are opened an expansion of enterprise, and a variety of market; the other is confined to its own internal demand.

The one may lose upon its outward consignment, yet by the produce of its homeward freight realize an average profit; but the sale of the agriculturist determines at once his chance of profit or loss.

When demand presses upon the manufacturer, he adds an extra hour to the play of his machinery, and such demand is supplied.

When the wants of population press upon agriculture, the farmer has recourse to inferior soils; but the measure is one of almost certain ruin; for the very instant the price of the day fails to remunerate the cultivation of such soils, they become not merely unprofitable, but they leave him amenable to all the burdens of the state and of their locality.

When manufactures languish, their laborers return *disproportionately* to be supported by the parent soil; and the idle machinist settles upon the industrious village.

The power of machinery materially counteracts the effect of a rise in corn, in reference to manufacturing labor; but a high price to the farmer brings with it proportionately increasing *local* burdens.

These are some few of the disparities of agriculture and manufacture, by which commerce both external and internal are affected.

I will rather dwell upon a few distinct points.—1. Is agricultural depression occasioned by taxation, change of currency, or over-production? 2. From whatever cause it may arise, is it temporary and open to relief? 3. By what means, or to what system may it look for relief? Can it be placed permanently upon a footing of less uncertainty of fluctuation? 5. Are the many remedies proposed, applicable or not to its relief?

1. Is agricultural depression occasioned by taxation, change of currency, or over-production?

Since 1814, when the farmers succeeded in fixing the importation price of wheat at 80s. per quarter, and other grain in proportion, the taxation of the country, direct and indirect, has been reduced about one-third; and has taken place much in favor of the agricultural interest; as the great reduction of the salt, leather, and

malt duties, and the total repeal of the horse husbandry tax, evidence. To the plea of government taxation, it may therefore be truly said, that the balance of relief has greatly preponderated in favor of the agricultural interest.

If, then, taxation was really the cause; some benefit would surely arise *from its reduction.* But none has arisen; on the contrary, the price of grain falls and continues to fall, and does not enable the farmer to grow his corn *cheaper,* in a ratio to such reduced taxation. And here I may remark, that the lesser burden of taxation is not intended to raise the price, but to enable the farmer to *bear the price;* for, provided the farmer can realise a profit, the lower the price, the better for all branches of the community.

Now, if ease of taxation gives no relief to the farmer, but that the price of his produce falls comparatively lower than the amount of such reduction; I am led *to re-consider and deny* the doctrine, "that the producer can repay his taxation by *imposing an additional price* equivalent to the tax." And if I was entrapped at the moment by the maze of a political economist, I must only the more forcibly express the conviction of my error. The power to impose an additional price, equivalent to taxation, can take place only where *a command of the market* can be maintained by the producers. Thus the manufacturers, having a new tax imposed upon any of their articles of production, or upon the materials of their production, can remunerate themselves by an additional price, equivalent to such taxation, "*because they can controul the supply of their goods.*"

But corn stands in a different situation; its abundance or its scarcity are affected by the seasons. Till how he may, let him be as expert, and as careful, and as watchful, as he please; it is still to Providence that the farmer *must look up* for the success of his labors.

Demand and supply *may for a season* be fictitiously regulated, but *never for a period;* and by them the price of grain must be, and will be, ultimately regulated; and there is no power whatever in the hands of the grower of corn to *impose an additional price equivalent to taxation.* Therefore it follows, that an existing taxation, not compensated by the current price, must destroy rent—and it destroys rent; because the landlord has a claim upon his tenant *after* both public and local assessments are satisfied. These may continue, by the operation of the laws, to be collected; but their collection, (if it take from the tenant the means of paying his landlord,) cannot surely be brought forward as a proof of national prosperity. It proves the obedience of the people, but not their prosperity.

I do not, however, for one moment, admit that taxation is *the cause* of agricultural depression—on the contrary, *as a cause,* it

has little or nothing to do with it; but the pressure of taxation is *the result* of agricultural distress. For, if it were *the cause*, then its reduction of one quarter, or twenty-five per cent., would now leave 7*s.* 6*d.* a bushel, a remunerating price, as 10*s.* was in 1814: but corn is, at this moment, 33 per cent. lower than such comparative remunerating price. If it could be shown that corn fell and rose with taxation, then I would admit that there existed a sympathy between them. But grain is influenced in its price by a cause far beyond the finite one of taxation: it is "season" which regulates supply and demand, and acts upon price.

And though supply and demand may be affected by two agents; namely—an abundance arising from land already in tillage—or by an addition to the quantity of grain from newly cultivated lands; —yet, as the latter circumstance is the effect of *increasing population*, I think the proposition "that supply and demand regulate price by a power superior to taxation," is not altered by the fact of increased tillage.

*Then, as to change of currency*—I am still an unconverted sinner to the doctrine of the depreciation of the Bank note. I never read it yet proved, and I do not believe it ever was. I always conceived that assertion to be erroneous. It offered too tempting an immediate advantage, and one which the country could not withstand; it operated as a rise upon all capital; and under the effect of this delusion, the man who went to bed at night, believing himself worth only twenty thousand pounds; by becoming a convert, at twelve the next day, to the doctrine of the depreciation of the Bank note, imagined himself worth twenty-two thousand five hundred. But it was imaginary; for as the rise took place generally, the larger sum exchanged for no more of the wants and conveniences of life than did formerly the smaller amount.

But if the Bank restriction act had the effect of depreciating the Bank note, and was argued upon as an act of insolvency; was it not reasonable to presume that the depreciation would take place at the moment? Yet, as to corn, the average price for five years *preceding* the Bank restriction act, was 58*s.* 11*d.*; and (omitting 1801 and 1802, years of acknowledged and intense scarcity) for five years *following* the Bank restriction act it was also 58s. 11*d.* Here, therefore, is fact against theory. Here is evidence and proof, that in 1792, 3, 4, 5 and 6, the Bank note, payable in coin, bought wheat at an average of 58*s.* 11*d.* per quarter; and that in 1798, 9. 1803, 4 and 5, the same Bank note (become a legal tender) was payment also for the same commodity, at the very same average rate.

A standard of value is ideal, unless the quantity of precious metals throughout the world can be accurately ascertained, and

all further supply from mines be stopped. Then, such defined amount and precise extent of circulation might be adapted to the commerce of the world, and a maximum and minimum unite to form a standard. But the nearest approach which can be made to a standard of value, is by fixing coin to a definite pureness and weight, by which "a standard of reference," and *not of value*, is attained.

It was to maintain and preserve this "standard of reference" that, at the moment when all England had discovered that a guinea would divide into more than twenty-one shillings, Parliament sanctioned the *legal position*, "that a Bank note, expressing the payment of one pound, was, with the addition of a shilling, equal to a guinea."

Rather than go into this question, so as to fatigue attention, I will take credit at once for this fact; that all the accounts "of taxation," "of the amount of the Bank issues," "of the price of gold," and "of the average of the quarter of wheat," prove; that there is no simultaneously connecting operation one upon the other; and that, consequently, they are all acted upon by various and most differing causes.

These tables will prove, that the Bank issues have been diminished, when gold has risen; that they have been extended, and still gold has risen; that they have been extended, when gold has fallen; been again diminished and gold has fallen; and so in reference to the Corn Market.

But I will for one moment suppose agricultural distress to arise from a change of currency, and that variation or depreciation to amount to twenty per cent. Then, if currency operates upon the price of grain, its effect would be the amount of the depreciation —or difference between a metallic and a paper circulation. Now, in 1795, wheat was 72*s.* 2*d.*; twenty years after, it was 64*s.* 4*d.* In 1796 it was 77*s.* 1*d.*; and twenty years after, it was 75*s.* 10*d.* In 1793 it was 48*s.* 11*d.*; and twenty years after, it was 108*s.* 9*d.* In 1792 it was 42*s.* 11*d.*; and thirty years after, it was about the same price; and at this present moment it is about 40*s.* If we go further back, we shall find the same fluctuation, the same bursting of all those fictitious bonds of currency and taxation.

In periods when little or no National Debt existed, prices varied in short cycles of years from 30 to 50 per cent., and again back from 50 to 5. In 1697 wheat was 7*s.* per bushel, ten years after, it was 3*s.* 3*d.* In 1700 it was 5*s.* 3*d.*; in 1710, 11*s.* 6*d.*; in 1705, it was 4*s.*; in 1715, it was 4*s.* 6*d.*; in 1756 it was 4*s.* 6¾*d.*; and in the following year 8*s.* 6*d.*, but varying to 6*s.* 6*d.*

In short, no commodity on earth is so fickle or precarious in price as corn, because it depends upon seasons, and not on currency and taxation. The cry of the depreciation of the Bank note

was partly political, and partly self-interested. Those who scouted it as a political dogma, adopted it as a self-benefiting one; and thus a vast majority followed in the hunt.

But how comes it; if the Bank note, as a legal tender, and when not referential to gold, was stigmatised as depreciated, that the very politicians who then undervalued it, want now to resort to the same despised depreciated note? This appears to me to be the most extraordinary and contradictory political juggle I ever remember to have witnessed. A return back to the poor despised depreciated Bank note; now when the original cause (a casual draining of specie to the Continent, where credit was annihilated,) has ceased to operate; is to get up a counter cry; namely, "that gold is depreciated, and the Bank note, made of rags, is the more precious of the two."

I do not arrogate to myself the supposition, that I have shown beyond all fear of contradiction, that the alternatives of taxation and currency are not the engines of agricultural depression: but I have shown, that no sympathy exists between them; and that the course of seasons, (by which abundance and scarcity are produced,) is a much more influential cause in the purlieu of Mark-lane: that corn continues to fall, though taxation has been reduced in its favor; and that the variations of price are in no settled ratio to currency of any denomination, whether of paper or of precious metal.

The trade in corn is different from all others; it is an open market. The fields themselves proclaim dearth or abundance; and those who contend, that a supply far beyond demand is not at this moment the cause of depressed price, must prove—that its opposite *(scarcity)* would not, in spite of taxation and currency, raise it again to a remunerating level. And I may remark here, that low price arising from abundance of produce, upon land *not more than equal* in extent to an average supply of the population, is not ruinous, but, on the contrary, profitable to the farmer: but if it arise from a forced system of culture upon lands not adapted to the growth of wheat; or upon an *excessive extent* of acres under tillage; it arises then from a system which the agriculturists themselves must adjust; for themselves are in such case the authors of their own evil.

I now come to the second question:—*From whatever cause agricultural depression arises, is it temporary, and promising of relief?*

If all the official returns of the price of corn for upwards of one hundred and twenty years, are examined; it will be seen—that no low price continued long, and that no high price maintained itself;—and this principle and fact are to be found under a variety of circumstances:—under a state of almost freedom from public debt, and of immense taxation—in a state of war, in a state of

peace—under ameliorations of the currency, (as in the time of King William and Mary) and under the later substitution of a paper for a metallic currency, and a return to it—under various modifications of the Corn Laws, whether by bounty on exportation, or restrictive import duties;—under all these various circumstances and impulses, the price of man's subsistence has baffled the ingenuity of the legislature, the fine-spun theory of the political economist, and the speculation of trade. In the years 1706, 1707, 1732, and 1744, (within the memory, and beyond the memory of man,) it was exactly 3*s.* 6*d.* per bushel. In 1679, 1704, 1711, 1740, 1758, 1771, 1782, 1794, 1803, 1816, and 1820—in all this long and varied period, the price of wheat has been from 7*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.*; and, at this present moment, is of less price than one hundred and twenty years ago.

The contemplation of these prices, and of these facts, will, I trust, show—that the present depression is one of the moment—that it cannot be expected to last; and I hope, that both despondency on the one hand, and a fictitious adjustment of remedy on the other, will, on the present occasion, be avoided.

When the season preceding the harvest of 1822 appeared to forebode a bad crop, was there not a dread of the opening of the ports to foreign shipments? Upon such a thread, then, hangs the alteration from low to high price.

The irregular course of Nature, which is wisely intended to keep alive hope, and to perpetuate a spirit of industry, will (Believe me, beloved countrymen!) do that for you in due time, which neither speculative writers nor artful partisans can effect, by their theory or their promises, or their deceitful remedies. And what do I strive so anxiously to lay before you? Why! That nothing can supersede in importance the trade in the articles of human subsistence. That in times of dearth, their price does and will force itself beyond all the bounds of fictitious regulation: that in opposition to this principle, it will, in abundant times, sink below its possible means of production. Between these two extremes is to be found "the average of the most fluctuating trade in the habitable world:" and if any assert, that this depression is more than temporary; let him produce, within these hundred and fifty years, five successive years of steady and unchanging value in the price of corn. The fourth year is now in progress. Even a change of system (according to the quality of the soil) from 3 to 4 field husbandry, or from 4 to 5, or from 5 to 6; the having an extra fallow, or a longer laying of the clover or saintfoin plant, will introduce no little alteration in the balance of the corn market.

I may now be allowed to submit—that the experience of the past furnishes hope for the future; and that, from the very pursuit of agriculture, a remedy is not impossible.

I come now to the third question :—*By what means, or to what system, may agriculture look for relief?*

Much of what has been said in the immediately preceding observations, may serve to answer this query. To it I will add—that no means can be so efficacious to the relief of agricultural embarrassment, and no system so sound, as a perseverance in maintaining the inviolability of public credit, and in the support of the Sinking Fund—the real Sinking Fund—not one applicable to the emergency of the moment, but a sacred fund. And if Emperors and Kings will, in an amicable mood, have a Holy Alliance as preservative of peace, let England have "her sacred fund" as preservative of her credit.

Generally speaking, the National Debt is the surplus of wealth, not required for other pursuits either of commerce or landed investment. A true and real, and unalienable Sinking Fund, must every year throw into circulation a large sum of money seeking a new investment. Heretofore, the money laid out by the Commissioners for Redeeming the National Debt, was absorbed by new loans; but if the present system is religiously adhered to, it cannot but partially be so re-invested. If re-investment under fresh circumstances is carried to any extent, the funds must rise, and interest fall, in proportion as they reach the par of their redeeming price; the funds bearing the greater rate of interest will then, without any convulsion, sink into a stock of lower rate. The contest for investment will be, between funded and landed property. Land for sale may be expected to increase gradually in the number of years purchase; and estates for mortgage will be able to procure pecuniary advantages at a decreasing rate of interest. These results must (I should think) follow the gradual dispersion of the public debt, by means of a Sinking Fund.

In four years from this period, the sum of twenty millions of redeemed debt will make no inconsiderable difference in the relative value of landed property. If incumbrances are then required to be actually discharged, a less quantity of any given estate will do it; and if mortgages are required to be created, a less rate of interest will be taken. Nor will this be a casual operation, if the *new* Sinking Fund is preserved *under all circumstances*.—That which relieves the landlord operates to the comfort of the tenant; and so *vice versâ;* for both interests are mutual. I may rest my argument here; but I would observe, that these consequences will not be done away even in a state of war, if the supplies are raised within the year: but if a system of loan is again resorted to, then my calculation will be poised, and the country will have again to originate a *third* Sinking Fund.

4. *Can agriculture be placed permanently upon a footing of less uncertainty of fluctuation?* Permanently, *not*—for it has been seen,

how completely the price of the food of human subsistence bursts through, or retreats beyond, the bounds of generally influential causes: but as the causes become more and more apparent, some alteration of remedy may possibly be found.

The price of food is a tax upon industry; that which we are compelled to purchase, we desire to purchase cheap:—but *cheap* is a relative term; and one which implies profit to the purchaser. It does not however always follow, that to sell cheap is to sell at a loss. If the farmer can raise *cheap* corn, it must be in favor of the manufacturer; but to be able to do so, the cost of its raising must be as unartificial as possible.

If there existed no National Debt, which introduces a fictitious state of commercial dealing; I should say, "throw open the corn trade to the whole world:" but if the growing of corn is to contribute to such National Debt, *it must be protected* into a condition to do so.

The natural state of a country requires that corn should be cheap; the artificial state of this country requires it to be as cheap as possible; and the great desideratum is, to obtain a steady price.

If the price of corn is cheap, the manufacturing interests can barter their goods in return for it, at a more reasonable rate; because the capital saved in the price of labor goes to increase the stock of their goods; and they make more at a less rate of expense. If corn is dear, the manufacturer raises the price of his goods to pay the taxation of dear corn; and generally more in proportion than the difference requires.

When corn is cheap, (I speak of a cheapness including profit) the farmer has a greater quantity to sell; and 24 bushels an acre at 6*s*. are better than 16 at 8*s*.; for though he has more labor to pay for at the barn, so also he has more straw with which to make dung for his next crop.

The interest of the agriculturist is, to be able to grow cheap; of the manufacturer, to buy cheap; and in the barter between both, the former obtains more goods for his cheap corn than he would by a high price.

But then comes the question—Can this, under existing circumstances be done; and what is at the same time a remunerating price to the farmer, and a cheap one to the manufacturer? To effect this nice adjustment, and to conquer this difficulty, (the difficulty of ages,) is the point at issue.

The agriculturists in 1814, applied for, and gained a protecting price up to 80*s*. per quarter for wheat, and for other grain in proportion. It was all they asked, and it was acceded to them. But the law was defective in this; that under its enactments, a rush of

foreign corn might take place, and such a quantity be instantaneously poured in, as would affect the price for several successive years. The present act tends greatly to remedy this; and by a system of graduated duties, renders importation regular, and restores an equilibrium of price. But there still remains under bond in the warehouses, an immense stock of foreign corn; which may be brought into consumption under the old law of 52 Geo. III. cap. 9.

Now if the present law corrects too sudden and overpowering an influx of foreign corn; still it is counteracted by the quantity warehoused under the former act; and therefore as one means of attaining a less uncertainty of fluctuation; and inasmuch as the price of corn is not cheap, but ruinously low, and a partial remedy is absolutely necessary; I submit—*Whether it might not be advisable to grant a freight bounty on the exportation of this foreign corn, and so unload the warehouses, and have only the new corn law to look to for future regulation of import.*

It might be said—"grant a bounty upon corn of home growth!" But that would be a remedy of indefinite amount; and introduce a new system. Whereas, the other would act as a *bonus* under special circumstances; and not to be converted into a fundamental principle, or to be acted upon at a future time as a precedent.

I am not exactly prepared to say what is the amount of the quantity of wheat bonded; possibly 800,000 bushels. A freight bounty of four shillings per quarter would amount to twenty thousand pounds. This sum would clear out the warehouses: and as it is said of retrenchment, that it is not more the amount, than the principle which creates confidence; so in this case—I think such concession to the agriculturist would at least relieve that depressed feeling under which he now labors, and by which he is so disheartened.

I am aware how dangerous a principle it is to repress abundance; and to spurn as it were at the bounty of Providence—but it by no means follows that the same corn may not again re-enter the ports of England, should prices rise; but then it will so re-enter, under the provisions of the new corn law; whereas it hangs now as an *incubus* upon agriculture—a dead weight upon its hopes.

Upon this part of the subject I have done; having confined myself to the question of sending back the foreign corn. But in discussing the many remedies proposed by others, I shall have an opportunity of entering into the subject matter of "the peculiar and local taxation" to which agriculture is liable; and which places it in an unnatural situation as to the other great interests of the community.

In examining the question whether *the many remedies proposed,*

*are applicable or not to the relief of agriculture;* I shall have many opportunities of alluding to *internal measures,* calculated to place it upon a footing of less fluctuation; and I shall rather look to the proceedings of country meetings than notice the variety of publications which have swarmed upon the subject.

The county of Norfolk may possibly feel as much pressure, probably more than any other county. Its system of agriculture is artificial; the soil itself does little towards the crop; it is the expensive system of tillage, and outlay of capital, which have converted a light sand into clean arable, requiring constant expense and unremitted attention. But if this is its general character, no class of farmers has more capability of bearing up against a casual depreciation. Their capital, and their skill, have remunerated their exertions; and though at this moment they are not subsisting or paying rent out of profit, they are doing it "out of wealth, created by agriculture;" and this is the general result of a system, which never has been, can be, and never will be, any other, than *of an average nature.*

Upon its *immediate* pressure; upon its alternation of success; upon its cycle of depression, a very suitable experiment has been made. Mr. Coke may learn from the result of the late county meeting how dangerous it is to turn farmers and tenants into political economists; and may begin to think, the union of politics and agriculture is rather of an unharmonious nature. But having joined hands, he is now able to appreciate the effect of an union.

I will waste as little time upon that meeting as possible; but will merely recount the remedies, with a brief observation or two upon them. The remedies proposed were of two kinds, prospective and immediate—

PROSPECTIVE REMEDIES.

1. An appropriation of part of the public property, commonly called Church property, to the liquidation of the debt.

Public property is here evidently intended to mean "national property;" and in that sense, conveys a right of ownership, and power of redemption. I deny that the Church property is, in that sense, public property—I assert that the church has as much right to her estates as Mr. Coke to his own. I propose, therefore, "*that part of Mr. Coke's property be appropriated to the liquidation of the said debt.*" The one principle is as just as the other.

2. A reduction of the standing army, including staff, barracks

and colleges, to the scale of expense, as low as that of the army before the late war.

Agreed—provided the country will give up and cede the property acquired by her during the war, with all its mercantile interests; and which, at a very moderate calculation, may be estimated at one hundred and fifty millions.

3. A total abolition of all sinecures, pensions, grants and emoluments, *not merited by public services.*

Agreed to on the part of the Tories—provided Mr. Coke will consent to the same on behalf of the Whigs; and the Whigs ratify the contract.

4. "A sale of numerous public estates, commonly called Crown lands, and an application of the money towards the liquidation of the debt."

The Crown lands, which can hardly now be so called, (they having nothing to do with the support of the Crown) from part of the public revenue of the state. All fines, forfeitures, rents and renewals, go to the national account; and subject to these casual and periodical payments *are private property.* If not sold, the Crown lands are (if I may use the term) alienated.

5. "An equitable adjustment with regard to the public debt, and also with regard to all debts and contracts between man and man."

As to an equitable adjustment of the national debt, the term is very indefinite:—paying it off is an equitable adjustment; and it is in such course:—as between man and man, those to whom debts are due, contracted before 1797, in a metallic currency, may receive payment in a metallic currency—those who borrowed in paper money, may repay in paper money, or gold at their option—and the rate of interest now is in favor of the borrower. An equitable adjustment has also taken place, by the fall in price of every article of commerce—and by a great decrease of taxation.

IMMEDIATE REMEDIES.

1. "To suspend by law, for one year, all distraints for rent, and to cause distraints to be set aside where they have been begun."

That is; A. cannot pay this year his rent of 500, but next year he will be able to pay one 1000. This is a very exhilarating prospect, but one certainly not meant. The plain English is: begin a little system of robbery, and let us see where it will end. Or —sell your goods, cheat your landlords, and transport to America.

2. "To suspend all process for tithe for the same period."

The ground is now so very unproductive, that there is hardly a shock of grain for the parson to put his bough in; but next year there will be double crops:—delightful anticipation!

3. To suspend for the same period, all processes arising out of mortgage, bond, annuity, or other contract affecting house or land.

That is, having robbed the landlord and the parson, rob one another.

4. To repeal the whole of the tax on malt, hops, leather, soap and candles.

That is, having robbed the landlord, the parson, and one another, stop the dividend of the fundholder.

Was there ever a more ignorant, roguish and ruinous system broached? this too called a system of remedy, and which amounts to this; "destroy income, and spend your capital."—A pretty remedy this, truly!

It would be extremely indecent to comment upon any petitions which are *yet to be* presented to the popular branch of the legislature; but from the language of the speakers at public meetings, I may collect the list of causes to which agricultural embarrassment is referred; and the remedies proposed for its termination.

In moments of actual distress, it is very seldom but that the consequent irritation is laid hold of to sanction violent measures which promise instant remedy, rather than adopt a slower and more efficacious method, requiring the burden yet to be borne, but promising of eventual and effectual alleviation.

Those who couple politics with agriculture mix up with it such terms—as arbitrary government, enormous and uncontroulled expenditure, unfortunate wars, profligate confusion and corruption; inconsistent and contradictory expedients, subserviency of public men to the minister of the day, and silent revolution steadily proceeding to its consummation, necessity of reform.

These are the clap-traps of party; they have been in the constant use of the opponents of every administration from the days of the revolution to the present moment; they are words of course, made useful as preludes to propositions, which otherwise without such high seasoning would never be forced upon men's judgments.

But those who acknowledge the existence of agricultural distress, and seek not to make it the hobby-horse of disaffection, confine themselves to the questions, of national debt, currency, taxation, poor rates, and tithes; and to these I will restrain my further observations.

As a boon to, not as a principle in favor of the landed interest, I have already stated; that if the foreign wheat now bonded under

the old act, could be sent back upon a small freight-bounty, it might tend to remove one cause of obstruction to a fair equilibrium of price;—for the present existing power of introducing that rush of quantity into the markets, would affect the price for two years in ordinary seasons; and would by that period prolong the present pressure, by throwing into private warehouses a quantity of grain unrestricted as to its period or proportion of supply.

I am aware that the cry would be raised, that such a plan was intended to make corn dear: but what are the manufacturing or retail interests to do, if the landlords and tenants have no surplus to expend with them for their commodities? If they are so restricted in their means, as to be able to purchase the necessaries only, and none of the comforts of life; corn is then too low, even for the interests of the manufacturer and the retail trader; and is so at this moment.

A partial remedy is therefore in the first place wanted; and next, an approach to some system which may turn the past into a lesson of instruction. I repeat therefore, that the re-shipment of this particular quantity of foreign corn would be in the nature of a bonus, and not as an adopted principle.

Of the National Debt, and of taxation, I have already said something. Of taxation, specially affecting agriculture in the form of poor and county rates, and of tithes, I shall hereafter observe.

As to currency; I fear that the agriculturists do not see their interests clearly; that they look back to the past, and sigh for corn at 12*s.* or 14*s.* paid in paper, and forget that it was no benefit to them: they almost wholly overlook the great advantage to be eventually derived from Mr. Peel's bill.

Do they call the Bank note depreciated, when on one Monday they shall in Mark Lane receive 30*l.* for 100 bushels of corn; and when supply has ceased to glut the market, on the following week, they may receive for the same quantity 40*l.*? Will they call the Bank note depreciated then, because what in one week was paid for in *three* 10*l.* Bank notes, shall in the following week require *four* similar notes? Because it is upon this principle mainly that the argument of depreciation is carried on; namely, that the moment the power of the Bank note is lessened in purchase it then becomes depreciated. Thus political economists would argue the Bank note is depreciated 33 per cent.; because one week 100 bushels of corn were bought for 30*l.*, which afterwards required 40*l.* for the same transaction.

But then it will be said; the Bank note *now* is payable in coin. Change it to payment in sovereigns, and what is the difference? None. The Bank note when not demandable in coin, had the same powers, the same properties, the same principle of conversion.

Let me adduce a case in point. In 1813 the average of wheat was 108*s.* 9*d.*, I will say 108*s.*; one hundred bushels would cost 54*l.* In the following year of 1814, it was exactly 73*s.* 11*d.* I will call it 74*s.*; then the hundred bushels would cost 37*l.*

Is the difference between the 54*l.* and the 37*l.* a difference of depreciation, or of supply and demand, which constitute price?

But I shall be possibly told, that there was an amount or certain portion of depreciation in both transactions. But gold in 1813 was 5*l.* 4*s.* per ounce, and in 1814 4*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* So that one hundred pounds in Bank notes would buy *more* gold in 1814 than it would in the preceding year, and *more* corn; and in addition to this, there was in 1814 (when gold was lower) an issue of about three millions *more* of Bank notes than in the preceding year, when gold was *dearer.*

Yet the clamorers about a depreciated currency, and the ill effects of a sudden return to a metallic one, tell us, "that the greater the quantity of Bank notes issued, the higher would gold rise;" as if Bank notes and gold were always fighting for the mastery of one over the other. Now the instances of the two years just adduced prove the contrary. Let us take 1813, a period of six years before Mr. Peel's bill, and 1819, the very year of its enactment. In 1813 the price of gold was 5*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* per oz., and the Bank issues 23,939,693*l.* In 1819 the price of gold was 4*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, and the Bank issues were 25,794,460*l.* So that in 1813, when the issue of the Bank was *the less,* it required *more* of their notes to purchase ten ounces of gold; and in 1819, when their issue was increased, it required *less* of their notes to purchase a like quantity of gold.

But there are some of a bewildered imagination, and giddy with the unexpected height to which a lucky hit has exalted them; who tell us—that the Bank of England can, by the management of its issues, affect the price of gold, and either raise or depress it at its pleasure, according as it adopts this or that system.

When evidence was taken in the Bullion Committee of 1810, under the management of the alarmists, what said the Bank Broker, Mr. A. A. Goldsmid? He was asked, "Whether he had remarked, that as the quantity of Bank notes increased, gold got proportionally dearer?" To which he replied—*Not perceiving that the increase of Bank notes has any connection with, or influence upon the price of gold; we have paid no attention to that subject.* And upon the same occasion, the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Bank Directors stated, that, *they never regulated their discounts by a reference to the foreign exchanges, which are dependant upon the value of the precious metals; except that they*

*refused to discount for those, whom they knew or suspected, to be engaged in the export of gold coin.*

This may be called interested evidence, yet it was given in the face of the country, and before a committee of men of all parties. And what is the result of all the documents which have appeared upon the subject? Why! A confirmation of the truth of their testimony.

Failing then to establish a sympathy, or connection between Bank paper and gold, or between Bank notes and foreign exchanges, what other cause could have extended the issues of the Bank of England? Nothing more or less, depend upon it! than *the extension of British trade.* Every rise in the price of commodities required a greater circulating medium; every fall in the same contracted it: prices are now fallen, and the issues of circulating medium are consequently narrowed. Let them again advance, and the issue of the circulating medium will meet their demands.

I may be told, that it is not so much the return from a paper to a metallic currency, as the suddenness of it, which has created the mischief. In reply, I must again refer to the state of the Bank issues in 1819. Gold for the three previous years had averaged about 4*l.* per oz.; now, without acceding to the doctrine that the Bank issues regulated the price of gold, or the price of gold affected the amount of the Bank issues; *it so happened*, that an approach of gold to the mint price (by which our coin is regulated) had arrived to within four per cent. If therefore there was any connection, the Bank note of one hundred pounds would at least purchase ninety-six pounds worth of bullion.

And can the difficulty of the agricultural interest be attributed to a difference of value or of depreciation, so slight as four per cent.? Does the success of agriculture, its florishing or desponding state, depend upon such a thread?—Impossible.

I can very readily imagine that the idea of a depreciation of the Bank note has obtained more generally in the country than in London, and for this reason; the Banking establishments in the country were greatly carried on upon a very different footing to that of "The Bank." In the country, the Bankers entered into *private* speculations, and *created notes* for their own purchases: if the deposits of others came in in time to meet their circulation, or they could obtain money upon mortgage, all was well—but failing to do either, they stopped payment. *The paper of the country banks* was *depreciated.*

But "the Bank" was always, and is strictly, "a Bank of deposit, and returnable issue;" and the mode of its business was in principle like that of a mine. A surplus of circulation returned upon the Bank her issues; and in the transactions of two months,

"the Bank" could judge, whether trade was in a fictitious state of currency, or carrying on in a *bonâ fide* manner. Besides, the ready resource for surplus capital which the funds afforded, greatly tended to keep circulation within wholesome bounds.

When in 1797 the retriction act took place, it would devolve upon the Bank to supply the hiatus of circulation which would occur in coin. In subsequent years, did or did not the trade of England increase? If it did (as it is a position few will deny) then the circulating medium must necessarily have expanded to meet such increase of trade. But as far as "the Bank" is concerned, the documents laid before Parliament and the public do not show a greater amount of issue of Bank notes *only*, than would have taken place of Bank notes and coin. If the issues of the Bank supplied the place, and no more, of the coin which had absconded; how could it then be said that the paper of the Bank was depreciated? Depreciation, which is a fashionable word, for "fall in price," arises from excess of supply or want of demand.

At this moment, about fifteen millions of gold have been coined and issued from the Mint. In 1797 the average of the Bank issues in notes was about eleven millions, accompanied by a metallic currency. Now the issue of "the Bank" (all her small notes being called in) is nearly twenty millions, accompanied with a greater proportion of gold coin than in 1797; being an excess nearly ten millions. Yet this supply produces no depreciation, because it is not an excess beyond the demands of trade. Had the note of the bank then really been depreciated, its issues would on the return of cash payments assimilate to the standard of 1797; but they are almost double in the midst of a metallic circulation.

I should say upon these various facts, (for I have been stating rather facts than arguments,) that the pleas of a sudden return to cash payments; or a depreciation of currency; or the adjustment of old contracts between debtor and creditor; will not on the present occasion stand the test of sound reasoning or reference to disinterested data. He who borrowed before 1797 in coin, may pay back in 1823 in coin; he who lent in 1797, may be repaid in 1823 with the same metal. Is this adjustment or not? Is this a return to the old system or not? I suspect "the political economist politicians" want to perpetuate the reign of that despicable thing called a depreciated Bank note.

I may be allowed here to recount an anecdote of a transaction, which (I hear) took place a little while ago at the Bank. A countryman went to receive his dividends: they amounted to upwards of a thousand pounds—I'll ha' it all in gold, (speaking to the cashier) if you please, sir! It was counted out to him. You'll lend me a bag to carry it awa', wont ye? My business (said the

cashier) is only to pay you. Nay, but ye'll lend me a bag, or else how shall I carr' it awa? I don't find bags, said the cashier. The countryman began to fill his pockets; they would not hold his money. Here, sir, take back your money, and gi' I notes if you please. I have paid your dividend as you wished, I cannot (said the cashier) change it. Well then, will ye watch the money till I gets a coach? I have other business (said the cashier,) to attend to. However, a Bank-porter was dispatched for a coach, and the countryman was helped to a bag, to carry away his dividend; in the demanding which in gold he thought he was a second Lord King.

For thirty years past, from 1792 to 1821, (both inclusive) the average of corn imported, after deducting the amount of exports, was about 460,000 quarters; and during the whole of that period, when in one year that average has been exceeded, it has not recovered itself for two or three years. In 1797 the excess of import was 854,926, and it did not recover itself till 1801; when in that, and in the following year, it was nearly trebled. In 1806 it again began to increase; and in 1811 it again was nearly trebled. In 1815 it exceeded the average by about $\frac{1}{5}$th; but on the following year, this country had a small excess of export. The years 1818, 1819, 1820, and 1821, are the only years of *successive* excess of importation which have occurred in this period; and of this Irish, or foreign corn passed for Irish, has formed the greater part. It cannot be denied but that this over supply, coupled with the foreign grain in the bonded warehouse, must give the consumer an advantage over the grower. It will be seen, that nearly in four years, an occasional pressure of supply is felt, (with the exception of the last instance, the principal cause of agricultural embarrassment,) and I see no obstacle to the same effect of season again taking place. I believe the depression to be temporary; but any alteration in the system of legislation, which promises to produce a less uncertainty of fluctuation, is most advisable.

I cannot admit that the taxation of the State presses with an undue or disproportionate weight upon agriculture; for when the price of grain rises, (and it will rise) taxation will not follow in an increasing ratio: if, therefore, it is now felt, the time is coming when that pressure will be removed. It has been thought by some, that the imposition of a property tax, in lieu of the assessed taxes, and of the malt or other exciseable duties, would relieve certain classes of the community, reach the dividends of the fundholder, and the income of the absentees. Had the property tax never been repealed; some such arrangement might have taken place, and probably would have taken place; but, in themselves, the assessed taxes are a species of property tax, well arranged, and ready of collection; and the malt duty is a growing duty. The

abandonment of the malt duty *in toto*, would not raise the price of barley, which is materially regulated by wheat; for if it encouraged its growth, it would increase the quantity, and soon equipoise any immediate rise of price which might take place on the first abandonment of the duty. A non-imposition of duty on malt would not act to raise the price of barley, but to make beer cheaper.

In all articles of consumption liable to excise, the whole community is upon an equality; therefore as to exemption on that score, neither interest can claim what must not consequently be granted to the other.

I come now to local taxation—in the shape of poor's rates, highways, and county rates.

The forty-third of Elizabeth (in whose reign there was no public debt) clearly points to every species of then existing property as being liable to contribution for the poor's rate; and I believe it has been decided, that property in the public funds may be rated to the poor; but whether that principle can be carried beyond the assessing of an inhabitant of the parish *in which the dividend becomes payable*, is a matter of considerable doubt. The act of Elizabeth contemplated the education of the young, the support of the impotent, and the employment of the idle.

The Poor Laws, general throughout England and Wales, are carried into effect upon a principle of locality; namely—"that those who make the poor shall support the poor." But even this principle may be legally broken through, and, under special circumstances, an adjoining parish be called upon to contribute to the relief of the neighbouring poor.

The principle, "that those who make the poor shall maintain the poor," is in many instances wrong, for the increase of poor is a proof of increasing poverty; and to make the cause contribute to the disease, is an anomaly not easily reconciled.

I should submit, that "property should maintain the poor, and not locality."

In altering the system of the Poor's Law, both as to its mode of support and means of collection, one point must be religiously preserved; namely—"that the poor themselves shall not be placed in a worse situation, or be entitled to less consideration than at this moment." I would rather conciliate the poor into better habits, than add a severer system of legislation to the one by which they are now governed.

Great as appear the difficulties of the task, they shrink much before the species of regulation which is already in activity.

In the first place, there exists an unpaid magistracy, capable and willing to take upon themselves the honorable trouble of aiding and assisting in carrying into effect any new arrangement which

Parliament may sanction. There is already very generally in operation, a system of select vestries and assistant overseers.

With the fundamentals of the Poor Laws there needs no interference; but the magistrates, the select vestries, and the assistant overseers, may all be made additionally useful. It is to bring these into one system of action, and mode of management, that I should propose an alteration.

Select vestries should be general; but parishes should be universally united to such an extent, as to render it beneficial to appoint and pay an assistant overseer.

These select vestries should report at certain times, to one or two magistrates, according to the divisions of the county; which magistrate should be chosen by the Bench at the Quarter Sessions, and *be remunerated.*

These inspecting magistrates should report to a Board in London, formed of five Commissioners, of whom the Secretary of State for the Home Department should always be chairman, with a deputy. Such Board in London should decide all points connected with the poor—have power to advance money for public works, productive of employment—loans to encourage industry, and prevent pauperism—aid colonization—superintend Saving Banks—and prevent mendicity.

From this Board a report to Parliament should be annually made.

The principle of removal should be altered. If a pauper has himself removed from his parish, he shall not claim to be sent back to his parish; but either remain where he is, or, having himself migrated, may be sent where labour is wanted, under the order of the public Board, whose correspondence with the acting magistrates will always enable it to know the state of the population and the local demand for labour. No resident pauper, not having migrated, shall be moved.

This alteration of the principle of removal will save to the counties an expense of about three hundred and fifty thousand pounds;—*less* about fifty thousand, which the establishment of a public Board and corresponding magistrates would cost.

But as the principle of location will be materially altered, so must the principle of the collection of the rate.

As the Board would be a board of inquiry, through the corresponding magistrates; so a new act might empower an extra assessment, as by way of fine, upon any parish neglecting to obey its orders, and having more poor in proportion to its extent, and in comparison with others similarly situated.

I should propose to abolish the poor's rate, and raise the requisite amount by assessed taxes; and to include in the rate inhabitant lodgers, and the houses of absentees.

The general principle of the public Board should be—to direct employment to all who are able-bodied; to support the young and the aged and the impotent;—to encourage the children of those who did not marry till 30 years of age; and, in all cases of actual relief, to find out what relations the pauper had, within a certain degree of affinity, and call upon them to contribute (if able) to the support of their own kindred; and in such cases, to contribute to no other.

From such a Board general circulars would issue, by which important facts would be easily ascertained, important regulations be simultaneously carried into effect, and pauperism be half annihilated. Not a beggar should have existence.

The apportionment of succour, with reference to casual want, would be immediate; but the principle on which it should be granted would be defined. The accounts would pass the ordeal of a public Board, after they had passed through the inspection of the corresponding magistrates, and the review of the Quarter Sessions, if the latter was necessary at all. And by paying the acting overseers, not wholly in proportion to the amount of the rate, but partly in the ratio of its diminution, a wasteful application of funds would be materially checked.

I throw out this arrangement, as furnishing means of consideration. Certain it is, that the poor's rate does impoverish the farmer; and if it be objected, that to be rated to a double amount of assessed taxes would press on other classes as hard as the present system does upon the farmers; I can only reply—that it would be repaid to them in a better regulated average price of the quartern loaf. For in this country of mixed interests, it is the balance of expenditure, and not the dearness of one article, and the cheapness of another, which should be looked upon steadily.

In some countries living and house-rent are cheap, and clothes dear. In others the former are dear, and the latter cheap. All countries have some commodity or manufacture which soil and circumstance enable them to produce at less rate than any other competitor can. The coal and machinery of this country set all rivalship at defiance.

Compare the poor of England with that of any other in the world. The balance of comfort is paramount in their favor: and at this present moment such is the state of, and demand for labor, (its price not being lowered in ratio to the means of subsistence,) that a general peace and harmony exist among the lower, but valuable orders of society.

England ought not to have a beggar within her forty counties, or a pauper having strength to work.

To the same Board county rates might be referred; because,

as sources of labor and employment, bridges, and roads, and prisons, would come under its influence.

Some have argued, that upon the principle of the act of Elizabeth, a direct property-tax is the fairest mode of raising a poor's rate: intending, no doubt, that the public funds should be brought in, in aid of its collection. But it must be borne in mind, that the poor laws are local as to England and Wales. To found a rate upon property *including the funds*, would be impracticable in execution; because such part as belonged to Foreigners, Colonists, Irish and Scotch, is not liable, and must be separated: an operation so full of confusion, and so productive of evasion, that the mode would fail.

Now by taking the assessed taxes as a guide, property to a certain extent is rated, and rated too upon an equitable principle; a scale of allowances being already in existence and operation, in favor of manufacturing establishments, where the space and extent of window is too great to be wholly charged upon the general computation. By making lodgers liable in certain cases, thousands would be brought to contribute who live upon income without the payment of one direct tax. Too many have recourse to lodgings for the very purpose of avoiding taxation.

To those who argue that this partial shifting of the burden of the poor's rate, from land to property in general, would be injurious, I would reply—that what tends to equalise will also promote an average; and by removing from agriculture one of the grounds upon which it complains of depression, you remove also one cause of very high price. And if upon the amount of the baker's bill in a year, a family having children procures an advantage of 20 per cent., (which I think would be the case) it would leave a profit upon the rate of assessment, and in favor of the consumers of bread.

I have suggested the principles; there are many minor details, to which a longer discussion would lead; but this is not the moment for entering upon minutiæ.

I come now to the question of TITHES. The same principle upon which I defend the property of the public creditor I extend to the protection of the property of the Church—a right of legal possession. The same principle which secures to the landholder the fee-simple of his estate has, by a prior existence, given to him only nine-tenths of such property. He purchases under an existing covenant to the Church, that he shall till for her one-tenth of the soil, and his purchase money is regulated accordingly. That which he has never bought he has no right to alienate or claim.

The Church property is *not* public or national property. It belongs to the Crown, (to whom it is of no further advantage than as a means of rewarding or favoring ecclesiastical merit,) to

Colleges, Corporations, and (in a much greater extent) to private individuals. By private individuals, and by no others, is it, or can Church preferment be made, a matter of traffic;—a practice scandalous in itself, but the odium of which rests only upon those who practise it: it is against the letter and the spirit of the law; yet it is not half so obnoxious as the building and hiring out for profit of dissenting meeting-houses. Notwithstanding this principle of strict legal possession, I do think, that the enlightened spirit of the age, the wishes of no small part of the clergy themselves, and the changes in society which have been produced by a National Debt, conspire to render the commutation of the tithes of the clergy an object of preponderating importance.

And to these influences I would add, that I most sincerely and conscientiously believe that such a measure, if it can be brought about, would tend more to the security of the religion of the state, to its internal harmony, and to check the progress of schism and secession, than any other circumstance which could possibly happen.

My Secretary, upon this occasion, knows intimately and determinately the plan which I should adopt. At present it will suffice to give the outline of the principles upon which it should be conducted, and to suggest, that it is a measure which can only be temperately, safely, and effectually debated in the House of Commons. I mean, that societies formed for the furtherance of such a measure would proceed from sectarians and be founded upon principles of hostility; end in nothing, and produce public irritation, possibly commotion. In the House of Commons the measure would be proposed and met by its friends and opponents, in the face of the whole country, and upon motives which, if erroneous, would be open to instant detection.

I therefore submit the following propositions:

1. That tithe is inherent in the soil, and is acknowledged and protected as property by the law of the realm.

2. That land is purchased and leased, with a full knowledge of this inherent and primitive right.

3. That tithe is an endowment in perpetuity to the Church as an establishment; but of lifehold occupation, as to its immediate produce.

4. That tithe is connected with four interests—with the Church, as an establishment in perpetuity—with the incumbent, as to actual enjoyment—with the patron, as a donative, or reversion—and with the farmer, as to payment.

5. That by a seizure of the revenues of the Church, tithe has become the property of laymen.

6. That though tithe, in the hands of laymen, has lost its original character, it has not lost its inherent right.

7. That the payment of tithe is due from the soil, without regard to the religious or conscientious opinions of the freeholder or farmer.

8. That tithe, being an inherent and primitive right in the produce of the soil, and having been payable and receivable from time immemorial, and is no new burden, and cannot affect agriculture otherwise than it always has done.

9. That the mode and custom of taking tithe in kind is a greater grievance than the payment of its actual value.

10. That such modeand custom frequently oppose the temporal interests of the Church to its spiritual, and turn from within its pale tens of thousands, who would otherwise remain as her members.

11. That the temporal interests of the Church may florish, whilst its religious influence may become weakened; and that the progress of such alteration may, in turbulent times, endanger the existence of the Church.

Upon such previous resolutions I should propose, not a bill *to compel* the commutation; but a facilitating and enabling act, to be carried into local execution, with the consent of all parties, heretofore necessary to the exchange of tithe for land.

Besides the principle of existing property, it must not be forgotten, that no commutation can be fair which does not itself contain "a power of adjustment" to the varying values of which titheable articles are composed.

Those, however, who imagine that the commutation of tithe will increase rent, and render corn dearer, are mistaken. The commutation of tithe (upon the plan which may hereafter be the subject of further discussion) will give greater power to agricultural capital, and increase produce; and consequently tend to that best of all principles, "the enabling the farmer to raise his crops *at a profitable but cheap rate.*"

In exchanging tithe into land, it is usual to take *one third* of arable land; so that a parish of 1200 acres of tillage would give 400 to the clergyman; down land would contribute *a seventh;* and meadow land *a fifth:* thus a grazing farm of 1000 acres would contribute 200 to the incumbent; one of pasturage 143.

The fundamental axioms on which I propose to proceed comprehend all the rights of the Church to her property; meddle not with her system, or power of donative; but confine themselves, distinctly, to the question—whether any act of parliament can be framed to meet commutation and avoid modus.

I contend THAT IT CAN BE DONE, AND BE DONE WITHOUT REVULSION, IRRITATION, OR INJUSTICE; and I do not fear to assert THAT THE CHURCH WILL BE GRATEFUL FOR ITS

SUCCESS. I am not called upon here to defend the character of the clergy of the Church of England; as a body, they need no defence; as men subject to human frailties, and to human vicissitudes, they cannot be without error; but as a body of men, their excellence cannot be approached by any other distinct class of the community, whether in England, or Europe, or in the world.

In all discussion respecting them, look to the source from whence it comes, and it will be found to arise from political partisans, sectarians, or what are termed *liberals*.

To the coterie of the latter, established in pandemonium, a spectre has just flitted on, laden with "The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal, No. LXXIV. NOVEMBER, 1822." With what grins will they not read, by the light of their bonfires—the articles on the Durham Case—Clerical Abuses—MR. CANNING and Reform—the Bishop of Peterborough and his Clergy!

I should be ashamed to waste many words upon the question of "Reform in Parliament." I perfectly agree with "The Times," that every word which was really uttered at the meeting of the freeholders of the County of York should be circulated throughout the kingdom. Will any reasonable man believe that such meeting was any other than the meeting of a party? And what does it prove? Why! that one man in ten is an advocate for reform, throughout the extensive county of York. But that is of less importance than the fact, that one man, a true lion-hearted Englishman, stood, with one second only by his side, and stemmed the torrent (as he has done before), and faced Earl Fitzwilliam's converted Son, and the County of York.

But I would put a few questions:—Is reform intended to raise the price of corn? for the clamorists are large landholders—and how happens it, that the question is always brought forward in troublesome times? When trade and manufactures languished, reform in parliament was the sovereign plaster; now agriculture is depressed, reform in parliament is the certain and undoubted remedy; reform in parliament cures then the blister of trade, commerce, and agriculture. Wonderful specific, truly! But commerce has recovered her more than wonted strength, and yet no reform in parliament has taken place: but a reform in the principles of our shipping and mercantile interests has, which will in no short time extend its influence to the primary branch of agriculture. This unreformed house (whose rusty key J. C. H. would throw into the Thames) can therefore be the parent of reform.

Without looking to history, the question of representation divides itself into many points.

Is the mode of returning the member of the representative assembly of so much, or of more importance, than the return of good, true, and honest men? Is lip eloquence to be preferred to

the language of honor, truth, and education? Are political tinkers, men without any stake in the country, family connection, or sense of shame, fit representatives for moral and honest England? Among the ancients have not the best, and the wisest men, the most disinterested legislators, and the bravest of warriors, fallen sacrifices to the ingratitude of mobs? Has not the madness of mobs raised the worst of men into situations of trust and command, to the ruin of their country?

Is it not possible that a body of twelve, or twenty-four, or forty men, small enough to be capable of deliberation, may return *a much more fit person* to be a member of parliament, than a larger body acted upon by influence? In the smaller assembly, may not the particular merits and useful qualifications of any one or two persons, be better known and appreciated than in a mob?

It is begging the question to presume that a smaller body can be corrupted. It is a gross insult upon the national character, and such as Englishmen in their individual capacities do not deserve. And it is a high compliment to the gentlemen of England; to its freeholders, its burgesses, and its scot-and-lot men; that the question of reform is always agitated upon the admission of the intelligence and enlightened spirit of the age. Flattery the most gross, is the main instrument of its working.—It says:

You Englishmen are the most moral, the most enlightened, the most public-spirited fellows in the world; *but you want to be reformed.* What! Reform the most moral, the most enlightened and the most public-spirited fellows in the world! I would ask, what has made you so?—I reply, Your constitution and your representation.

Suspect two things—"political-economist politicians," and "reform attempted in times of public pressure."

I will suppose two such men as Mr. Wortley and Lord John Russell shut out of the House of Commons. Which is best, that they may creep in through the key-hole of a close borough, or the nation lose the benefit of their character and their talents? In truth, a variety of interests require a variety of management. To decide single and abstract questions, one unvarying mode of representation may be adequate. To understand and discuss the multifarious interests of England, it is talent which is necessary: and it is a choice of talent, which confined and various modes of election ensure to be returned to the House of Commons. A county election is a popular election; the qualification is easy: a borough election is an election within a county. Thus in fact, the system on which members are returned to the House partakes of "popular representation," and a "representation of interests." And I assert that the popular representation, that is the representation of

every man in the kingdom, worth forty shillings a year, can overpower the ministers of the day. Yes! but I shall be told, that the County Members are corrupt.

I again repeat, that such language is a libel against the gentlemen of England, of whatever party they may be. And I assert, that however restricted the mode of returning a member to Parliament may be; that he is, and acts, and considers himself to be, the representative *de facto*, if not *de jure*, of the whole interests of the city or borough, from whence his return is made.

Talk of representation! Who does not remember the care, time, attention and discussion which were bestowed on the factory children, and the chimney-sweeping, bills; that the children should be placed under the protecting and paternal care of the law? What members did they send to Parliament? Yet they were represented, and powerfully too. Why! The very beasts of the field are represented in the House of Commons; as witness the bill to prevent cruelty to animals. The negroes of Africa are represented in the House of Commons, by a member from a rotten borough. In truth, and in fact, the more "reform" is agitated, the more it will be found that the House of Commons represents interests, which is of as extensive importance as population.

Of "economy" and "retrenchment," I may be allowed to say a few words, and but few. Since the peace, taxation has undergone a diminution equal to one-third of all the present income of the state; and in consequence, most articles of consumption have fallen in the same proportion.

Through every department of the state, a thorough dismissal of every idle and supernumerary clerk has taken place.

With regard to those remaining; and in all cases of allowance, remuneration, and retirement; a legislative scale has been adopted, to which the executive government is pledged.

Sinecures and future reversions are abolished; and as far as legislation and prudence can go, (and they should go hand-in-hand) they *have* gone.

If the scale of 1792 is to be the standard, then it can only be attained by *reducing England* to the scale of 1792. Is England willing to give up Malta, St. Helena, Ceylon, Mauritius, Surinam, Trinidad, Berbice, Essequibo, St. Lucie, Tobago, the African settlements, and our East Indian conquests? Then her naval and military establishments can be reduced. Expenditure is comparative; pounds shillings and pence have no reasoning faculties, and convey no argument, till the cause of the multiplication is applied.

As to the employment and pay of servants of the Crown; it cannot but be remarked, that through all the departments of the public

offices, there is a greater air of respectability, of rank, and character, than formerly. Much of this arises from long establishment, and much from care and attention in the principle of admission.

There are thousands who can attest, that nothing was more common, when a man was unfortunate, than that his friends should say —"Oh, we must get him a place under Government." I am far from objecting to a principle of such a nature—it should not be carried to too great an extent; though the experience of many an unfortunate man has been found valuable to the executive. Government often has to contend for the attainment of proper and fit persons for responsible situations, and offices requiring certain qualifications. The acquirements of many can be turned to greater advantage in private undertakings; but in these there is risk; therefore, the certain pay of government is equal to a larger remuneration, acquired with greater anxiety, and more chance of loss.

The public expect from the executive, the strict, punctual, and unerring performance of its duties; and these can only be attained by a principle of responsibility, from the heads of offices to the lowest and last-admitted clerk; and it is not merely responsibility, but confidence must be placed in tens of thousands. I do not mean that a cunning spirit of secrecy is to pervade the public departments; but that faith must be placed in the due performance of the most subordinate duties.

The qualities of official men differ so much, that five hundred a year is economical, for the services of some, where a hundred would be dear for those of others.

"Any body will do for a government-clerk" was once the cry; but "every body will not do;" and it is (I say it with pride) the precision, the regularity, and the character of the public offices, which tend greatly to a courteous and efficient dispatch of public business, in which private interests are more or less involved.

All economy is not retrenchment. The question is not merely —"can this be dispensed with?" but, what will the replacing cost? and every thing found to be useless, has long ago been discarded.

Those only acquainted with public offices can tell the mean acts, the invitations to fraud, the bribery and corruption which have been employed in detecting what are called "Government abuses." The members of a Committee out of doors, employing discharged, dismissed, and disgraced servants, (once of the Crown,) can hardly be relied upon for correct information: and many charges have been attempted, upon evidence which would not hang a dog, or convict a known thief.

I now approach the end of this (I fear, but hope not,) tedious address; and, to refresh the memory, will recapitulate its results:—

1. That England is "The Umpire of Europe."
2. That the National credit must be preserved.

3. That the Sinking Fund must be inviolate.

4. That the National Debt is an active medium; a bank of deposit—a means of income—productive of a regular circulating payment—and of importance to the lower classes, as enabling them to save upon interest.

5. That the commerce of England is most florishing; and its interests have not been neglected.

6. That the internal peace of England was never in more certainty of repose, notwithstanding five out of six of *my* acts are in existence; and that popular meetings have under them, acquired a greater rank, and tend to more influential consequences.

7. That agricultural embarrassment must and will pass away; *but*, that its immediate distress justifies the measure of sending back the foreign corn now bonded.

8. That a new arrangement of the Poor's Law, by placing them under a public board, might produce important results, and decrease the amount of the rates.

9. That the commutation of tithe would give greater scope to the employment of agricultural capital—benefit the Church—and enable the farmer to afford corn *cheap*, by a more spirited mode of cultivation.

10. That the three last measures are applicable to agricultural distress.

11. That "reform" is not applicable at all.

12. That economy and retrenchment are applicable, and when any case for their further exertion can be made out—Government will not delay its duty.

---

My spirit will hover over the British Empire; and should it ever be intended to record my memory, I would only desire to be thus noticed:—

"HERE LIES

HENRY ROBERT STEWART,

Second Marquess of Londonderry;

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, &c. &c.

Born 1769;

Who, in the full bloom of Manhood, fell a Mental Sacrifice to an ardent and zealous performance of his Ministerial and Parliamentary functions,

ON THE 12th DAY OF AUGUST, AN. DOM. 1822.

And in the Third Year of the Reign of His most Gracious Majesty

GEORGE THE FOURTH."

# POSTSCRIPT.

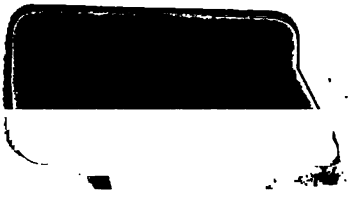
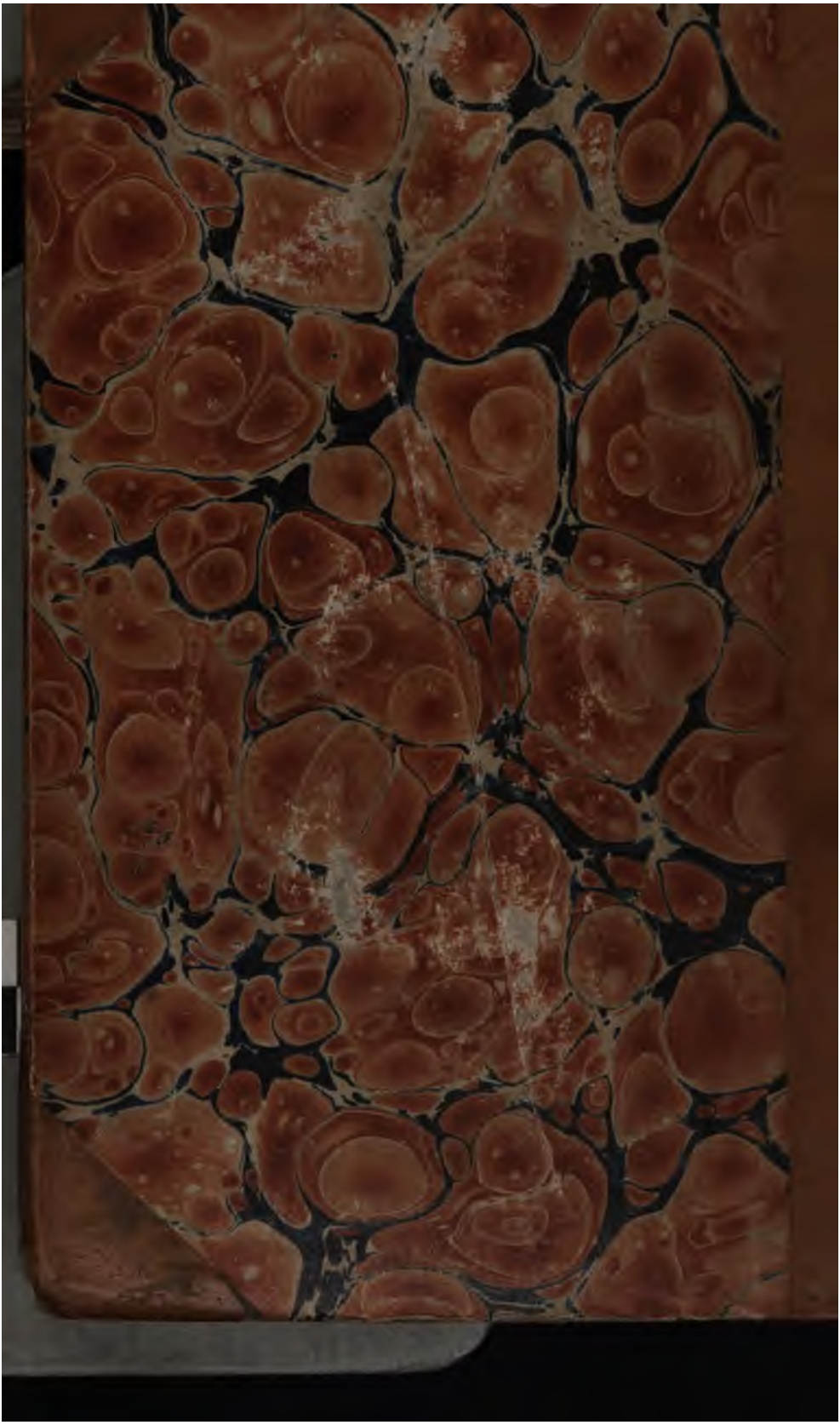
I change no opinion in consequence of the French King's speech. Menace on one side, and defiance on the other, will produce a war—but of demonstrations only; during which, each will be ready to render available any means of mediation.

If the King of Spain should fortunately have the spirit and the policy to demand to be placed at the head of the Spaniards in arms; they in return, when the moment of danger is past, might concede to him points of a just prerogative, which are now withheld, more in ignorance or mistrust, than in hatred of the throne.

The equipoise of a monarchical government, such as exists in England, is not the work of a day; and those who aim to approach it, may be reasonably expected to commit many blunders in the attempt.

If I assert that "the French dare not" pass the Spanish frontier, I intend it only in reference to their means of accomplishing the object; that "of conquering a peace." The Spaniards are not revolutionists; they are aiming, not to destroy, but to ameliorate (as they think) the form of their government. But being bigoted in religion and policy, their measures assume a greater degree of violence than we correctly estimate: excesses have been, and may yet be committed on both sides; but their very commission brings with it a feeling of regret; and such feeling of regret naturally produces an eventual balance and adjustment of opinions and faction.

In the midst of all—the position of England is that of "a powerful neutral;" independently firm in her attitude, and possessing means and spirit to act upon any cause of aggression towards herself or ally.

There is hardly a country, where the price of agricultural produce undergoes such fluctuation as in the various provinces of Spain; the slightest cause frequently occasions it; and it is far from improbable, but that the state of that country will materially influence the grain-market of England.

THE END OF NO. XLII.